

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
NOVEMBER 18 TO 29, INCLUSIVE

1940



RANDELL INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1941

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DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	1	146	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	10	David L. Behncke, 3145 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	2	{	20 Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., New York.
			20 C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United.....	4	{	48 Irvan Cary, 307 Eddystone Hotel, Detroit, Michigan.
			48 Jerry Aldred, 307 Eddystone Hotel, Detroit, Michigan.
			48 William E. Dowell, 409 West Markland Avenue, Kokomo, Indiana.
			47 George B. Kiebler, 1302 West Vliet Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	4	{	203 A. A. Myrup, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
			203 Joseph Schmidt, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
			203 Peter Heisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
			202 Wm. McGuern, 2915 East Cherry Street, Seattle, Washington.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	{	98 W. C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
			98 Anthony Merlino, 615 Central Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.
			98 Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
			98 Chas. T. Crane, Room 407, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	98	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of...	2	29	Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		{	25 Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
			25 John Pelkofer, 2328 West Orchard Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
			* William F. Kramer, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

* Substituted for John Pelkofer beginning Monday, November 25, Fifth Day.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	67	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		67	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		66	William E. Walter, 504 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		66	Harry Nicholas, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		66	Harry Nacey, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
		*	John F. Schmitt, 490 25th Avenue, North, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	63	John B. Haggerty, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		62	J. B. Prewitt, 300 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		62	Miss Anastasia Becker, 300 St. Louis Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	308	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	140	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		140	A. J. Kugler, 2474 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		140	Joseph J. Hauser, 3631 Salena Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109	Wm. J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Wm. J. Moran, Box 677, El Paso, Texas.
		108	Thos. O'Donnell, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		108	Edward L. Nolan, 7 Cerritos Avenue, San Francisco, California.
		108	Robert Dale, 175 East 217th Street, Euclid, Ohio.
		†	John Campbell, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	2	50	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	William Tracy, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	5	83	P. J. Marrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		83	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		83	D. M. Gayton, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		82	B. A. Murray, 2239 Pauline Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		82	C. F. Strickland, 623 Kimmeridge Drive, East Point, Georgia.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	6	117	Wm. L. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		117	Gus Van Heck, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		117	William Cooper, 1012 North Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		117	Jess Fletcher, 1316 8th Avenue, Seattle, Washington.
		116	Walfred Smedberg, 707 Pence Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
		116	Elizabeth Grady, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.

* Substituted for Harry Nicholas beginning Monday, November 25, Fifth Day.

† Substituted for William J. Bowen beginning Friday, November 22, Fourth Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	4	163	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
		163	Joseph Tremblay, 744 3rd Avenue, Verdun, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
		162	Irvin Barney, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
		162	J. J. Fitzgerald, 68 Ontario Street, Albany, New York.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	375	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Frank Duffy, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Chas. Hanson, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		375	Chas. Sand, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		375	Edw. Weyler, 205 Tyler Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
		375	Z. D. Nichols, 528 Bienville Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		375	R. E. Roberts, 1231 North Winnetka, Dallas, Texas.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United.....	3	44	William Schoenberg, 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		44	Toney Gallo, 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		44	Arthur J. Strunk, 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	1	70	R. E. Van Horn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union	1	3	Ralph Whitehead, 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	4	41	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
		41	H. E. Greenwald, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		41	M. Minaden, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		41	John Zitello, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	5	80	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Rainier, Maryland.
		80	William I. Horner, 2244 North Harrison Street, Arlington, Virginia.
		80	John F. O'Connor, 762 Santa Ray Street, Oakland, California.
		80	Myles P. Murphy, 262 Palice Street, Erlanger, Kentucky.
		80	Steve Quarles, 1533 St. Andrews Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	4	243	George M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		243	Phil E. Ziegler, 706 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		242	G. J. Levron, 2435 Lapeyrouse Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		242	E. J. Foster, 2482 Verbena Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	369	W. G. Desepete, 175 Miramar Avenue, San Francisco, California.
		368	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car....	1	14	C. D. Wallace, 531 Terrace Street, Route 3, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Coopers' International Union of North America	1	42	James J. Doyle, 163 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	19	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		300	E. J. Brown, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		300	G. M. Bugniet, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		300	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4937 West Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		300	D. A. Manning, 1743 Beverly Glen Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	299	John J. Daly, 1650 South 33rd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		299	G. X. Barker, 301 Woodward Building, Birmingham, Alabama.
		299	Chas. A. Schreiber, 34 Metairie Court, Metairie, Louisiana.
			* J. Scott Milne, 1110 Central Tower, 703 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10, Boston, Massachusetts.
		34	F. B. Comfort, 20 West Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		34	Thomas Allen, Plumbers Building, 1901 5th Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Engineers, International Union of Operating	6	134	William E. Maloney, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		134	Frank A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		133	William M. Welsh, Statler Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts.
		133	Anton J. Imbahn, 7920 South Sangamon Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		133	Joseph S. Fay, Room 1519, 111 8th Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		133	Joseph J. Delaney, 4451 Tibbett Avenue, Fieldstone, Bronx, New York.
			† J. C. Bennema, 8312 South Elizabeth Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	35	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		35	Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York.
		35	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	3	130	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		130	George J. Richardson, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		129	James Petris, P. O. Box 657, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	78	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		78	John Clinton, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		78	Frank Shanley, 1860 Broadway, New York, New York.
		78	John England, 960 Juno Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.

* Substituted for John J. Daly beginning Wednesday, November 20, Third Day.

† Substituted for William M. Welsh beginning Wednesday, November 27, Seventh Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Garment Workers of America, United.	5	80	T. A. Rickert, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	A. Adamski, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	Joseph P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	George C. Slater, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	W. R. Brooks, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	7	54	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
		54	Charles Zimmerman, 218 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
		54	Morris Bialis, 222 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		54	Louis Stulberg, 218 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
		53	John Gelo, 218 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
		53	Benjamin Kaplan, 252 West 36th Street, New York, New York.
		53	Miss Jennie Matyas, 345 Mason Street, San Francisco, California.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	4	50	James Maloney, 1531-12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		50	W. W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.
		50	Dale Clutter, 204 Beau Street, Washington, Pennsylvania.
		50	William Wallace, Yorktown, Indiana.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.	1	186	Harry H. Cook, 204 Hardee Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	16	Thomas Durian, 5377 North 34th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Government Employees, American Federation of.....	2	112	James B. Burns, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		111	Mrs. Bernice B. Heffner, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	25	Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		25	Edward Meade, 22-14 35th Street, Astoria, Long Island, New York.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	5	64	Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
		64	Hugh J. Glover, 101 Woodbine Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		64	Samuel Herschkowitz, Millinery Workers' Union, 53 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
		64	Alex Rose, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
		64	Abraham Mendelowitz, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
Hodecarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	7	232	Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		232	Joseph Marshall, 45 Taylor Street, Room 201, Golden Gate Building, San Francisco, California.
		231	Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		231	James Bove, 55 West 42nd Street, 731 Bryant Park Building, New York, New York.
		231	J. B. Etchison, 414 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		231	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		231	T. T. Odum, 1029 Bienville Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America...	7		290 Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York. 290 Hugo Ernst, 523 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. 289 Christopher Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts. 289 Louis Koenig, 600 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan. 289 Nat Messing, care Local No. 2, 21 Summer Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. 289 Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York. 289 Helen Caren, 325 Yonge Street, care Local No. 168, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3		27 William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. 27 H. J. Hazen, 4750 Highland Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. 27 Walter Matthews, 4750 Highland Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Laundry Workers' International Union.	4		100 William J. Donovan, 10 North Clark Street, Room 608, Chicago, Illinois. 100 W. C. Thomas, 1095 Market Street, San Francisco, California. 100 Sam Byers, 10 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. 100 Miss Lillian M. Peterson, 1640 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Leather Workers' International Union, United	1		25 Bernard G. Quinn, 221-22 Forrest Building, 119 South 4th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	5		120 Edward J. Gainor, Room 408, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. 120 William J. Gorman, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. 120 M. T. Finn, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. 120 Charles D. Duffy, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. 120 Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1		5 Isaac W. Bishop, Alexander City, Alabama.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	3		42 William J. Riehl, 450 7th Avenue, New York City. 41 Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois. 41 Albert E. Castro, 205 West 14th Street, New York City.
Longshoremen's Association, International	3		207 Joseph P. Ryan, 19th Floor, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. 207 John R. Owens, 19th Floor, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. 207 Michael J. Dwyer, 19th Floor, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION ix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Machinists, International Association of	6	317	Harvey W. Brown, 703 Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		317	N. P. Alifas, 217 Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		317	D. M. Burrows, Machinists Hall, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		317	W. F. Robinson, 3102 East Grace Street, Richmond, Virginia.
		317	John D. Lengel, 700 South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey.
		316	A. M. Jurrus, Room 6, 912 Adams Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	5	127	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		127	John F. Towle, Room 209, 457 Stuart Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		127	T. L. Jones, 714 Interstate Trust Building, Denver, Colorado.
		126	J. J. Farnam, 1202 Belmont Avenue, South Bend, Indiana.
		126	W. N. Clay, 703 United Building, Akron, Ohio.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	2	28	William McCarthy, Room 306, Bowen Building, 315 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	John J. Conway, 6335 North 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	1	30	John J. Scully, Room 1104-5, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	6	119	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
		118	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		118	Earl W. Jimerson, 755a Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		118	Joseph P. McCoy, 712 Concord Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		118	Milton S. Maxwell, 3012 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		118	John Malone, 1207 Park Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	4	50	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		50	James T. Moriarty, Room 473, State House, Boston, Massachusetts.
		50	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	James J. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive	1	350	Joe Ozanic, 220-228 Reisch Office Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Molders' Union of North America, International	4	76	Harry Stevenson, L. Box 658, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		76	George P. Delaney, 6200 Sligo Mill Road, N. E., Washington, D. C.
		76	Henry Bossi, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		76	James Myles, 57 Clinton Street, Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Musicians, American Federation of.	6	167	Joseph N. Weber, 646 Woodruff Avenue, Westwood, Los Angeles, California.
		167	James C. Petrillo, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	C. L. Bagley, 900 Continental Building, 408 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California.
		167	A. Rex Riccardi, 120 North 18th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		166	Harry J. Steeper, 225 30th Street, Woodcliff, New Jersey.
		166	Edward Canavan, care A. F. of M., 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.	6	167	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		167	Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		167	John Oliver, 326 Stayvesant Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		167	Christian M. Madsen, 3207 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		167	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		167	Arthur Wallace, 1101 North Menard Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.	3	81	Arthur Huggins, 112 State Street, Standard Building, Room 217, Albany, New York.
		81	Joseph Addy, Standard Building, Room 225, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
		81	Ernest B. Lambton, Standard Building, Room 216, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.	1	74	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.	4	48	*M. J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
		48	John H. Donlin, 5145 West Cermak Road, Cicero, Illinois.
		48	M. J. McDonough, 411 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		47	John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.	5	80	George Masterton, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	George Meany, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	Charles M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		80	William E. Quirk, 1340 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies Handbag.	2	50	Samuel Reinlib, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		50	Samuel Laderman, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.	2	35	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		35	Ray Kelsay, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.

* Died November 17, 1940.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION xi

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car..	2	33	A. Philip Randolph, 217 West 125th Street, Suite 301, New York, New York.
		33	Milton P. Webster, 4231 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	4	40	James M. Duffy, Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
		40	John D. McGillivray, Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
		40	E. L. Wheatley, Room 215, Broad Street Bank Building, Trenton, New Jersey.
		40	Dales Allison, 229 Mehafeff Street, Cambridge, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	7	Joseph Draley, 1215 Kearney Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	5	88	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		88	Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		87	George L. Googe, Suite 358, Hurt Building, Atlanta, Georgia.
		87	Louis P. Sahuque, 1921 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		87	Thomas E. Dunwoody, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
Pulp, Sulphite nad Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	4	100	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York.
		100	H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
		100	James Killen, Box 31, Route 6, Olympia, Washington.
		100	Elmer P. Meinz, 2294 Hampden Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		134	W. D. Mahon, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
		134	Joseph J. Kehoe, 334 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		133	Louis Bengel, 1005 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		133	Othmer Mischo, Room 300, 1012 North 3rd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		133	W. M. Rea, 2536 Euclid Avenue, Room 306, Cleveland, Ohio.
		133	Jerry P. Coughlin, Room 216, 1694 Main Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	6	74	J. F. Bennett, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		74	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		73	C. M. Harvey, 45 South Lexington Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	20	George W. Jones, 1116 Washington Boulevard, Oak Park, Illinois.
		20	J. M. Gavlak, 1804 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	2	68	Harry Lundeborg, 59 Clay Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		62	C. J. Stephens, 2733 Conti Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		62	M. D. Biggs, 5012 Dauphine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Seafarers' International Union of North America.....	3		

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of.....	1	9	George L. Warfel, 301 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	5	84	George E. Browne, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
		84	Louis Krouse, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
		84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, New Jersey.
		84	E. J. Brock, 760 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		84	Thomas Murtha, 265 West 14th Street, New York City.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	4	75	Arnold S. Zander, 448 West Washington Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.
		74	Clifford B. Noxon, 3190 South Washington Street, Englewood, Colorado.
		74	John F. McCann, 7959 South Bishop Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		74	Gordon W. Chapman, 448 West Washington Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International....	2	42	Leo J. Buckley, 2812 Harrington Avenue, Bronx, New York.
		42	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 23th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	2	21	Paul A. Givens, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		20	P. J. Cullen, 205 West Wacker Drive, Room 922, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union..	2	25	Edw. J. Winter, 2806 North Grand Avenue, Rooms 203-205, St. Louis, Missouri.
		24	Joseph Lewis, Box 190, Centerville, California.
Switchmen's Union of North America.	2	41	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		40	John Lundergan, Imperial Hotel, 32nd at Broadway, New York, New York.
Teachers, American Federation of....	4	75	George S. Counts, 420 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.
		75	Irvin R. Kuenzli, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		75	John M. Fewkes, 509 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		75	Miss Selma M. Borchardt, 1741 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	563	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		563	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		563	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		562	Geo. Wilson, 639 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		562	John O'Rourke, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		562	F. W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
		562	Robert Lester, 720 5th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175	V. O. Gardner, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
		175	D. J. Mahoney, 804 Third Avenue, S. E., Waseca, Minnesota.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION xiii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	35	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Workers of America, United..	1	36	Anthony Valente, 317 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.	1	180	W. Warren Smith, Rooms 806-809 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	74	Sal B. Hoffmann, 2812 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United.....	1	74	Alfred Rota, 610 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	1	31	Rudolph Heintz, 710 East 84th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Coyne, 501 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, 402 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 520, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Alabama State Federation of Labor...	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor...	1	1	W. O. Hare, P. O. Box 490, Birmingham, Alabama.
California State Federation of Labor..	1	1	W. B. Hocott, P. O. Box 1574, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Colorado State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James H. Quinn, 2111 Webster Street, Oakland, California.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.	1	1	James A. Brownlow, 317 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colo.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Egan, 1024 Main Street, Room 407, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Georgia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Walter Hoyt, 1 South First Street, Room 20, Miami, Florida.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. O. Morgan, 428 Main Street, Macon, Georgia.
Indiana State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 704 Security Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	J. J. Brown, 2222 White Street, Dubuque, Iowa.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. H. Williams, 223 Ward Building, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	John Locher, 1211-A Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Michigan State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Kenneth I. Taylor, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor..	1	1	William P. Frost, 6120 Trumbull Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Missouri State Federation of Labor....	1	1	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Montana State Federation of Labor...	1	1	J. B. McElhinny, 4118 Montgale Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor..	1	1	James D. Graham, P. O. Box 1176, Helena, Montana.
Nevada State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, 412 West 13th Street, Grand Island, Nebraska.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor	1	1	Paula Day, P. O. Box 262 Reno, Nevada.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant Street, Manchester, New Hampshire.
New Mexico State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Louis P. Marciano, 508 Parkway, Trenton, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor..	1	1	O. G. Wright, P. O. Box 163, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
		1	Thomas J. Lyons, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1102, New York, New York.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
North Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	C. A. Fink, 1615 Salisbury Avenue, P. O. Box 522, Spencer, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 405 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Chas. Hathaway, 411 Equity Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor....	1	1	D. E. Nickerson, Labor Temple, Fourth and Jefferson Street, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Box 270, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	J. W. Grist, 829 Fourth Street, Colum- bia, South Carolina.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Lev. G. Loring, Labor Temple, Memphis, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, 717 Littlefield Building, Austin, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	John H. Hall, Jr., 3302 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia.
			* Joseph Rossano, 1316 Spratley Street, Portsmouth, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	James A. Taylor, 1200 Textile Tower, Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	Tom Cairns, 503 Grant Street, Charles- ton, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor..	1	1	William Nagorsne, 518 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Albuquerque, N. Mex., Central Labor Union	1	1	Roy N. Pearce, 916 North Sixth Street, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Sam Domico, Alexandria, Louisiana.
Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Harry B. Parks, 207 South Fifth Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union..	1	1	W. W. Finch, 212½ West Seventh Street, Amarillo, Texas.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council....	1	1	Redmund M. Burr, 320 South Fifth Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charlie H. Gresty, Box 32, Arkansas City, Kansas.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades... 1	1	1	Dewey L. Johnson, City Hall, Atlanta, Georgia.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Lewis M. Herrmann, 57 North Bartram Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Bastrop, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Earl Cobb, 810 Boatner Street, Bastrop, Louisiana.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	E. J. Bourg, 743 St. Napoleon Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Clarence J. Beaudion, 291 Burnham Street, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	J. W. Park, Box 1942, Beaumont, Texas.
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	A. B. Touchette, 701 Illinois Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Blackwell, Okla., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	William Barclay Burger, 211½ West Blackwell Avenue, Blackwell, Oklahoma.
Bogalusa, La., Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	Godfrey Ruddick, Bogalusa, Louisiana.

* Substituted for John H. Hall, Jr., Monday, November 25, Fifth Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes Cast by Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Camden, Ark., Central Trades Council	1	1	Chester Johnson, 406 Maple Street, Camden, Arkansas.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor	1	1	J. C. Blodgett, 1725 Grande Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas R. Cuthbert, 310 West Eighth Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Miss Lillian Herstein, 5428 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Tony Augustino, 105 West Madison Street, Room 1905, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John J. Hurst, 407 Railway Clerks Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union, Harrison County.....	1	1	Paul Gooch, 718 Fourth Avenue, Montgomery, West Virginia.
Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1247 Walnut Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Collinsville, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Grace Bullard, 137 St. Louis Road, Collinsville, Illinois.
Columbus, O., Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	John C. Getreu, 247 1/2 South High Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union	1	1	Gordon E. Beck, 2460 Avenue D, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council... 1	1	1	Arvil Inge, Labor Temple, 1727 Young Street, Dallas, Texas.
Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	John La Tour, 124 Emmett Street, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Dayton, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur Fix, 202 South Ludlow Street, Dayton, Ohio.
Denison, Tex., Labor Trades Council.. 1	1	1	C. A. Swink, 526 West Woodard Street, Denison, Texas.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 East Fourteenth Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 274 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly	1	1	Robert A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Edwardsville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Theodore Nischwitz, 142 A North Main Street, Edwardsville, Illinois.
Elgin, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	E. D. Van Fossan, 370 Vincent Place, Elgin, Illinois.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, Apartment 2-A, 639 Salem Avenue, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Fond du Lac, Wis., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Samuel G. Costas, 572 Elizabeth Street, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly... 1	1	1	A. L. Bailey, 928 Missouri Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Thomas R. Downie, 1216 North Kellogg Street, Galesburg, Illinois.
Galveston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	C. H. Lindberg, Room 29, Marine Building, Galveston, Texas.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Milton Doll, 439 South Second Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	J. F. Cauley, Astor Hotel, John Street, North, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Houma, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Onell Labit, W. O. W. Hall, Houma, Louisiana.
Houston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	A. S. McBride, 709 Stewart Building, Houston, Texas.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 701 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jackson, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	Joseph Ashmore, Reid Hotel, Jackson, Michigan.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union..	1	1	W. G. Byars, 1254 North Congress Street, Jackson, Mississippi.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	J. F. Nettles, Box 396, Jacksonville, Florida.
Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Robert L. Brough, 123 Connor Avenue, Joplin, Missouri.
Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	George Grosser, 326 North Rose Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council..	1	1	Hugh S. O'Neill, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council	1	1	Thomas J. O'Brien, 49 North Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles Farrell, 217 West Twelfth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Maynard K. Baird, care Riviera Theatre, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union	1	1	W. R. Mayo, 217 Ann Street, Lake Charles, Louisiana.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council	1	1	B. R. McMahon, 128 North West Street, Waukegan, Illinois.
Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John Reid, 306 Bauch Building, Lansing, Michigan.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Fred J. Graham, 91 Larchwood Street, Methuen, Massachusetts.
Lewiston, Ida., Central Labor Union, Nez Perce County, Ida., and Asotin County, Wash.	1	1	M. S. Taylor, 311 Weisgerber Block, Lewiston, Idaho.
Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, Room 203, Labor Temple, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	Sidney E. LeBow, 24 Maryland Avenue, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Lynchburg, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	James C. Crist, 812 Erskine Avenue, Lynchburg, Virginia.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Ray F. Brown, 1005 Galloway, Memphis, Tennessee.
Meridian, Miss., Central Labor Union..	1	1	J. W. Cameron, 1520 Eleventh Avenue, Meridian, Mississippi.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	G. K. Fritz, Jr., 2440 S. W. Tenth Street, Miami, Florida.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	J. F. Friedrich, 1012 North Third Street, Room 518, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Alden P. Baker, 112 Kirby Street, Moberly, Missouri.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council..	1	1	Mrs. Ida Lee Merchant, Box 358-A, Fulton Road, Mobile, Alabama.
Monroe, La., Central Labor Council... 1	1	1	Ira Cagle, 108 1/2 St. John Street, Monroe, Louisiana.
Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council (Greater Muskegon).....	1	1	Earl Smith, 840 Reynolds Street, Muskegon Heights, Michigan.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION xvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Nampa, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	L. J. Koutnik, 711 Second Street, South, Nampa, Idaho.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	William C. Dekoning, 157 Grenwich Street, Hempstead, Long Island, New York.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council..	1	1	Jacob C. Baer, 10 Tuscan Street, Maplewood, New Jersey.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Herman J. Schad, 1123 Burgundy Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union..	1	1	William J. Fallon, 31 Thackeray Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West Fourteenth Street, Room 1101, New York, New York.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union....	1	1	O. C. Moore, 1436 West 48th Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	James F. Sullivan, 2417 Jones Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemow Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Owosso and Shiawassee County, Mich., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles Neary, Federation Hall, Owosso, Michigan.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	D. M. Hurley, Route No. 1, Pasco, Washington.
Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Arthur P. Patt, 53 Third Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union..	1	1	W. M. Cobb, care J. E. Elliott, P. O. Box 265, Pensacola, Florida.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Sam Lord, 400 North Jefferson Street, Peoria, Illinois.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank Burch, 260 Nedro Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council	1	1	Robert Zima, 225 Questend Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Horace E. Howe, 28 Reynolds Street, South Portland, Maine.
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Arthur J. Beauregard, 61 Homefield Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joseph Powers, 316 Boundary Street, Raleigh, North Carolina.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	Andrew P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Michael J. Mungovan, 334 University Avenue, Rochester, New York.
Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Davenport, Ia., Rock Island and Moline, Ill.....	1	1	John H. De Young, Como Hotel, Rock Island, Illinois.
Saginaw, Mich., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Edward B. Krug, 242 Goff Building, Saginaw, Michigan.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, Room 9, Labor Temple, St. Joseph, Missouri.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Joseph P. Clark, 1411 North Grand Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Salinas, Calif., Central Labor Union (Monterey County)	1	1	William G. Kenyon, 135 Harvest Street, Salinas, California.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor	1	1	T. J. Lloyd, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council....	1	1	Rebecca Taylor, Labor Temple, San Antonio, Texas.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council...	1	1	John A. O'Connell, Room 214, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp Streets, San Francisco, California.
Santa Cruz, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	H. C. Sutherland, 75 Ocean View Avenue, Santa Cruz, California.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Al Mason, 1418 Second Street, Santa Monica, California.
Sapulpa, Okla., Creek County Central Labor Union	1	1	Gordon L. Shryock, 410 East Dewey Avenue, Sapulpa, Oklahoma.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity.....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	C. W. Verink, 727 East Elm Street, Springfield, Missouri.
Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	George E. McKenna, 119 East Clark Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. E. Sullivan, P. O. Box 1463, Tampa, Florida.
Toledo, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John M. Froehlich, 3304 Gallatin Road, Toledo, Ohio.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council	1	1	W. P. Covert, Labor Temple, 167 Church Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council.....	1	1	Oscar A. Hodges, 308 East First Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council..	1	1	J. A. Edwards, 23 La Voelta Street, Vallejo, California.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C.
Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Cornelius J. Mulcahey, 69 Richmond Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	James A. Harper, 516 28th Street, West Palm Beach, Florida.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union	1	1	James T. Houghton, 1008 West Fifth Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	Reid Stewart, 222½ North Main Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Krohn, 120 Goggins Street, Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin.
Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	Arthur W. Devine, 104 Blossom Street, East Providence, Rhode Island.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Emmett Higgins, Room 518, Masonic Temple, Yakima, Washington.
Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County.....	1	1	John E. Morley, 22 East Boardman Street, Youngstown, Ohio.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 605 Clara Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION xix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Baggage and Mail Handlers' Union, Union Terminal, No. 21019, Cincinnati, Ohio	1	1	Arthur Williams, 529 West Eighth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Baggagemen's Union No. 20337, Freight Handlers' Union No. 20331, Freight Handlers' Union No. 20409, Freight Handler's Union No. 20962, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	4	Augustus Bishop, 807 Kaighn Avenue, Camden, New Jersey.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 20940, New York, N. Y.	1	11	Florence Lang, 175 East Broadway, New York, New York.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20147, San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, Calif.	1	16	James Waugh, 526 Ocean Avenue, Terminal Island, California.
Cannery Workers' Union (Southern Alameda County) No. 20843, Hayward, Calif.	1	10	Hal P. Angus, 594 Castro Street, 204 Schafer Building, Hayward, California.
Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	4	Joseph Driscoll, 6607-A West Burleigh Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Costume Workers, Federal Labor Union, Theatrical, No. 21313, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Louis Hollander, 19 West 44th Street, New York, New York.
Cotton Workers' Union, Southern Chemical, No. 21061, Chattanooga, Tenn.	1	1	R. L. Smith, R. F. D. No. 3, St. Elmo, Tennessee.
Demonstrators' Union No. 22260, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Mae Gleich, 6232 South Justine Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Diagnosticians' Association, Chicago District, No. 17897, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Michael J. Sullivan, M.D., 4310 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Distillery Workers' Union No. 21449, Lawrenceburg, Ind.	1	5	Robert Auttersen, 560 Nowlin Avenue, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.
Envelope Makers' Union No. 20311, Dayton, Ohio	1	5	William Dixon, 115 South Findlay Street, Dayton, Ohio.
Express Employees' Union No. 18064, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Chester Keller, 617 East 45th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.	1	18	Leo Weston, 7419 Sixteenth Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio	1	3	Glenn King, 1019 Third Street, N. W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	24	Michael A. O'Gorman, 4238 North Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.	1	3	Morris Pratt, 5728 Westmoreland Place, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.	1	15	W. A. Younker, 4021 36th Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Waukegan, Ill.	1	4	Owen S. James, 2710 Emmaus Avenue, Zion, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.	1	7	Arthur M. Pierce, 512 Seventh Street, Muskegon Heights, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	31	Felix Reisdorf, 3314 A North 38th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio	1	15	Harry Buffington, 1278 Alberta Street, Barberton, Ohio.

XX DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 20789, Sherman, Tex.....	1	1	Fred N. Holloway, 422 South Travis Street, Sherman, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knoxville, Tenn.....	1	5	Andy Turner, Box 1882, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Firemen's Union No. 18966, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	1	George Sams, 415 Louise Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama.
Foremen and Superintendents of Public Works Union, Miscellaneous, No. 17894, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, Room 200, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, California.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Fred Midgett, 3807 East 146th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17658, Portsmouth, Va.....	1	1	Joseph Hassell, 920 Pratt Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 North Fourth Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 20023, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Luther Simpson, 819 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Freight Handlers' Union, Southern Railway, No. 20232, New Orleans, La.	1	1	Henry E. Adama, 4516 Magnolia Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 20405, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	William Archer, 5140 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 21632, Montgomery, Ala.....	1	1	William Green, 131 Watts Street, Montgomery, Alabama.
Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21808, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	1	J. W. McCall, 1308 North Second Street, Birmingham, Alabama.
Freight Handlers' Union, Louisville and Nashville, No. 21899, New Orleans, La.....	1	1	Clarence C. Tunnage, 2717 LaFitte Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 22092, L. & N., Louisville, Ky.....	1	1	Jerry L. Orr, care Allen Hotel, 26th and Madison Streets, Louisville, Kentucky.
Fur Workers' Union Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Ont., Can.....	1	3	Max Federman, 169 Robert Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	14	Patrick J. Gallagher, 9624 South Hamilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union No. 19897, Jersey City and Vic., N. J.....	1	5	George J. Kane, 777 Bergen Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Grocery Workers' Union, Wholesale, No. 20525, Chicago, Ill.....	1	4	Henry Friedman, 3404 West Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community No. 21877, Chicago, Ill..	1	1	Charles F. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.....	1	1	Fred W. Patton, P. O. Box 2012, Jackson, Mississippi.
News Writers' Union No. 21892, Salisbury, N. C.....	1	1	James F. Barrett, 358 Hurt Building, Atlanta, Georgia.
Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	5	Harold Boone, Room 709, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION xxi

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Office Employees' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma, Okla.....	1	1	Hariette Peterson, 1116 North Penn, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Office Employees' Union No. 22071, Tulsa, Okla.....	1	1	Thelma Levering, Box 1794, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Office Employees' Union No. 22210, Dallas, Tex.....	1	1	C. H. Culpepper, Labor Temple, 1727 Young Street, Dallas, Texas.
Office Employees' Union No. 22422, Nashville, Tenn.....	1	1	David Hanly, Superintendent, Division of Workmen's Compensation, Department of Labor, State of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee.
Office Employees' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.....	1	1	Mrs. M. E. Roberts, 1 South First Street, Room 20, Miami, Florida.
Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.....	1	3	Mrs. Florence McNally, 956 North La Vergne Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Office Workers' Union No. 21276, Duluth, Minn.....	1	1	Miss Mary Toman, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Office Workers' Union No. 21427, Columbus, Ohio.....	1	1	Carroll McGhee, 247 1/2 South High Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Optical Workers' Union No. 22178, New Orleans, La.....	1	1	Arthur J. Williams, 1222 Magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Lawrence T. Bregante, 81 Jensen Street, San Francisco, California.
Packing House Employees' Union, Vegetable, No. 21494, Princeton, Fla.....	1	1	Mrs. Lillian May Barnes (Pat) Verble, care Box 213, Princeton, Florida.
Porters' Union, Railroad Station No. 22351, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Alfred J. McGhee, 1733 West Montgomery Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Rectifiers of Spirits, Wine and Wholesale Liquor Workers' Union No. 20496, Chicago, Ill.....	1	7	Joseph O'Neill, 216 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Salesmen's Union, Wholesale Licensed Alcoholic Beverage, No. 20376, New York, N. Y.....	1	13	Sol Cilentio, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York.
Sightseeing Guides and Lecturers' Union No. 20076, New York, N. Y..	1	1	David P. Saltzman, 208 East 28th Street, New York, New York.
Soap and Edible Oil Workers' Union, No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.....	1	1	William Hood, 1053 McDonald Street, Wilmington, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	3	Harold Beck, 1622 South 35th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19708, Toledo, Ohio.....	1	1	John C. Taylor, 637 Winthrop Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	2	Mrs. Elma A. Goodwin, 2466 McCready Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Sulphur Workers' Union No. 21195, Freeport, Tex.....	1	2	Robert D. Collins, Box 1034, Freeport, Texas.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y..	1	3	Michael Grillo, 41 Union Square, New York, New York. * Louis Lufano, 41 Union Square, Room 702, New York, New York.

* Substituted for Michael Grillo beginning Wednesday, November 20, Third Day.

xxii DELEGATES TO THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....	1	5	Joseph M. Grossman, 140 West 44th Street, New York, New York.
Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitor's Union, Station, No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	John Barnes, 113 Greeley Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Md.....	1	5	Charles J. Di Guardo, 3803 Belair Road, Baltimore, Maryland.
Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21104, Washington, D. C.....	1	4	Edward C. Nagel, 32 New York Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C.
Wine, Liquor and Distillery Workers' Union No. 20244, New York, N. Y..	1	10	Benjamin F. Pross, 1860 Broadway, New York, New York.
British Trade Union Congress.....	1	1	The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress..	1	1	E. A. Jamieson, 732 Seymour Street, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
91	National and International.....	298	37,731
4	Departments.....	4	4
36	State Bodies.....	36	86
123	Central Labor Unions.....	123	123
76	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	71	366
2	Fraternal Organizations.....	2	2
332		534	38,202

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1911 { Wm. B. McFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1927 { John Coe field. Michael Casey.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William F. Clarke.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1934 { Michael J. Collieran. Edward Flore.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1919 { †Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1937 { William C. Birthright. John B. Haggerty.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	1938 { P. J. Morrin. Daniel J. Tobin.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	1939 { Felix H. Knight. James Maloney.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.	**1940 {
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.	
1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O Connor.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.	

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	**1914 {	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Nacsmith.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

1906 { Allen Gee. { J. N. Bell.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. { H. Smith.	1987 { William R. Townley. { John C. Little.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. { John Hodge.	1923 { R. B. Walker. { W. C. Robinson.	1938 { Joseph Jones. { J. W. Stephenson.
1908 { John Wadsworth. { H. Skinner.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. { A. B. Swales.	1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin { John Brown.
1909 { A. H. Gill. { J. R. Clynes.		1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter { Citrine.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1912 John T. Smith.	1926 James B. Connors.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1903 John Coleman.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1904 John H. Richards.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1921 John O'Hara.	1935 James Maloney.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1910 John J. Manning.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1925 James Duncan.	1939 E. L. Whentley.
		1940 Claude O'Reilly.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1899 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Francq.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1900 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1903 James Simpson.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1904 John A. Flett.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1905 William V. Todd.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1933 Fred J. White.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1934 William Dunn.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1937 Rod Plant.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1924 John Colbert.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1925 Donald Dear.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
		1940 E. A. Jamieson.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. { Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. { Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. { Jose F. Guiterrez. { Salustrio Hernandez.
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*No convention.

**No delegates.

†Did not attend.

Conventions

of

American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Can.	October 6-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15.
1938	Houston, Texas	October 3-13.
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13.
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1941

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and

at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—¹All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

²All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

³Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

⁴Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

⁵All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

⁶The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a

bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports

made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 15 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and

International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2)

or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of 2 cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, 36 cents per member per month, 12½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit

to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADES AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investiga-

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tion to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall

make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor

Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5.00) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to

be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in Departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other Departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said Departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said Departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the De-

partment has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll call be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation

of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8. OF ARTICLE 9. OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or

Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor, in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1940

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day — Monday Morning Session

November 18, 1940,

New Orleans, Louisiana.

Pursuant to law, the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Municipal Auditorium, at 10:00 o'clock, John C. Pooley, Chairman of the Convention Committee, presiding.

Preceding the opening of the convention a band composed of members of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 184, New Orleans, led by Et Fontana, presented a musical program.

As the delegates were seated, the band played God Bless America, America, Dixie and the Star Spangled Banner.

The audience arose and sang God Bless America as the band played.

Mr. John C. Pooley, Chairman of the Convention Committee, called the session to order.

Chairman Pooley: Mr. President, Governor Jones, distinguished guests, officers and delegates to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Chairman of the Arrangements Committee wishes you an enjoyable visit to this city and to this convention. It is our wish that you call upon any of the committee at any time you wish their help or assistance. The invocation will be pronounced by Msgr. Raymond Carra.

INVOCATION

MSGR. RAYMOND CARRA

In the name of the Father and the son and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Oh, Heavenly Father, we call upon Thee to bless Thy children gathered together here before Thee this morning to honor Thee and worship Thee and adore Thee. We thank Thee for giving us the Prince of Labor, Jesus Christ our Lord, who came to teach us to labor and to labor effectively in this land, so that one day we may be happy with Him in His blessed Kingdom. You have endowed us with intelligence and physical force so that we can labor to obtain our sustenance. We know also that no one has a monopoly of labor, that every one is entitled to a just and living wage and that we only desire equal rights and opportunities for all mankind. We call upon thee to bless the deliberations that everything will go on harmoniously with one accord, living in harmony and deliberating in harmony. May we always love Thee and honor Thee and be Thy faithful children unto the end. Amen.

Chairman Pooley: It gives me pleasure to introduce the President of the Central Labor Council of New Orleans, who will introduce the next speaker.

MR. STEVE QUARLES
President, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans

It is a pleasure and a privilege to extend to you felicitations and the most sincere welcome to our city. My committee has worked hard for the last few months in order that you might have a comfortable and most pleasant convention in the city of New Orleans. We have some speakers who will follow me, whom I will introduce to you in a moment, who will describe our city and state far better than I can, and I am going to leave that part to them.

As far as the entertainment during the convention is concerned, the committee has arranged, realizing that you have duties to perform in the convention, to provide pleasure to keep you on the go, but not enough to keep you from performing the duties you will have to perform. You will be called upon to work on many pieces of legislation in this convention. No doubt one of them will be with regard to the preparedness plan that is going on. If you will take the history of the American Federation of Labor for the last 60 years, you will find there has been no more patriotic organization in this country.

I think we should say to the President of the United States and to the Congress and to the American people that we are going to go along with this preparedness program, but we will do it in the American way. We will not do it like the dictators in Europe, by breaking down the labor movement, but to do as we have done for 60 years, do it in the American way. We want the American standards of living and the American way of living in this country.

There has been some talk of trouble in the labor movement. The only thing I have to say for that is that the heads of the organizations that pulled away from the American Federation of Labor should wash their hands of all isms except Americanism and come back to the American Federation of Labor where they belong. There is no place in the American Federation of Labor for a dictator any more than there is in the Government. All I have to say is that the head of that organization placed himself in a position to let the American people know where he stood when he said if a certain man was not elected President of the United States—and I presume he was speaking to the laboring people—he would resign from the CIO. John L. Lewis pulled out of the American Federation of Labor because he could not dictate to labor what they were going to do.

I want to extend to each and every one of you a most sincere welcome to this city. If there is anything the Central Trades and Labor Council can do for your comfort and convenience, it will be our pleasure to do that. If you need us in any way, if you will call upon us we will be ready to serve you.

I am going to introduce a very prominent city official, who will give you a welcome address on behalf of the city—Honorable Jesse Cave, Commissioner of Finance, representing Mayor Robert S. Maestri.

HON. JESSE CAVE
(Commissioner of Finance, Representing Mayor Robert S. Maestri)

President Green, Governor Jones, distinguished guests and friends of mine and the people generally of the United States—in the name of Mayor Maestri of the City of New Orleans I accord you a welcome to New Orleans. Mayor Maestri is a working man himself. Probably right now he is out driving around over the streets of New Orleans inspecting the streets that are being paved and worked upon. Ever since he has been in office that has been his job every morning five days in the week, going around and carrying on the work of improvement.

I am not going to take your time to tell you about New Orleans. My friends who live here are going to take you around and show you the city. I hope you will come to love it as I love it. I sometimes say if old St. Peter would just let me spend my vacations in New Orleans I would be willing to spend the rest of my time up there with him. Learn to love New Orleans while you are here and come back as a group whenever you can. We want you to come back any time. Get in your car any time it is too cold for you and come down to New Orleans and relax and have a good time.

I want to apologize for the weather, to those of you who came down a few days earlier. We just had to give you a little bit of the cold weather so it would not be too sudden a change. However, I hope and believe that from now on, while you are here the weather man will be good, and if he doesn't, if he gets off the track you may be sure that he is just trying to make you feel at home.

There is one thing I want to ask of you people in the name of New Orleans. It happens that every few years old Father Mississippi goes on a rampage, and our friends over the country generally are very much alarmed. They have heard that New Orleans is below sea level, that the levees are higher than the city. That is true, the levees are higher than the city, and when we have floods up north and the waters come on down here from the states you live in, the people become alarmed about New Orleans. In over 100 years there have never been any flood waters from the Mississippi River on the streets of New Orleans, and now that the Government has built the levees higher and stronger and put in the spillways there is no danger to New Orleans. There are so many streams to carry off the

water into the lakes and into the Gulf that should there be a break in the levee there certainly won't be any damage to life and very little to property.

You are down here for work, of course. That is your original plan, and I can see from the looks on your faces that you are going to tackle some weighty problems, you are going to give your time and attention to that. But you will have to relax a little and have a good time while you are here. The New Orleans boys and our ladies will show you a good time. Some of you may have driven down in your cars, and in driving around over the streets you may come across a one-way street and drive the wrong way. Others of you may be tempted to try our gin fizzes or a Sazerac, or a cocktail that looks so good and they are good, but believe me, don't let the looks of them fool you, for they do have a kick to them. Some of you may happen to get a little too much. Our policemen believe in preserving order and taking care of our one-way streets for the protection of the people. They may possibly pick you up, but I don't think they will if they see that you are wearing a badge. However, if they do, my telephone number is Magnolia 2695. Further than that, my residence number is Walnut 7147. If you get in trouble of any kind, feel free to ring me up and I will see that you get out of trouble. Thank you.

Chairman Quarles: I want to sincerely thank you for your fine address of welcome to the delegates here today, on behalf of the Mayor, and I am sure they all enjoyed it.

At this time it is my pleasure and privilege to introduce to you a man who I believe has done more for labor in the state of Louisiana than any other one man in the state, a man who is on the job 24 hours a day all over this state, and who has done everything humanly possible for the laboring people.

Without any further introduction it is my pleasure to present Honorable E. H. Williams, President of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, who will address you at this time.

MR. E. H. WILLIAMS

(President, Louisiana State Federation of Labor)

Mr Chairman, members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends assembled at the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I want you to know that we appreciate this great organization coming to our state for this convention. We had a convention here a few weeks ago in the city of New Orleans and some of the speakers who were welcoming the delegates said that if you ever got a drink of this water you would always come back. One of the delegates

sitting alongside me said, "Well, I believe I will try some of this water, I have tried everything else." So we would like for you to try some of our water in New Orleans.

We think we have the finest state in the union, and I believe you made no mistake in selecting the city of New Orleans to hold this most important convention. Certainly at this time I believe that we can appreciate more than ever that in this country we have the privilege of holding conventions and the right of expressing ourselves. Such is not the case in most other countries, so I believe this is going to be one of the most important conventions the American Federation of Labor has ever held.

I think today that we can feel more proud of the leadership of this great organization than we have ever felt before. In times like this, when we are called upon to prepare this country to defend herself this great organization, the American Federation of Labor, representing the workers of the nation, are the ones who are going to have to do all the work. Certainly we are proud of the work of this great organization, where, in the past, we have always come to the front and done the things that this nation might expect of an American organization. We are going to do that now, we are going to do everything humanly possible to protect the principles of democracy. We are going to protect the things that we have been fighting for all of these years, and therefore I say that this will be the most important convention that has been held for many a year.

I want you to know that in the State of Louisiana and for that matter in the South generally labor organizations have made substantial progress in the past few years. We have gone out and organized the unorganized. The job has just begun, and we want you to know that here in the South we work. We are going to organize the unorganized workers. We appreciate very much the splendid cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and of the various International Unions. You have cooperated with us splendidly in our work here in Louisiana. We have called upon them from time to time and they have always responded, they have done everything that we have expected them to do to help us in our duties here in the State of Louisiana.

Of course we realize that, first, it is our job to go out and work, and then we have the privilege of calling upon the International Unions and the American Federation of Labor to help us in carrying out that work. We are glad to say that we have had wonderful cooperation both from the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions. We are going forward here in the State.

I could tell you a lot about the State of Louisiana, but our honorable Governor is here this morning and I am not going to

tell you too much, because I know he has a lot of things to tell you about our State. We think it is the greatest State in the Union. We have our problems here, but we always try to get together and solve them. I know that in the past you delegates have heard much and know much—much more than we do about the difficulties that we have had in the past inside the labor movement. I am glad to say that here in the State of Louisiana we have had as little trouble as any State you might mention.

We know only one organization in Louisiana and that is the American Federation of Labor. Here in the State of Louisiana we have contractual relationship with many employers. We have gone out and sold the American Federation of Labor, and I believe you will not find another State in the Union where the people as a whole accept the American Federation of Labor as the only bona fide labor union in this country. We are glad to report that to you.

It is a pleasure and a privilege for us to have this great convention here in Louisiana, and I want every delegate to know that we expect to see to it that you have everything that your heart desires, in so far as we can do that. We are anxious for you to know the real good old Southern hospitality that we boast about here in the State of Louisiana. We want every one of you to enjoy every minute of the time that you stay here. We want you to feel free at any time to call on any of us, whether we happen to be members of the committee or not. We are all a committee here in the State of Louisiana. Many of our members of organized labor who are not delegates will be here and certainly they want to do everything they can to see to it that the delegates coming to New Orleans have everything they desire.

So I say again that we appreciate this convention coming here. We appreciate the great American Federation of Labor. We are going to stand by, we are going to follow your leadership. We are glad to have you and I hope that sometime in the future, as soon as we can reasonably expect you to come back, you will come back to the State of Louisiana and be with us again in this great convention.

Thank you.

Chairman Quarles: I want to sincerely thank you, Brother Williams, for this wonderful address you have just delivered. I am sure the delegates in this convention have enjoyed every word you have spoken. It is now my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you a man who was elected Governor of this State a few months ago, and one of the first addresses he had an opportunity to make after being elected Governor was at a labor convention in the city of Shreveport. The State Federation of Labor was in session at that time and he kindly paid us a visit and addressed the convention.

We have him here today to address this great American Federation of Labor convention. It is a privilege, a pleasure and an honor at this time to present to you the Honorable Sam Houston Jones, Governor of the State of Louisiana.

HON. SAM HOUSTON JONES (Governor of Louisiana)

Delegates and Friends of the American Federation of Labor:

Louisiana bids you welcome. You are among friends in this state. I think I can safely say that when our citizens talk about all that is best and healthiest in organized labor, they are talking invariably about the American Federation of Labor. We have a feeling here that the American Federation of Labor is truly and honestly American—and that is one of the things we like about it.

There are many reasons why Louisiana is highly appropriate as a setting for this Convention. This state is on the threshold of an industrial awakening. There will be more jobs for the hands of labor in Louisiana. And we are going to hold to our tradition as a state where employer and employee get along together, where labor relations are good.

We must hold to that tradition, because here we guard America's second Golden Gate. New Orleans and all Louisiana lie at the Golden Gate of Opportunity that opens to Latin America and the countries of the southern part of this Hemisphere. We must set an example to those friends of ours, who also have the right to call themselves Americans, to the south. We must show that here in Louisiana labor and management can get along together in peace and mutual progress under fair laws.

Yes, I think it is fitting that you who represent the ranks of labor should meet in this great world port of New Orleans, where, after the long struggles of a tumultuous history, laboring men look forward to tomorrow with confidence and hope. Here we have a mild climate. The heavy snows and zero cold of the industrial East do not here in Louisiana take their tribute from the paychecks of labor in high fuel and clothing bills. And here the people of France, of Spain and of many other cultures have shown that they can build a unified society alongside the Anglo-Saxons who predominate in most of the other Southern states.

Of course, the working people got to Louisiana first. From many lands the subjects of many types of government came here on their frail, adventurous barques; and, sniling up the Father of Waters, they paused to hew and fight and sweat until a wilderness became a place where civilized men lived and wealth was produced. Yes, the working people always get there first, to clear the land and do the backbreaking toll. After them, the aristocrats sometimes come to take dominion.

The aristocrats took dominion in Louisiana. For many long decades they formed a great landed class here, to whom all rights and privileges belonged. The great masses of the people, many of them descendants of the men and women whose toil had made Louisiana bloom, were shut out from the manifold benefits they take for granted today. That landed aristocracy was picturesque; it filled our story-books with fascinating yarns. And yet it had to go; it had to give way to something with a broader, more democratic, more American base.

It went, gradually and almost without knowing it was doomed. The Civil War and the horrors of Reconstruction hastened the process, but that was not the reason why aristocracy and wealth of the few coupled with poverty and privation of the many gave way to a more American kind of society in Louisiana.

There was another reason. There was another force which worked for the liberation of the great masses of the people in Louisiana. This force was neither the violence of war nor the upsurge of bloody revolution.

This force was Education.

Not much more than half a century ago Louisiana began to realize that the greatest service we could render our people was to turn on the light for them—educate them, all of them, no matter how poor or underprivileged, who wished to learn.

There began a renaissance in Louisiana. Many of our older citizens will bear me out when I tell you about the men and women of twenty-five and thirty-five and even fifty who enrolled in the primary grades when our educational system began to reach out and expand the free school system. The poor whose children went to school were not quite so poor any longer; regardless of money, they were richer and they knew it.

And so there came about a far-reaching reorganization of the Louisiana Public School System, a system so efficient that other states have copied its essential features. And along with the education of the masses came the transfer of political power from a small group of very rich men to the people themselves. The whole people began to share the government—and the responsibilities of government—in this state.

It is a familiar pattern. Some of the mistakes and excesses which followed in the wake of Louisiana's growth to adult democratic statehood are also familiar. The poll tax was removed and many thousands of new voters were added to our rolls. The politicians were quick to see the possibilities in this; and as the poor were given new and spectacular educational advantages, demagogues began to rise to power. They rose quickly, before education could do its work, clear away the fog, enable the people to see through human frauds. Soon the people found themselves entrapped by a gang of soulless political brigands; Louisiana woke up one dark morning to discover that she was in the mesh of as black and sinister a dictatorship as any in Europe.

The gangsters who ran Louisiana had a cunning plan. They pointed to the vast and

growing largesse of the state: free school books, free bus transportation to and from school, free hot lunches. "These things are good, are they not?" demanded the demagogues. And no one could deny that they were good.

But at the same time these men were turning Louisiana into an Ali Baba's cave, in which the loot was earmarked for the favored few; in which the courts were rapidly becoming agencies of the reigning machine; and in which the schools themselves were being corrupted into focal points for the spread of political propaganda—aimed, of course, at one thing only, the retention of the gang in power.

It was a very cunning plan; it was an almost unbeatable system. But not quite unbeatable. The people of Louisiana rose and overthrew the gang and turned the rascals out. The process passed as an election, but thousands of independent men and women who love Louisiana know that it was in truth a bloodless revolution. Some say it was a near-miracle; but the enormous fact, the inspiring fact, is that it happened, by the free votes of the citizens.

I know that you who represent labor love democracy as I do. It means a very great deal to you, it has got you all the good things that you have been able to acquire for working people. And so I think you will be interested in this story of democracy renewed in Louisiana.

The end is not yet. The jackals have been driven from the camp but their eyes still glitter beyond the circle of firelight. The job must be completed by this education we were talking about—education of the youngsters with the three R's of the schools; and education of us who are older with the one R that stands for Right. Not what seems to be right for the moment, but what is right over the long pull.

I know that you who lead labor are striving to educate your followers, trying to show them not so much what they would like to have but what is needed for the best interests of America and of this nation. And I know that, as you tread the difficult paths ahead you will be striving to educate yourselves, too, in order that you may see clearly the greatest good of your people.

It is the same, my friends, in my case. I am trying to see clearly all the time the greatest good of my people. When I came to office I found that I had great powers. I could ruthlessly have persecuted all my political enemies; and many good people urged me to take the whips to the remnants of the old gang, on the grounds that they richly deserved anything they got—and on the additional grounds that had my kind of government been defeated at the polls, our people would have been in for some running of the gauntlets.

Instead, I chose the slow way of democratic process and the orderly action of suddenly restored courts. I could have acted like a dictator and told myself and the people that I was justified because my ends were worthy. If I had done that, no matter what my motives, I don't think the net gain

to Louisiana in getting out of the clutches of another dictatorship with evil motives would have been preserved. I felt that I must act democracy as well as preach it. Many of my good friends have been impatient with me because I have not acted a little more like my swashbuckling predecessors: because I have not dealt out woe to our enemies in more dramatic fashion. But the slow way, the democratic way, is best. In the end they will agree with me that it is best.

I have consciously taken powers away from myself. Under the constitution of our state, the governor had a great deal of power. Purposely I destroyed some of that power. I sponsored constitutional amendments to that end and these were recently adopted. Now the various organizations of Louisiana, civic, commercial and educational, have a larger voice in the choosing of key men for boards and commissions.

I have made it more difficult for this administration to persecute its enemies; but I have also made it more difficult for the governors who come after me to persecute the whole people. Dictatorship dies hard; the poison of it lives on in the veins of the people after the symptoms of the disease disappear, but education and the awakening of the people to the truth will finish the job.

Yes, these recent months of reform, of overhauling for every branch of our government, should interest labor. That is why I talk to you about the work we have done here. Of all groups, labor suffers most when government grows cynical, corrupt and racketeering. And I think that the things that have happened here in recent months will bring benefits to the sons of toil for generations to come.

You who represent these working people at the council table share with me a fierce desire to see government made efficient and economical—for, after all, the burden of extravagant taxation falls finally upon the working man, no matter how the taxes are described.

We started from scratch, in the midst of confusion, lack of funds and the sharp-shooting of the folks we had removed from the easy pickings. We were not content with half measures. We undertook the most thoroughgoing reorganization of state government that has been attempted by any state in the South, with the possible exception of Virginia. And mind you, we started in the midst of chaos—a chaos you can scarcely conceive unless you lived through some of it.

And I think I can truthfully say that everything we have done here in these five months of twelve and sixteen-hour executive days, every reform we have made a reality, has been for the good of the working people. They are all designed to give the common man greater security, greater voice in his government and greater pride in it.

First, we abolished the poll-tax receipt, a relic of the old days of subservience to the

aristocrats which was the lot of the common man. And the poll-tax receipt was something else, too: it was a means of checking and regimenting the voters highly useful to the lords of the political machine.

Second, we enabled the people to give themselves voting machines by constitutional amendment. Now ward politicians, steeped in crookedness, will find it a little harder to steal votes and falsify returns. That is a gain for labor which you who lead labor realize is tremendously important.

Third, we dealt still another blow to the activities of crooked politicians by destroying the life-line of all political machines—patronage; jobs which could be handed out regardless of merit and withdrawn regardless of blame. We have installed a modern and far-reaching civil service system in this state. When I said that in the future young women who were hired as typists must actually be able to operate a typewriter, the old-style politicians were incredulous—the idea was so novel. But civil service is here to stay and you of labor know what that signifies in security and in the efficient operation of government.

More, we have depoliticized our Dock Board, our State University and other boards and bodies. To do this it was necessary to alter our constitution. We have also sought to shift taxation from those least able to pay to those best able to pay. I know that labor approves of this. I know that the great mass of the people, whether they belong to organized labor or not, approve of this. And yet, through propaganda and misinformation and the pressure of the old-style selfish politicians, one of our amendments which was aimed at lifting the tax burden from the poor, failed of passage. There, again, is where education could have protected the people from those who would fool and exploit them.

But in the end we will accomplish all our purposes, as the people awake to their own best interests. Pinhead politicians, who look upon government as a racket, always make one important mistake: they underestimate the basic intelligence of the common man. The plain people may be misinformed, they may be misled by demagogues, but they are not stupid. Eventually they begin to see their own interests in true perspective. That is why democracy works over the long pull. That is why you and I believe in democracy. That is why, I might add, the American Federation of Labor is growing and gaining in membership at the expense of other organizations which do not truly express the aspirations of the working man.

I think I know something of the problems of labor and of the working man's slant. I have done hard day labor. I was reared in the sawmill section of industrial southwest Louisiana. We had never seriously considered labor unions there in those days. The hours were 6:00 a. m. to 6:00 p. m. and the pay was one dollar and a half per day, with nothing for overtime even if a man could stagger on beyond twelve hours.

You who lead labor are familiar with the kind of set-up which brought labor unions into existence. Those sawmills were typical. The men were paid once a month. They rented their houses from the company at prices fixed by the company. They bought the necessities of life from the company at prices fixed by the company in a company-operated commissary. If they needed an advance before the end of the month, they had to take a discount to purchase this right.

Yes, I remember the ill-famed "Battle of Grabow" too. I saw the men returning from that bloody melee with rifles and shotguns on their shoulders. And I remember the aftermath of that battle between labor and labor's oppressors. There were wholesale indictments of laboring men, but not a single indictment of the men who had killed laboring men.

And finally, I remember the fine monument which the sawmill owners erected to the memory of those killed fighting the laborers. There were no monuments erected to the dead laborers. Yes, all this is not a pretty thing to remember. I thank God that we have few such episodes to mar the history of our state.

But I am glad that I can say to you simply and truly that I know your point of view and the conditions which made necessary your participation in the affairs of this democracy. My own father took the side of labor, vigorously, in a time when that was not the easy or the popular side. The first time my father offered for public office he was defeated by the enemies of labor. But thereafter he emerged victorious. Laborers and farmers kept him in public office almost to the day of his death.

And so I am proud that a great part of the program of my administration has been directed toward ends that all working people will benefit from—and you, as labor leaders, will, I am sure, approve.

This is an agricultural state. The industries are coming. I believe strongly that on some not distant tomorrow the skies of Louisiana will be furled with the smoke of busy industry, but today we are primarily agricultural. Yet it is a fact that those measures which benefit the working man also benefit the farmer—who is also a son of toil and whose good is always the good of the great masses.

And so when I became governor the first thing I did for labor was to give to organized labor its first Commissioner of Labor. I picked him from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. Once again, the pinhead politicians were astonished. The idea! Getting a Commissioner of Labor who was not simply a rider on the gravy train but an actual working man!

They sneered at my choice. They said the department would be inefficient, because only a slick politician who had never done a day's work in his life could possibly

run the labor department. Well, somewhat to the confusion of certain people, my labor department is the best this state has ever had. That is not an empty boast. Let me give you a few facts.

We have eliminated entirely the social security tax for employees, saving one million five hundred thousand dollars a year for the pockets of working people.

We have found jobs for 36,299 men who on May 14th—inauguration day—were unemployed; and this, mind you, while we were pruning and cutting the state payroll for economy and to eliminate the job-holders who did no work.

We have had no strikes. All controversies have been settled peacefully.

We have reduced the number of delinquent employers who failed to pay their share of unemployment compensation from 4,000 on May 14th to 350 at the present time.

We have reduced the number of claims for unemployment benefits from 5,868 on May 14th to 682 at the present time.

Finally, we have speeded up the payment of benefits, so that, while on May 14th, there were 11,357 awaiting payment, today there are only 599.

Yes, the State of Louisiana will continue to bear in mind the interests of the laboring man. Our laws will be fair and our philosophy will be founded on the bedrock of knowledge that without the support and contentment of labor, no government is sound. But I could have said all this to you in time of peace. I could have spoken these words even if the world were not in flames, even if matters more important than any of the things I have mentioned were not in the balance.

We are not a remote island, happily absorbed in working out the problems of a domestic economy, unconcerned by the gunfire far away. We are, all of us together, management and labor and farmers and labor leaders and governors and political leaders, face to face with the greatest choice we Americans have ever made.

It is a choice—still. Later, it may be, we will have no choice; disaster will have overtaken us. But now the choice is ours. It is a grim, hard, one-way choice. France had the choice—once. France chose dissension and internal disunity and irresolution and the war of class upon class. You know what the outcome of that choice was.

Britain had the choice. Late—perhaps too late—Britain chose the hard way of determination and unity and sacrifice. Whether Britain waited too long before choosing the one rocky road to self-preservation, we do not yet know. We do know that we in America must begin our own trudge down that rocky road of preparedness and sacrifice NOW. We, too, have procrastinated and murmured of easier

routes, but now I think we see the full necessity which faces us.

I know that you who lead labor have found it expedient to talk of labor as a group apart, a separate class of people who work with their hands. I wonder whether now it will not be best for us to close up all breaches in our society, as they have been rapidly closed in England. Our defense effort is going to take all the sweat and all the brains that we have got in America—and all the speed that we can summon.

You represent people who have the most to lose if our defense effort fails. You represent people who are slaves now in Germany, in Italy, in occupied France. You represent those with the greatest stake in our kind of government. It is not pleasant to urge sacrifice upon any group, instead of telling them of new rights and benefits to be won. But, after all, the cataclysm in Europe, the great, sinister, bloody revolution which has brought underworld governments into power across the sea, are facts which have forced sacrifice upon us all.

Capital, management, the privileged groups, are going to have to make sacrifices in the months and years ahead on a scale they have never contemplated before. Labor, with its great stake in democracy, must make sacrifices on a scale labor does not yet, I think, fully comprehend. First, I think, labor for its own protection must heal the wounds on its own body, the wounds of factional strife and divergent elements in the ranks.

My friends, there is no room any longer in America for two great warring factions in American labor; as Americans we face the possibility of a great battle, shoulder to shoulder, for every single principle upon which our nation is founded. In such circumstances, our house must no longer be divided.

Arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes between labor and management were always desirable. Now this procedure is overwhelmingly necessary. Strikes which discommode industry and management in times of peace are one thing. Strikes which slow down the manufacture of guns and planes and ships for the defense of our homes and all we love are quite another thing.

They must not occur. Management is grossly unpatriotic which is responsible for such strikes; labor which lightly undertakes them is also less than loyal to America in time of peril. The cooperation of labor and management, the pooling of all our resources and the laying aside, in face of common danger, of all the ambitions, hatreds, rivalries and petty peevish of normal times, are **MUSTS** for us—as we frame our answer to the question: Can Democratic America survive in this world of modern war in which battles are won on the assembly line?

And you will be answering other questions too, deep in your hearts. How much are you willing to give to save these institutions of ours? Look upon the laboring people of other lands in the maw of the dictatorships: laboring people cynically regimented into burlesque labor unions controlled by ruthless states. I think you and I have something vastly worth saving here. I think the answer you have already reached with me is that we are willing to give all, all that we have of toil and co-operation and blood, to save this American civilization and this last stronghold of democracy.

We have come a long way in recent years in getting for labor the rights and privileges which not only help labor but redound to the good of the whole people. There is one American who has struggled valiantly to bring together the discordant elements in labor, while bringing about the fulfillment of labor's long dream—collective bargaining, security in jobs, minimum wages and maximum hours. That man's name is Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now, for a little while, we must put aside all objectives except one: the preparation of America to make her strong enough to resist any attack. We have been drafted—you and I and capital and management together. Together we can do the job—on time. If we succeed we can take up again the march toward better things for labor, more happiness for all the people. If we fail, all that you have fought for is lost—forever, it may well be.

And I want to pay tribute here and now to the splendid patriotic spirit of laboring people in Louisiana, who have already shown that they are ready to put forth a supreme effort in our own vital part of the defense program.

Once again—Louisiana, speaking through her chief executive, welcomes the American Federation of Labor. We are flattered that you chose our city for your convention. We are going to try to make you enjoy your stay with us; and we hope you'll come back. We hope you'll come back in the sunny days when war has vanished from the earth and Louisiana, new industries booming, is a place where workers live out their lives with the happy conviction that laws are fair, wages are good and living is reasonable and pleasant.

You represent the builders of the earth. Louisiana, redeemed and refreshed after a night of tyranny, is ready to begin building once again. I thank you for your kind attention.

Chairman Quarles: It is a privilege and a pleasure to thank you at this time, Governor Jones, for the wonderful address you have made to this convention. I feel certain that when you return to the executive mansion in Baton Rouge you will always remember the pleasure and privilege you have had in addressing this great convention of the American Federation of Labor in the city of New Orleans in 1940.

This ends our program of welcome to the delegates. It is a pleasure at this time to present to you Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, a man whom we all love and appreciate for his wonderful ability in handling the affairs of the laboring people of this country. It is an honor and privilege for me to turn over the gavel now to William Green.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cave, representing his Honor the Mayor of this city, Monsignor Carra, Mr. Williams, and the other representatives of the organized labor movement of New Orleans and Louisiana, your Excellency, Governor Jones, and all who have extended to us a hearty welcome this morning, I express to you the deep appreciation of my colleagues and associate members of the Executive Council, the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, for the warm, cordial welcome extended to us.

We detect in the addresses delivered the note of sincerity which always characterizes those who reside in Louisiana and in the city of New Orleans. When the delegates, their wives and those who accompanied them to New Orleans, left their homes to travel here, they did so with a firm conviction that a cordial and hearty welcome awaited them. This belief was based upon the nation-wide reputation of New Orleans for its hospitality, for the generosity of its people and for the delightful climate which exists here. We have not been disappointed, because when we entered the gates of this city we were welcomed by the very atmosphere we breathed, by the people we met, by the decorations of the city, and now, as a climax to it all, you come this morning to extend to us the warm, cordial and hearty welcome you have. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

We will work here and visit here with you for the next two weeks, and we ask you not to regard us as strangers within your gates, but as neighbors residing nearby or far away, who have traveled to this city so that in this beautiful environment we could transact the business for five million loyal American citizens. We shall endeavor while we are here to measure up to the high standards of excellence you have set for us, and when we return home we shall carry with us the fondest memories of a delightful visit with you.

This is the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is a great American organization. I can, I think, without successful contradiction, classify it as an American institution. We have functioned for almost three quarters of a century, and we come to you, proud of our record and of our accomplishments, with a philosophy which we have developed and determined that we will never share with any labor group the right to speak

for American working men and women. During all the period of our existence we have developed a philosophy, an economic, social, political and industrial philosophy that we have found from experience suits every changing need of our national life, a philosophy we could apply equally as well during the period of war and adversity as we can during the days of peace and normal activities. We refuse to be led by siren voices into the by-paths of experimentation. We are not seeking a new philosophy, we are endeavoring to guard faithfully the philosophy which we have developed out of our human experience and to apply it in the solution of our problems.

We have in some sections those who are inclined to experiment and search for new formulas, believing that they can disregard the realities of life and seek some short cut in the solution of our economic problems. Seventy-five years of experience have taught us many a lesson, we have learned much and we have appropriated to our use and to our benefit, through the administrative policies of our organization, the lessons we have learned. We cling steadfastly to our ideals and the fundamental principles upon which our movement rests. This convention will strengthen it all, will provide for the protection of all our principles and our policies and will shape the future in accordance with these fundamental principles, which we have so ably espoused and protected.

We have given to the American Federation of Labor honest leadership. We come to New Orleans with a record of achievement. It is an open book. We raise no technical reasons as to why we could not or would not present to the delegates in attendance at this convention a detailed financial report of the American Federation of Labor. We know of no legal or technical reasons why the delegates in attendance at a convention should not be acquainted with the financial affairs of the American Federation of Labor. Here it is, an open book. It will be read by all of you. Every dollar we have received is recorded and the source from which we received it. We come with the highest paid-up membership in the history of the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of our record. We are not ashamed to present it to you and to the public.

And then we meet united. There is harmony here. There is tranquility here, we are thinking as one. We understand what the words "brotherhood" and "fraternity" mean. If there is one objective we have reached, it is this, that we have preserved unity, solidarity, harmony and tranquility within the American Federation of Labor.

Behold the contrast as we look this morning to a city beside the sea, where a rebel group is meeting. We behold the confusion of the tower of Babel. The noise of the murmuring of the ocean waves is submerged by the confusion of tongues, the right wing and the left wing in battle array against each other—hate, enmity, division and discord. It all grows out of rebellion, because those who promote rebellion must suffer the

consequences of rebellion. There are no left wing groups and right wing groups in the American Federation of Labor. There is a united labor movement here made up of strong, loyal, devoted American working men and women committed to American principles. Consequently there is no reason why there should be any left wing or right wing groups in the American Federation of Labor. I am happy over the situation which we have developed in the administrative policies of the American Federation of Labor. My colleagues who have worked with me so faithfully on the Executive Council deserve great credit for the way in which we have maintained unity within our own ranks. We have dealt and struggled with difficult problems. We have had many differences that we were compelled to compose, but wisdom and good judgment and patience and courage have served to enable the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to seek and find a basis of accommodation and settlement of our disputes. That is the manly way, that is the American way, and that is the way we propose to go. That is the path we will follow, the development and the mobilization of unity, tranquility, solidarity and the economic strength of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

We could not meet on this occasion without turning our eyes across the sea to the tragic international situation. That situation is before us continuously. We live with it, we think about it, we read about it. We are disturbed, we are concerned, we wonder when we retire at night what will happen before morning. Eagerly we seek the pages of the morning newspapers for information as to what has taken place. It all seems so contradictory to all the processes of a cultured civilization. It all seems that in this tragic situation, the destruction of human life and property which goes on in continental Europe, we are being carried back beyond the darkest point of the darkest ages. For tell me, as you search the pages of history where you will find the most uncivilized savage who destroyed the children and the women and who attacked those institutions created for the purpose of conserving and protecting human life. And yet we find in the darkness of the night that men and women are compelled to live in a state of terror, bombs raining upon their homes. Hospitals are destroyed. Those who are ill and who are endeavoring to fight their way back to health and life again are terrorized and their lives wiped out.

I cannot this morning find language that would adequately describe the horrors of the situation. But we have analyzed the causes and we have arrived at the definite conclusion that this conflict arose out of a clash between political philosophies. It is the totalitarian form of government in conflict with democracy, the one advocating the control of the people by a dictatorship, an autocratic government, clashing with a government and with a philosophy that advocates freedom and liberty.

Well, we in America and the working people in particular stand immovably in op-

position to totalitarianism and in defense of democracy. We do that for national reasons as well as for economic reasons. We have learned from a study of the situation that trade unionism can only flourish and live where men are free. Freedom is the basis upon which our movement rests. Our democratic trade unions cannot live, they cannot exist under the totalitarian form of government, for the record shows that the dictator attacked, first of all, the trade unions when he seized power.

And so it is everywhere, the free democratic trade unions of Germany were wiped out. The same is true in Italy, in Holland, after it was invaded, in Poland, in Finland, in Belgium, in Luxembourg. And now yesterday we read the solemn news in the press that, by an autocratic and dictatorial edict, the free trade unions of France have been destroyed.

Very well, when we align ourselves on the side of democracy, we are associating ourselves with those who are fighting for free men, for the right of trade unions to function and to live. We have to make our choice between free democratic trade unions and regimented working men.

And so we are praying this morning as we pray every day and every night that in this heroic struggle that is taking place between the forces of democracy and totalitarianism, Great Britain will win that heroic struggle in which she is engaged.

We place ourselves squarely there. That is where we stand. We do so because we know if Britain wins, democracy lives: free trade unions will survive. Labor will not be regimented in democratic nations and ultimately an aroused public opinion will carry on the conflict so that those who are smarting under the domination of a dictator and an autocrat will rise in their might and make themselves free.

It is because we pray for the success of Great Britain that we stand with those that express themselves through an overwhelming public opinion in favor of extending to Great Britain in her hour of need all the help America can give her, short of war. We stand with the Government in the execution of that policy. We stand with the Congress of the United States, we stand with those who are administering the affairs of the nation in the extension of all material and moral aid to Great Britain, because we pray that Great Britain shall win this conflict, this uneven conflict, with the totalitarian countries.

What we seek is more freedom, the enjoyment of liberty, the right of working men and women to belong to a union of their own choosing, that union to which they belong, administered in democratic fashion by their chosen representatives and by themselves. We want more freedom and less of government in the administration of the affairs of our free trade unions. There is the position of our great American Federation of Labor.

And so in connection with that matter it is our determination and purpose to carry on and to give to our Government all assist-

ance possible in the execution of its defense plans and policies. American labor is responsive. We find that many of the projects launched during this national defense program are ahead of schedule. Why? Because labor is giving of its service, of its skill and of its training in a most wonderful and a most unusual way.

And so we find the representatives of the government commending labor now for the wonderful way in which labor is responding to the needs of our country. We are in accord with the defense program, we believe in it, because we want America to be made free and kept free. We will fight in the defense of our own homeland. I know the American Federation of Labor, its sentiment and its mind, and I know we will stand unalterably opposed to the involvement of our beloved country in the European conflict. We will not consent to the transportation of our young men abroad to engage in the European conflict, and that decision was arrived at as a result of the experiences through which we passed during the last World War.

But we do not believe that our nation will become involved in the European conflict. We have faith in Congress, we have faith in the President of the United States. He solemnly assured us that American boys, American men would not be sent abroad to engage in a European conflict. We believe him. We know he will keep his word and we know Congress can be relied upon to guard and protect us, because we do not believe that the President of the United States is "an erratic, war-mongering politician". We respect him, we honor him, we rely upon him to guide our nation safely during these days of international emergency, and we feel that the sentiments we have expressed are the sentiments of the Chief Executive of the United States. We are for defense, for the protection of our homeland, for the building of guns and battleships and a navy second to none, for the defense of America, because we believe in America, in democracy, in American institutions.

We will give of our service, our skill, our training and our men in defense of America, but what we ask in return is this: That none of the social and economic gains we have made, none of our achievements shall be set aside and none of these standards lowered during these days of emergency. I am sure this convention will express itself in a stronger and more forcible way than I have done this morning upon this subject of preparedness and upon our opposition to our involvement in the European conflict.

But we believe in America, we believe in the freedom we enjoy here, freedom of speech, freedom of press, the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience and free assemblage. These are cardinal principles of freedom that belong only to a democracy. We will guard them with our organization and we will guard them with our lives if necessary. That is the reason why, and one of the reasons why we favor the development of an adequate national defense.

Now I want to discuss for a moment another question in which we are deeply interested. I refer to the necessity for unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor. All of us deeply appreciate its value and its importance. We know that if we have one asset that is more valuable than another it is unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor. We are not responsible for the division that was created. We disavow responsibility for it, because we maintain that any differences over policy or administration arising within the ranks of labor can be settled in a convention of the American Federation of Labor by a majority vote, and we maintain that when the majority registers its will after mature deliberations upon any question presented, it becomes the duty and the obligation of every member who participates in the convention to abide by the will of the majority. That is the democratic principle upon which we stand.

We have tried, my friends, to heal the breach within the ranks of labor ever since the rebel, rival movement was formulated in 1935. We responded to every request made by the President of the United States to meet with the representatives of the rebel group for the purpose of trying to work out an agreement. Our committee, made up of distinguished members of the American Federation of Labor, has waited patiently for an opportunity to sit around the conference table with the representatives of the C. I. O. for the purpose of working out an agreement. For more than one solid year they have been waiting, waiting patiently, and the reason they have not met with the committee representing the other side is because the leader of the rebel movement refused to allow a committee representing the rebel movement to sit down with the American Federation of Labor Committee. There is the story.

The President of the United States has served in every possible way. He has endeavored to bring the groups together, and he believes that the only way to settle our differences is by representatives of the two groups sitting around the conference table, dealing with the differences in a definite, concrete way, men of good faith willing to sit around the conference table and in the American way, and in accordance with American fashion find a solution of our differences.

These fantastic proposals which have been made that we meet in a big mass meeting somewhere, with all the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on one side and the representatives of the other group on the other side—that plan is impossible and impracticable, as you know. The suggestion that we take into the American Federation of Labor without an agreement all these rebel, rival, conflicting groups, is impracticable and impossible, because we are not going to consent to a plan that brings in a rebel shoemakers' organization fighting with an American Federation of Labor shoemakers' union in our ranks, or with an electrical workers' organization rebel in character

coming in and competing in one field with an organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

You men who have lived with this question all your lives know our difficulties even now because of jurisdictional disputes within our own ranks. Is there anyone who thinks that we are so foolish as to bring in additional competing groups, so that we can war with each other? Those who propose that are not sincere. They are determined to break us up further, and we are not going to disturb the tranquility within our own unions by responding to such a fantastic proposal.

But we will meet and we will endeavor to settle our differences in an honorable way. And may I outline to you a constructive plan which I believe can be applied. First of all, let the committees meet, honorable men meeting in good faith and in all sincerity. Let them agree that the original unions that left us shall be admitted and occupy the positions they held with us when they left, adjusting such difficulties as may have arisen since they left us in 1935. Then let them stand by while the committees representing conflicting groups, those representing clashing unions in the American Federation of Labor covering jurisdiction in a field that is now claimed by unions chartered by the C. I. O., agree upon a plan of amalgamation, a plan of merger, the blending of these groups into one union, so that we will have in the house of labor a fair degree of peace and tranquility. Let these committees work diligently until they have accomplished their purpose, and then if there is some collateral question that cannot be settled, let some tribunal be set up by mutual agreement to which these collateral questions might be submitted for final decision, the basis of it all to be a complete understanding that the jurisdictional rights of the American Federation of Labor Unions shall be protected and preserved.

The President of the United States is willing to help us and assist us, and he has asked, if these committees can be assembled and put to work, that they meet with him first of all and explore the situation with him at the White House in Washington, there to receive his assurances and good will and cooperation. And it appears to me the moral strength of such a beginning would naturally reflect itself all through the honest and sincere negotiations.

There, in a simple way, I have outlined the plan that the committee representing the American Federation of Labor presented before. It is not new. An agreement was worked out on the basis of that plan by committees representing both sides, and the Chairman of the C. I. O. repudiated the agreement after it had been reached. I cannot say more, because the convention itself will have the report of the Executive Council on this dispute that arose within the ranks of organized labor. There

is one great reason why we should have unity in the ranks of organized labor, particularly because through unity and solidarity we can advance a constructive legislative program best of all. Do you recall how the American Federation of Labor secured the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Walsh-Healey Act and the Davis-Bacon Act? Labor was united then and it was the unity of labor brought to bear upon the members of Congress that enabled us to secure the enactment of these progressive measures. It was the American Federation of Labor that sponsored these measures, and included in it the National Labor Relations Act as well. There was no C. I. O. in existence when these measures were introduced and enacted by the Congress of the United States. We proudly claim full credit for the enactment of these measures to which I have referred, and every man connected with the American Federation of Labor knows the importance and value of this legislation. Now when we go before Congress we find the efforts of the American Federation of Labor counteracted by the dual group. If we are for it, they are against it, and a congressman seeking a way out of the difficulty follows the way of least resistance and declines to do anything. As a result, our legislative program is hampered very badly because of this disunity within the ranks of labor.

Now I am through. I have covered those subjects this morning. I think, which are of tremendous interest. I repeat that we present to you a record of achievement. We have reached the peak point in membership. The American Federation of Labor stands more firmly entrenched in our political and economic life than ever before. We came through a heated campaign that ended about the 5th of November with credit to ourselves and credit to the American Federation of Labor. We discovered in that campaign that the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor rested upon a solid and enduring basis. We found that the workers in America were intelligent, that they knew how to vote. We submitted the facts and they decided for themselves. And we discovered one other thing, that some may have doubted, and that was this: That no man in America can deliver the labor vote to any candidate or any political party. Labor made answer. They displayed intelligence and understanding and, in my opinion, their action can be interpreted as a complete endorsement of the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Now we look to the future with confidence and hope. We shall stand here for a more aggressive organizing campaign. Working men and women who were misled and followed the leaders of the rebel movement are becoming disillusioned and are now turning toward the real house and home of labor, the great American Federation a great American institution, and I come to you expressing my pride this morning and thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all the support and assistance you have given me. I thank you.

Now I have the honor to declare this 60th Annual Convention of the American

Federation of Labor duly convened and open for the transaction of business. I want to announce right now that we have a real treat in store for us this afternoon, and I want to announce it before any one leaves the hall. Secretary of War Stimson will visit with us this afternoon at 2:00 o'clock and deliver an address to the convention. I earnestly ask that you all come back, visitors and delegates, to hear the scholarly, interesting and masterly address that will be delivered by the Secretary of War this afternoon. I am sure he will touch upon questions in which building trades, metal trades and miscellaneous organizations will be deeply interested. Don't forget the meeting this afternoon at 2:00 o'clock.

I will appoint as a committee to meet the Secretary of War, John B. Coyne, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department, George Masterston, President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, and Brother Thomas H. Lyons, President of the New York State Federation of Labor. Please meet and arrange to convey Secretary Stimson to the hall this afternoon at 2:00 o'clock.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: Just prior to the adjournment of this convention a photograph will be taken from the balcony on the left. At the conclusion of the convention, at the Rampart Street entrance, a group photograph of the entire delegation and visitors will be taken.

The only taxis that are organized display the union label in a very conspicuous place. The Yellow Cabs are not organized. This is an announcement that comes from the Teamsters' Local Union No. 552 of New Orleans.

President Green: The sessions of the American Federation of Labor are open to the public. The public is cordially invited to attend our convention. All who are interested in our discussions and our proceedings are extended a hearty invitation to come and sit with us during the sessions of the convention. It seems that the business of the morning session has been completed, and the Chair now declares a recess until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock, p. m.

First Day — Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:00 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: I am pleased indeed to be privileged to present to you the distinguished guest speaker for this afternoon. The Secretary of War is here. You know of his splendid record and of his distinguished public service. He is now sitting in the cabinet of the President of the United States as a trained Secretary of War. He served in that capacity some years ago. He brings to the work he is now performing a background of service and training that eminently fits him to render great service during the present emergency, and I am pleased indeed to present to the delegates this afternoon the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson.

**THE HONORABLE
HENRY L. STIMSON,
(The Secretary of War)**

Gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

I am glad to come before you today. I welcome the opportunity to explain to you the policy of the War Department in respect to labor in the present emergency and to give you my assurance as to what the attitude of that Department towards you will be. I have enjoyed a long and pleasant acquaintance with your President, Mr. Green. I also enjoyed a long and much prized acquaintance with his predecessor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, particularly during the days of the Great War. It has thus been my personal experience to witness the patriotism of this organization and its leaders. I therefore feel confident of your cooperation today with the Government in the great emergency which confronts this nation, and I come here to assure you that that cooperation is appreciated by me and my fellows in the War Department and that it will be reciprocated by us.

We are confronted with what is undoubtedly the most far reaching crisis that has ever faced the United States during the 150 years of its existence. It is not only a challenge to us and our institutions. It is a challenge to the world civilization of which we in America are a part. It is a challenge to the principle of freedom, upon which principle ever since the Dark Ages men of this world have been gradually and slowly building up what we have called our Christian civilization. We are so close to the news of the present conflict which hurries daily across the pages of our newspapers that we sometimes do not realize the terrific character of its implications or the danger which it involves to everything which we hold dear. For many centuries earnest men throughout the world have been building up a constantly expanding

area of freedom. This was not confined to the United States alone, although we were among its conspicuous leaders. This policy of freedom and the hopes which it inspired were gradually enveloping all of the countries of our globe.

And stop a moment and think of the various manifestations of that growth in freedom; first, freedom of the person of individual man, a freedom which gradually abolished the slavery of man wherever that slavery existed; second, freedom of the mind of men, freedom for men to think and believe and speak and publish what seemed to them to be true, and which brought about the great advances of science and secured the freedom of the press; third, freedom of human enterprise, the freedom for man to make the most of his powers and his opportunities, a freedom which developed countless new fields of activities and brought into the service of mankind the natural resources of the world; fourth, freedom of intercourse throughout the world, the freedom which produced rapid transport and communication and brought all the peoples of the earth into closer intercourse and broke down all forms of barriers and tended to turn the intellectual and material wealth of the whole earth into a common inheritance for its peoples. And finally the constantly expanding growth in that crowning freedom of all, which we call political liberty or democracy, the freedom which permitted the individual citizen to determine his own form of government; the freedom which was the foundation stone upon which all other forms of freedom depended.

Today all this precious growth in freedom is threatened. Its underlying principle is denied. In a very large portion of the world the civilization of which it was the foundation has been overthrown by the sword and been placed at the mercy of the concentration camp and the secret police. It remains, only in the memory and prayers of the oppressed. Today autocratic rulers of aggressor nations are steadily taking steps to bury this Christian civilization under the rule of permanent economic and military force.

Now that is the true character of the emergency which confronts us today. That is the danger which ultimately faces every citizen in this Republic. The powers which would destroy individual and national freedom and place mankind at the mercy of arbitrary and uncontrolled force are more powerful today than they have been at any time since Attila and his Huns were knocking at the gates of Central Europe fifteen hundred years ago. This is the danger against which your Government is seeking to arm itself. This is the danger to meet which all American citizens are being called upon today to unite in a common effort at national defense.

In order to deal with it every man, rich or poor, capitalist or laborer, employer or employee, is called upon to contribute his share. Our defense program is not alone a military effort or an industrial effort or an agricultural effort or a labor effort. It is a national effort—a national defense program of all our people for all our people. The totalitarian war which now engulfs so much of our world requires a total defense as a basic and indispensable condition of America's security. Total defense does not mean planes, guns, or tanks alone, vital as those weapons are. It also requires of us to develop a high spirit of courage and fortitude and to maintain a high morale for our people as a whole.

It would be almost impertinent for me to point out to you that labor is involved in such a danger. You have already shown yourselves to be fully alive to those perils and I believe that you already realize that you, before almost any other group, would suffer from the scourge and terror of dictatorship. Your response to the country's needs has already been swift and generous. It merits the warmest commendation from the War Department and from the rest of the country.

I know that labor will contribute its fair share of the sacrifices needed for these defenses. I come before you today to assure you that, so far as we in the War Department are concerned, we shall not ask of you more than your proportionate share of that which will be asked of all citizens. I come to assure you that if, as the danger approaches, further efforts and further sacrifices are required, as they probably will be, we shall call upon all groups in fair and equal proportion to make these sacrifices and not upon labor alone. And I know that labor has not asked, and I am confident that it never will ask, to be exempted from its fair share of any burden or any sacrifice which may be required of this country.

But I wish to be even more specific. I recognize that without industrial peace we cannot successfully defend American democracy. The Congress has declared, and that declaration accords with our national experience, that only through the democratic process of collective bargaining can the nation achieve a lasting and durable industrial peace. That is true in time of tranquility. It is double true in time of emergency.

Furthermore the practices and procedures of collective bargaining are most surely protected by the machinery of democratic organization of workers and their privilege freely to unite, unthreatened by any outside interference. When I say this I am only voicing the recognized experience of our nation as crystallized in the decisions

of our Supreme Court. That august tribunal, in speaking of such unions, has said:

"They were organized out of the necessities of the situation. A single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer. ***Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on equality with their employer".

So spoke Chief Justice Taft in one of the leading cases on the subject in this country.

Now I say to you that in times of emergency even more than in ordinary times the responsible trade union is an indispensable instrument of national well-being because through it the free cooperation of labor is enlisted and assured in the national task which confronts us.

The cooperation of labor in the spirit of a free and democratic partnership is far more effective in securing necessary and rapid production than labor which is coerced by governmental authority. Machines do not operate themselves. The quality and quantity of their output ultimately depends upon men and the quality and quantity of the work of men ultimately depend upon the spirit which animates those men. It is a basic article of our democratic faith that free men will produce more and better goods than men who are not free; men who are coerced or recalcitrant.

This conviction to which I have given expression is more than an article of faith. It has been tested in the fiercest fires of experience. It has proven itself in the ordeal across the Atlantic where men are giving their all to resist the terrific assaults of the Nazi aggressor. Under the leadership of Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison, English workers today are producing as men have never produced before and by their labor are turning their island home into an unconquerable citadel of freedom. With the enemy's bombs literally dropping about them as they work, they are turning out more and more of the instruments of defense.

This has not been the result of coercion or a sacrifice of labor's status and dignity. On the contrary this unconquerable effort has been made under the leadership of labor itself which today is the backbone of the British fight for freedom. The measure of labor's service to the British nation has been enhanced in proportion as its physical and spiritual resources have been called upon and have been freely enlisted in the common cause.

We have hope that we in America may not reach this supreme test; that we in America may not be called upon to suffer as these workers of England have suffered. But the danger for months has been approaching and today it may even be imminent. Today our production, hopeful as it has been thus far, is as yet very far from adequate. Sacrifices will undoubtedly be called for from labor, as they will be called for from the other citizens of the Republic.

but such sacrifices I believe will be willingly contributed and not compelled. It would be a poor tribute to the patriotism of our people or to the intelligence of the men and women who produce the goods for our defense for me to promise that under such a terrific effort as that upon which we are engaged we can assume an attitude of "business as usual". No responsible man would give any such assurance.

But there is an assurance which I think I can give you and that is the assurance that the practice and procedure of collective bargaining through freely chosen and independent unions will not be sacrificed. That policy is fundamental to a democratic defense of democracy. That policy underlies today the magnificent defense of Great Britain. It will stand here as the policy of the Departments of this Government which are charged with defense. Under such a policy I believe that American labor will outdo itself in patriotic effort. Confidence of their own industrial democracy they will devote their unequalled skill and enterprise to building an impregnable fortress of liberty on this last free continent—a fortress fit for the habitation of free men. Under such a policy we shall work out together the specific problems which will certainly arise in different places and with reference to specific questions and we shall work them out with regard to the changing circumstances which will constantly confront us. But the solutions arrived at will be the product of common counsel and of a free exchange of experience and not a product imposed by an arbitrary or unsympathetic authority.

I have come to you today to pledge the assurance of that split and that cooperation on the part of the War Department.

President Green: In your name and in your behalf I thank the Secretary of War for his visit to our convention and for his magnificent address. We feel we have been highly honored by his presence. We respond wholeheartedly to the sentiments expressed in his address, and in your name and for you I can assure him the loyal, patriotic, unreserved support and cooperation of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate W. C. Desepite, Retail Clerks' Protective Association, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, read the following report:

New Orleans, Louisiana.

November 18, 1940.

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed

by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 523 delegates, representing 91 International and National Unions, 3 Departments, 36 State Branches, 119 Central Bodies and 75 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 1 Fraternal Delegate, and recommend that the following be seated:

National and International Unions

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 146 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 10 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United—Irvan Cary, Jerry Aldred, William E. Dowell, George B. Kiebler, 191 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Joseph Schmidt, Peter Belsel, Wm. McGuern, 811 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—W. C. Birthright, Anthony Merlino, Patrick H. Reagan, Chas. T. Crane, John B. Robinson, 490 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 29 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William E. Walter, Harry Nicholas, Harry Nacey, 332 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, 187 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 303 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, Joseph J. Hauser, 420 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Wm. J. Moran, Thos. O'Donnell, Edward L. Nolan, Robert Dale, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 100 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—F. J. Morrin, J. H. Lyons, D. M. Gayton, B. A. Murray, C. F. Strickland, 413 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Gus Van Heck, William Cooper, Jess Fletcher, Walfred Smedberg, Elizabeth Grady, 700 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Joseph Tremblay, Irvin Barney, J. J. Fitzgerald, 650 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Chas. Hanson, Chas. Sand, Edw. Weyler, Z. D. Nichols, R. E. Roberts, 3,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Schoenberg, Toney Gallo, Arthur J. Strunk, 132 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, 70 votes.

Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union—Ralph Whitehead, 3 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, H. E. Greenwald, M. Minaden, John Zitello, 104 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, William I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles 400 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, G. J. Levron, E. J. Foster, 970 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 737 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—C. D. Wallace, 14 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 42 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 19 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—E. J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, D. A. Manning, John J. Daly, G. X. Barker, Chas. A. Schreiber, 2,097 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, F. B. Comfort, Thomas Allen, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, William M. Welsh, Anton J. Imbahn, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, 800 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 105 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, James Petris, 389 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, Frank Shanley, John England, 312 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. E. Brooks, 400 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Bialls, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, 375 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney,

W. W. Campbell, Dale Clutter, William Wallace, 200 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, 186 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas Dorian, 16 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, 223 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, Edward Meade, 50 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritzky, Hugh J. Glover, Samuel Hershkowitz, Alex Rose, Abraham Mendelowitz, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Hove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, T. T. Odum, 1,619 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Christopher Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, 2,025 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, H. J. Hagen, Walter Matthews, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—William J. Donovan, W. G. Thomas, Sam Byers, Lillian M. Peterson, 400 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 25 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gaior, William J. Gorman, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, 600 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Isaac W. Bishop, 5 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—William J. Riehl, Robert Bruck, Albert E. Castro, 124 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Michael J. Dwyer, 621 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Harvey W. Brown, N. P. Altas, D. M. Burrows, W. F. Robinson, John D. Lengel, A. M. Jurrus, 1,901 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—E. E. Millman, John F. Towle, T. L. Jones, J. J. Farnan, W. N. Clay, 633 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Earl W. Jmerson, Joseph P. McCoy, Milton S. Maxwell, John Malone, 709 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James T. Moriarty, James W. Close, James J. Ryan, 200 votes.

Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive—Joe Ozanic, 350 votes.

Molders Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, 304 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, James C. Petrillo, C. L. Bagley, A. Rex Riccardi, Harry J. Steeper, Edward Canavan, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, Christian M. Madsen, James P. Meehan, Arthur Wallace, 1,002 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Arthur Huggins, Joseph Addy, Ernest B. Lambton, 245 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 74 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Colleran, John H. Donlin, M. J. McDonough, John E. Rooney, 191 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—George Masterton, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, William E. Quirk, 400 votes.

Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies Handbag—Samuel Reilb, Samuel Laderman, 100 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 70 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 66 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, Dales Allison, 140 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Joseph Draley, 7 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, George L. Gooze, Louis P. Sabague, Thomas E. Dunwoody, 457 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, James Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, 400 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Louis Bengel, Othmer Mischo, W. M. Rea, Jerry P. Coughlin, 800 votes.

Railway Mail Association—J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, C. M. Harvey—221 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Harry Lundeborg, C. J. Stephens, 187 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—George E. Browne, Louis Krouse, Thomas V. Green, E. J. Brock, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Clifford B. Noxon, John F. McCann, Gordon W. Chapman, 297 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Chas. A. Sumner, 84 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, P. J. Cullen, 41 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. J. Winter, Joseph Lewis, 49 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, John Lundergan, 81 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, 300 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Geo. Wilson, John O'Rourke, F. W. Brewster, Robert Lester, 3,937 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—V. O. Gardner, D. J. Mahoney, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 35 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Anthony Valente, 36 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. Warren Smith, 180 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, 148 votes.

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United—Rudolph Heini, 31 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—John P. Coyne, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—W. O. Hare, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—W. B. Hocott, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—James H. Quinn, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—James A. Brownlow, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—J. O. Morgan, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. J. Brown, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—H. Williams, 1 vote.

Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—John Locher, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth I. Taylor, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—William P. Frost, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—George W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—J. B. McElhinny, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Paula Day, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marcianite, 1 vote.

New Mexico State Federation of Labor—O. G. Wright, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Lyons, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Chas. Hathaway, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—D. E. Nickerson, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDewitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Frudentio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—J. W. Grist, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Lev. G. Loring, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—John H. Hall, Jr., 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Tom Cairns, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—William Nagorsne, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Albuquerque, New Mex., Central Labor Union—Roy N. Pearce, 1 vote.

Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—Harry B. Parks, 1 vote.

Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union—W. W. Finch, 1 vote.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Hedmond M. Burr, 1 vote.

Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charlie H. Gresty, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Dewey L. Johnson, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Lewis M. Herrmann, 1 vote.

Bastrop, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Earl Cobb, 1 vote.

Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—E. J. Bourg, 1 vote.

Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Clarence J. Beaudion, 1 vote.

Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. W. Park, 1 vote.

Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. B. Touchette, 1 vote.

Blackwell, Okla., Trades and Labor Council—William Barclay Burger, 1 vote.

Bogalusa, La., Central Labor Union—Godfrey Ruddick, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

Camden, Ark., Central Trades Council—Chester Johnson, 1 vote.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—J. C. Blodgett, 1 vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Thomas R. Cuthbert, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Lillian Herstein, 1 vote.

Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.

Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union, Harrison County—Paul Gooch, 1 vote.

Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenahan, 1 vote.

Collinsville, Ill., Trades Council—Grace Bullard, 1 vote.

Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—John C. Getreu, 1 vote.

Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union—Gordon E. Beck, 1 vote.

Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—Arvil Inge, 1 vote.

Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—John La Tour, 1 vote.

Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—Arthur Fix, 1 vote.

Denison, Tex., Labor Trades Council—C. A. Swink, 1 vote.

Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Soutter, 1 vote.

Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly—Robert A. Olson, 1 vote.

Edwardsville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Theodore Nischwitz, 1 vote.

Elgin, Ill., Trades Council—E. D. Van Fossan, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.

Fond du Lac, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Samuel G. Costas, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—A. L. Bailey, 1 vote.

Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas R. Downie, 1 vote.

Galveston, Tex., Labor Council—C. H. Lindberg, 1 vote.

Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—J. F. Cauley, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor Council—A. S. McBride, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.

Jackson, Mich., Trades Council—Joseph Ashmore, 1 vote.

Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union—W. G. Byars, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union—J. F. Nettles, 1 vote.

Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union—Robert L. Brough, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Hugh S. O'Neill, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Thomas J. O'Brien, 1 vote.

Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles Farrell, 1 vote.

Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Maynard K. Baird, 1 vote.

Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union—W. R. Mayo, 1 vote.

Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council—B. R. McMahon, 1 vote.

Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—John Reid, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Fred J. Graham, 1 vote.

Lewiston, Ida., Central Labor Union, Nez Perce County, Idaho, and Asotin County, Washington—M. S. Taylor, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.

Lynchburg, Va., Central Labor Union—James C. Crist, 1 vote.

Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Ray F. Brown, 1 vote.

Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—G. K. Fritz, Jr., 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—J. F. Friedrich, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Alden F. Baker, 1 vote.

Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Ida Lee Merchant, 1 vote.

Monroe, La., Central Labor Council—Ira Cagle, 1 vote.

Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council, (Greater Muskegon)—Earl Smith, 1 vote.

Nampa, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—L. J. Koutnik, 1 vote.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William C. Dekoning, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Jacob C. Baer, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Herman J. Schad, 1 vote.

Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union—William J. Fallon, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—O. C. Moore, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—Jas. F. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union—D. M. Hurley, 1 vote.

Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union—Arthur P. Patt, 1 vote.

Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—W. M. Cobb, 1 vote.

Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Sam Lord, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—Robert Zima, 1 vote.

Portland, Me., Central Labor Union—Horace E. Howe, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Arthur J. Beauregard, 1 vote.

Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Joseph Powers, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Michael J. Mungovan, 1 vote.

Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Davenport, Ia., Rock Island and Moline, Ill.—John H. De Young, 1 vote.

Saginaw, Mich., Federation of Labor—Edward B. Krug, 1 vote.

St., Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Joseph P. Clark, 1 vote.

Salinas, Calif., Central Labor Union (Monterey County)—Wm. G. Kenyon, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—T. J. Lloyd, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—Rebecca Taylor, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.

Santa Cruz, Calif., Central Labor Union—H. C. Sutherland, 1 vote.

Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council—Al Mason, 1 vote.

Sapulpa, Okla., Creek County Central Labor Union—Gordon L. Shryock, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—C. W. Verink, 1 vote.

Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—George E. McKenna, 1 vote.

Toledo, O., Central Labor Union—John M. Froehlich, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—W. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council—Oscar A. Hodges, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. A. Edwards, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union—Cornelius J. Mulcahey, 1 vote.

West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—James A. Harper, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—James T. Houghton, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—Reid Stewart, 1 vote.

Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union—John Krohn, 1 vote.

Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union—Arthur W. Devine, 1 vote.

Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—Emmett Higgins, 1 vote.

Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—John E. Morley, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Baggage and Mail Handlers' Union, Union Terminal, No. 21019, Cincinnati, O.—Arthur Williams, 1 vote.

Baggagemen's Union No. 20337, Philadelphia, Pa., 1 vote; Freight Handlers' Union No. 20331, Philadelphia, Pa., 1 vote; Freight Handlers' Union No. 20409, Philadelphia, Pa., 1 vote; Freight Handlers' Union No. 20962, Philadelphia, Pa., 1 vote; Augustus Bishop, 4 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 20940, New York, N. Y.—Florence Lang, 11 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20147, San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, Calif.—James Waugh, 16 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union (Southern Alameda County), No. 20843, Hayward, California—Hal P. Angus, 10 votes.

Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.—Joseph Driscoll, 4 votes.

Costume Workers, Federal Labor Union, Theatrical, No. 21313, New York, N. Y.—Louis Hollander, 1 vote.

Cotton Workers' Union, Southern Chemical, No. 21061, Chattanooga, Tenn.—R. L. Smith, 1 vote.

Demonstrators' Union No. 22260, Chicago, Ill.—Mae Gleich, 1 vote.

Diagnosticians' Association, Chicago District, No. 17897, Chicago, Ill.—Michael J. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Distillery Workers' Union No. 21449, Lawrenceburg, Ind.—Robert Auttersen, 5 votes.

Envelope Makers' Union No. 20311, Dayton, Ohio.—William Dixon, 5 votes.

Express Employees' Union No. 18064, Chicago, Ill.—Chester Keller, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Leo Weston, 18 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.—Glenn King, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Michael A. O'Gorman, 24 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.—Morris Pratt, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.—W. A. Younker, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Waukegan, Ill.—Owen S. James, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—Arthur M. Pierce, 7 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio.—Harry Buffington, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20789, Sherman, Texas.—Fred N. Holloway, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knoxville, Tenn.—Andy Turner, 5 votes.

Firemen's Union No. 18966, Birmingham, Ala.—George Sams, 1 vote.

Foremen and Superintendents of Public Works Union, Miscellaneous, No. 17894, Los Angeles, Calif.—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio—Fred Midgett, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17658, Portsmouth, Va.—Joseph Hassell, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 20023, Cincinnati, Ohio—Luther Simpson, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, Southern Railway, No. 20232, New Orleans, La.—Henry E. Adams, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 20405, Chicago, Ill.—William Archer, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 21632, Montgomery, Ala.—Wm. Green, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21808, Birmingham, Ala.—J. W. McCall, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, Louisville and Nashville, No. 21899, New Orleans, La.—Clarence C. Tunnage, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 22092, L. & N., Louisville, Ky.—Jerry L. Orr, 1 vote.

Fur Workers' Unions Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Ont., Canada—Max Federman, 3 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick J. Gallagher, 14 votes.

Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union No. 19897, Jersey City and Vicinity, N. J.—George J. Kane, 5 votes.

Grocery Workers' Union, Wholesale, No. 20525, Chicago, Ill.—Henry Friedman, 4 votes.

Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community, No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Charles F. Wills, 1 vote.

News Writers Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.—Fred W. Patton, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—Harold Boone, 5 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Harriette Peterson, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20389, Miami, Fla.—Mrs. M. E. Roberts, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.—Florence McNally, 3 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 22210, Dallas, Tex.—C. H. Culpepper, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 22422, Nashville, Tenn.—David Hanly, 1 vote.

Office Workers' Union No. 21276, Duluth, Minn.—Mary Toman, 1 vote.

Office Workers' Union No. 21427, Columbus, O.—Carroll McGhee, 1 vote.

Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, Calif.—Lawrence T. Bregante, 1 vote.

Packing House Employees' Union, Vegetable, No. 21494, Princeton, Florida—Lillian May Barnes, (Pat) Verbie, 1 vote.

Porters' Union, Railroad Station, No. 22351, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alfred J. McGhee, 1 vote.

Salesmen's Union, Wholesale Licensed Alcoholic Beverage, No. 20370, New York, N. Y.—Sol Ciento, 13 votes.

Sightseeing Guides and Lecturers' Union No. 20076, New York, N. Y.—David P. Saltzman, 1 vote.

Soap and Edible Oil Workers' Union No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.—William Hood, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.—Harold Beck, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19708, Toledo, Ohio—John C. Taylor, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21195, Freeport, Tex.—Robert D. Collins, 2 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Michael Grillo, 3 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Joseph M. Grossman, 5 votes.

Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitor's Union, Station, No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.—John Barnes, 1 vote.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Md.—Charles J. DiGuardo, 5 votes.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21104, Washington, D. C.—Edward C. Nagel, 4 votes.

Wine, Liqueur and Distillery Workers' Union No. 20244, New York, N. Y.—Benjamin F. Pross, 10 votes.

Fraternal Delegates

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—E. A. Jamieson, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

W. G. DESEPTTE, Chairman.
ABRAHAM MENDELOWITZ,
CHRISTOPHER LANE, Secretary.

At the close of the reading of the report, Chairman Desepte moved that the partial report of the committee be concurred in and the delegates seated.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair is going to make a request. I am honestly calling upon you to act a little for us just now. We

want you to resolve yourselves into actors and actresses for the motion picture operators. They want us to put on a little play for them and they will take it. So we ask you to stand up and cheer and demonstrate for the benefit of the motion pictures, so that our convention can be shown over the country.

All the delegates arose and complied with the request of President Green.

President Green: Thank you so much. I didn't think you could act so well. The Chair desires to announce that some 65 resolutions were presented for consideration of this convention after the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had expired. The law provides that when such resolutions are offered after the time limit expires they are referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action. These resolutions were referred to the Executive Council and examined by a committee of the Executive Council and by the Executive Council. This committee recommends that all these resolutions be presented to the convention for consideration and action. They can be introduced now only by unanimous consent. Is there objection to their introduction? Hearing none, they will be introduced and acted upon.

(These resolutions numbered 113 to 177 are printed following Resolutions No. 1 to 112 which were received within time limit.)

The Chair presents the names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. The Secretary will read the names of the committee.

Secretary Meany read the following names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business:

Rules and Order of Business

A. J. Kugler, W. R. Brooks, D. M. Gayton, W. Warren Smith, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Alex Rose, C. D. Wallace, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Alifas, George W. Jones, Elizabeth Grady, Harry J. Steeper, Edward J. Winter, H. E. Greenwald, George F. Richardson, John E. Rooney, Jerry P. Coughlin, Jennie Matyas, John Locher.

President Green: The committee just named will serve as the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Now the Secretary will announce the Messengers, Assistant Secretary and Sergeants-at-Arms of the convention.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

Convention Assistants

ASSISTANT SECRETARY — Robert L. Soule, Secretary Central Trades.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS — Fred Kreger, Secretary, Painters Local No. 1244.

MESSENGER — John Berni, Vice-President Plumbers L. U. No. 60.

MESSENGER — Paul Ornburn, Union Label Trades.

President Green: In conformity with a custom that has been followed by this convention for a number of years, there will be submitted for the information of the delegates a summary of the report of the Executive Council. Those of you who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many, many years, recall that our dear friend, that old veteran, Frank Duffy, has always read the summary of the report of the Executive Council. Prior to that service which he has rendered, our departed friend, James Duncan, discharged his duty in reading the summary of the report of the Executive Council. Brother Duffy is here this afternoon as a delegate from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. I present him to the officers and delegates at this convention to read the summary of the report of the Executive Council—Brother Frank Duffy.

Delegate Duffy read the following:

Summary of Report of the Executive Council

In making an accounting of their stewardship for the year ending August 31, 1940, your Executive Council presents a report showing 4,247,443 members, an increase of 241,089 members during the past fiscal year.

The introduction to the report presents a very brief summary of changes which have taken place in the sixty years of our existence and calls attention to the needs of the present to protect our gains and extend our democratic way of life.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Secretary-Treasurer Meany has submitted a comprehensive and yet concise statement of the financial conditions of the American Federation of Labor. At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$716,151.82, of which \$627,488.86 was in the Defense Fund and \$88,662.96 in the General Fund. Total receipts from all sources exceeded total expenditures by \$169,647.46. Expenses for the past year included \$953,481.38 for organizing expenses of which \$401,776.73 was spent for organizing and service to directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions and the balance of \$551,704.65 was incurred in the formation and assistance to newly formed local unions of national and international

unions and on behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

Charters

During the past fiscal year 327 charters were issued as follows: internationals, 2; central labor unions, 23; local trade unions, 229; federal labor unions, 73. The two new international unions reported were the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, and Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union.

There were 1,450 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership of 185,707.

At the close of the fiscal year there were 1,822 volunteer organizers as well as 141 paid organizers in addition to the officers of the 816 city central bodies who were available on call.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany reported the reinstatement of one international union, the chartering of two, suspension of one, and revocation of charter of one international union. A chart is included in the report of the Secretary-Treasurer by which it is possible at a glance to visualize the growth of the Federation year by year over the whole period of our existence. From this chart it will be readily seen that the Federation is now at an all-time peak in membership. The highest point prior to this reporting was in 1920 with a membership of 4,100,000.

A table showing the voting strength of affiliated unions is included. This table is comparative and shows fluctuations during the past eight years.

Financial statements are presented for the Gompers Memorial Fund, Fund for the Luggage Workers of Petersburg, Virginia, German Labor Delegation Fund, and the Oregon Anti-Labor Law Fund.

Report of Trustee, A. F. of L. Building

A statement showing receipts and expenses of the A. F. of L. Building is presented by the trustees, William Green, George Meany, and John P. Frey. This statement showed a total receipt over expenses of \$20,821.34.

Official Changes

There were several changes in the official family of the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Your Executive Council reports the death of Vice-President John Coefield and the resignation of Arthur O. Wharton. The vacancies thus created on the Executive Council were filled in conformity with the provisions of the constitution of the A. F. of L. Harvey W. Brown, International President of the International Association of Machinists, became the fourteenth vice-president of the A. F. of L. and W. C. Birthright, President of the Journeymen Barbers International Union, was chosen fifteenth vice-president.

Change of Title

In compliance with application made by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America for a change of title, the Executive Council granted said request and the organization at interest is now the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. This change was effected by substitution of the word "warehousemen" for "stablemen".

Organization

A comprehensive report of the organizing activities of the Federation during the past year is presented under this title. Over 300 new trade and federal labor unions were chartered during the past year. These organizations comprise workers in chemical, agricultural, cannery and citrus, distillery, grain processing, fabricated metal, rubber, beet sugar, textile and miscellaneous industries, as well as in the office and professional field.

Regional conferences were held during the past year in Atlanta, Georgia, covering the ten southern states; Dallas, Texas, for the five southwestern states; and Hartford, Connecticut, for the six New England states. These conferences were so highly successful that it is the opinion of your Executive Council they should be extended. The next scheduled regional conference will be held in Chicago, Illinois, after New Years.

National councils were formed among the chemical workers, and editorial workers and news writers. Special reports are presented of organizing work among the agricultural, cannery and citrus workers, aluminum workers, distillery workers, grain processors, fabricated metal workers, office workers, rubber workers, textile workers, cement, lime and gypsum workers, commercial telegraphers, teachers, and miscellaneous groups.

International Ladies Garment Workers Union

Your Executive Council reports with gratification the reaffiliation of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This was effected through conferences between the representatives of that international union and the American Federation of Labor during which a mutually satisfactory basis of adjustment was reached. The conclusions of these representatives were submitted to the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in May, 1940, and that convention decided by an overwhelming majority in support of the recommendation of the Executive Board of the International union to return to and again become a part of the American Federation of Labor. President Green responded to an invitation to address that convention and formally presented the organization with its charter of reaffiliation on June 6, 1940.

The reaffiliation of this International union was hailed as of outstanding importance and deep significance. The delegates representing this International union are welcomed to this convention of the A. F. of L.

International Typographical Union

A brief history of the refusal of the International Typographical Union to pay tax and assessments to the American Federation of Labor is presented. At the 1940 convention of the I. T. U. held in this city August 17-23, a resolution was adopted creating a committee to confer with a committee of the A. F. of L. for

the purpose of trying to effect a settlement of the differences existing between the A. F. of L. and the I. T. U. Arrangements have been made for these conferences which will be held in the City of New Orleans beginning November 20, 1940. The Executive Council expresses the hope that out of these conferences will come an agreement providing for a settlement of all differences and restoration of the I. T. U. to good standing in the A. F. of L.

Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor

In order to meet the increasing needs of organizing work and service to those already organized and to place the income of the A. F. of L. on a permanent assured basis, the Executive Council recommends that the assessment of one cent per member per month levied by the convention held in 1937 and continued by each succeeding convention, be discontinued and Section 1 of Article X of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies as follows: from international and national trade unions, a per capita tax of 2 cents per member per month; from local trade unions and federal labor unions, 36 cents per member per month, 12½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

Such an amendment would, in the judgment of the Executive Council, operate to provide a guarantee income which would

enable the A. F. of L. to properly service organizations formed and to further campaigns among the unorganized of our nation.

Suspension of National and International Unions

The Executive Council recommends a change in the laws of the A. F. of L. to provide that a national or international union chartered by the A. F. of L. can be suspended from membership in the A. F. of L. only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention. For the protection of the best interests of the American Federation of Labor in the event of conspiracy to defeat our democratic procedure, provision is made against groups so conspiring whereby the Executive Council is empowered under given circumstances to suspend, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor as provided for by the laws of the A. F. of L.

C. I. O. — Its Attitude Toward Peace Negotiations

Under this caption the Executive Council reports on the attitude of the A. F. of L. toward effecting a solution of the controversy existing between the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. A statement issued by the Executive Council on February 8, 1940, is included in the report, as well as excerpts from statements from other press dispatches pertinent to a presentation of the case.

The attitude of the C. I. O. leader toward negotiations for peace is presented as well as a recital of dual activities engaged in by the C. I. O.

The Executive Council again recalls the fact that the committee of the A. F. of L. stands ready and willing to meet with a representative committee of the C. I. O. at any time, any where.

Printing Trades — Lithographers

Despite persistent efforts to adjust this controversy the Executive Council reports that a satisfactory agreement has as yet not been arrived at.

Respect For Law and the Pursuit of Lawful Policies

Under this caption your Executive Council has called attention to the purpose of the A. F. of L. to confine its activities to lawful pursuits and to secure economic betterment and higher standards of living through the utilization of lawful methods. Your Executive Council denounces those who have sought to utilize our trade union movement for other than these high purposes. Our efforts have always been to establish and maintain our unions on a high moral, ethical and law-abiding basis. Your Executive Council therefore disavows racketeering, gangsterism and disregard for law most emphatically and without reservation. They recognize the importance of a favorable public opinion as a controlling force in American life and countenance nothing that will create an unfavorable public opinion or misunderstanding of the lofty purposes of our movement. With this in mind your Executive Council calls upon all members of unions directly chartered by the A. F. of L. to exercise all care and diligence to prevent exploiters from securing official positions in our organizations and from gaining control over administrative policies. The officers of the A. F. of L. are fully mindful of the autonomy of our affiliated national and international unions and does not seek to impose any dictatorial control over their affairs. At the same time, it is urged that national and international unions select men of character, of known honesty and integrity to official positions and to prevent those with criminal records from election or selection to representative capacities.

National Legislation

A very comprehensive report on legislative activities is presented for your consideration. Attention is called to the fact that our activities are not confined to securing legislation which is desirable, but equally important is the defeat of unfavorable measures. A list of the most important measures considered is presented for your information. Among others there are special sections under the general

heading of "National Legislation" including a measure to secure continuing studies of productivity and labor costs by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; conscription; legislation to protect the interests of the members of organized labor who enter military service, etc. Under the sub-heading of "Housing" are listed a number of legislative measures dealing with this field.

Several measures dealing with the subject of prison-made goods are included under the sub-heading in the report of your Executive Council, one of which authorizes the continuance of the work of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration.

A number of measures of particular interest to federal employees are set forth as well as legislation governing migratory workers; wages at Boulder Dam; the 1940 Transportation Act; a law providing for labeling of goods in such a manner as to definitely describe contents; amendments to existing retirement laws; extending the prevailing rate of wages in the Territories of Hawaii and Alaska; a law extending the provisions of the Hatch Act; the Government Reorganization Act; a report on the National Labor Relations Act; amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Act; a measure designed to eliminate oppressive labor practices from industry; an anti-lynching bill; one prohibiting "blind selling" and "block booking" of motion picture films; a measure permitting wire tapping in the interests of national defense; a comprehensive report on social security legislation (including unemployment compensation, health insurance and hospitalization, industrial hygiene, provisions for further study of the subject of social security, railroad unemployment insurance, retirement for District of Columbia policemen and firemen); a report on immigration and naturalization measures including alien registration, Asiatic exclusion; and a number of measures governing maritime workers.

Employment, Hours and Wages

A very comprehensive and interesting report is made on the vital subject of employment, hours and wages, in which is set

forth the large reserves of man power available in our nation. There is presented for your consideration a survey of normal expectancy of production in the defense program now under way. Your attention is called to the vital importance of protecting gains which Labor has made and to the fact that there is no need at the present time at least for any shortage in consumer goods production or lowering of standards already set. All central bodies are urged to watch for unjustified price increases or price profiteering so that the officers at headquarters may be in a position to exert pressure on price profiteers and to check such destructive tendencies.

A very important section on "Productivity and the Shorter Work Week" has been prepared for your consideration wherein it is pointed out that the shortening work week has not kept pace with increased productivity and Labor is called upon to stand more firmly than ever before for the shorter work week. In 1929 the average work week in American factories averaged 49 hours. Today the average is 39 hours, though today with this shorter work week our factories are producing more goods and there are fewer jobs than in 1929. Warning is sounded of the agitation being carried on by some employers to lengthen the work week and Labor must be constantly alert to defeat this agitation. Our work standards must be protected and your Executive Council calls upon American Labor to use our united strength to combat destruction of these standards. Maintenance of established conditions of life and work are essential to our national welfare and to defense. All union members are urged to give themselves wholeheartedly to the achievement of the greatest possible volume of defense production under fair working conditions.

Under "Productivity and Earnings" it is pointed out that increasing productivity has also made possible a steady advance in wages, accompanied by a steady decline in labor costs. Average hourly earnings in 1940 reached an all-time peak. U. S. Department of Labor figures show for the first half of 1940 an average of 65 cents per hour in industry generally and 66.6c in manufacturing compared with 64.9c and 66.2c respectively at the previous peak in

the last half of 1937. The table presented in this section is of particular interest—disclosing that while wages have risen steadily manufacturers labor costs have declined. Attention is called to the fact that a large part of the saving from labor costs have been passed on to the consumer. It is the steady rise in productivity which makes possible a continual rise in wages and shortening of hours.

Under the sub-heading "An Adequate Living Standard" it is pointed out that despite recent wage gains, the majority of American wage earners cannot earn sufficient to support a family at an average living standard. Authoritative budget studies estimate that it takes a wage of about 70 cents per hour throughout the year received regularly for a 40-hour week, to support a family of four at a bare subsistence level in most American communities. A "health and efficiency living standard" for a family of five requires an estimated \$1 per hour received for 40 hours every week. It is estimated that not over one-third of all American wage earners can support a family of four at a bare subsistence level on their present wages.

Your Executive Council maintains that workers should share equitably in the increasing wealth they help to create and that wages should be in proportion to capacity to pay. Unions are urged to study the financial reports of their employing companies and to work out measures whereby their members may receive a just share in the increased income resulting from greater productivity per man hour worked.

Wage and Hour Administration

On October 24, 1940, the basic work week of 40 hours became effective by law throughout the nation. A comprehensive report on the Fair Labor Standards Act is presented for your consideration under the headings of "Minimum Wages", "Maximum Hours", "Administrative Interpretations of the Act", "Exemptions", "Enforcement", "Litigation", and "The Future of the Wage and Hour Administration".

It is recommended that central labor unions, state federations of labor, national

and international unions maintain active wage and hour committees to afford to the membership of the American Federation of Labor the maximum of representation and protection in the operation of the Wage and Hour Law.

National Labor Relations Act

Your Executive Council reports on activities of the National Labor Relations Board and efforts to secure amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. The delay which has occurred in securing action on the amendments desired by the A. F. of L. is condemned. Report is also made on Federation activities to defeat undesirable amendments which have been proposed.

Social Security

The subject of social security is one of vital concern to all wage earners. A very comprehensive and informative report is made of the various phases of social security administration. The report is divided into four sub-divisions; old age provisions, employment security, disability problems, and defense production and social security rights. The report of the Federation's special committee on social security is also included.

The American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to secure wider coverage and to this end is supporting legislation which would bring about 10,000,000 more workers under the provisions of the Act.

Attention is called to the requirements of the law that employers must furnish employees with a receipt showing amounts deducted from wages for the old age and survivors insurance tax. Such receipts must be issued at least once a year. Wage earners are urged to compare their receipts with the record which the Social Security Board keeps of each employee's earnings in covered employment. This information will be furnished by the Social Security Board on request. Discrepancies which occur between the records of the Social Security Board and the employee's can then be corrected. It is obviously a matter of real importance to wage earners to receive receipts from employers and to

check with the Social Security Board each year to be sure that earnings are being accurately recorded, for retirement benefits are based on these records.

Under the sub-heading "Employment Security" two special rulings of the Social Security Board are called to attention: (1) requiring employment officers to refrain from referring for employment persons selected because of their non-affiliation with a labor organization, and (2) requiring employment offices to refrain from referring to a position left vacant because of a labor dispute at that place of employment by a person engaged in the dispute or by anyone who is in the grade or class of workers who are in the dispute. This latter provision is of particular importance in keeping employment offices from supplying strike breakers.

Under the sub-title "Unemployment Compensation" attention is given to amendments to state provisions. One of the important tendencies is shortening of the required waiting period before benefits begin. The A. F. of L. believes that a one-week period is adequate. An important program for desirable state legislation is presented for consideration and action.

The Federation has endorsed an amendment to the Federal provisions whereby tax will be levied on employers of one or more persons for unemployment compensation purposes as is now done for old-age and survivors insurance.

The report of the Executive Council under the sub-title "Disability Problems" gives approval to extension of hospital facilities available to persons of low incomes. In addition, provisions should be made for payment of the prevailing rate of wages in the locality concerned, in the erection of such hospitals.

Consideration is also given to the problems of those who may become disabled before reaching the age of sixty-five and who may be in need of assistance.

Attention is also called to various plans for meeting costs of medical care. Your Executive Council urges that steps be taken to establish a national health program.

Under the title "workmen's compensation" it is recommended that action be taken to amend the laws to achieve the true purposes of workmen's compensation and the replacement of private insurance by single state funds which will not have a selfish interest in defeating the purposes of the workmen's compensation laws.

An important phase of social security is presented under the sub-title "Defense Production and Social Security Rights". It is vitally important that the interests and rights of those who enter military service shall be protected. It is equally important that the social security rights of workers who take industrial jobs under the government in civilian defense work shall be protected. Your Executive Council is of the opinion that measures should be taken to provide social insurance protection for all persons engaged in both civilian and military defense work. It is recommended that the entire subject be explored with a view to coordinating benefit programs so that all workers on defense jobs will have fair protection without unnecessary duplication of benefit payments.

Special A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security. This committee consisting of Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, G. M. Bugniazet and George Meany, reports on its activities during the year. They direct attention to the available pocket-size booklets which they have had prepared, containing space for entering the worker's wage and employment record for one year with place for keeping wage receipts as furnished by employers subject to the law, and a summary of workers' rights under old-age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation.

Your Council recommends that the committee continue its study of problems concerning health and disability insurance and methods of coordinating various parts of our social security program. The committee is also expected to continue its study of the development of national defense plans and to make such recommendations as are necessary to prevent recession in the social program already achieved and in prospect. The committee is also expected to continue its study of the operation of the Act and to recommend addi-

tional amendments to broaden coverage and improve the law in other ways as rapidly as appears feasible.

Works Projects Administration

There is presented for your consideration a report on the W. P. A. Important factual material is given showing the extent of the projects under W. P. A., administrative decisions of vital concern governing prevailing wage principles, on-the-job training of workers and resultant undermining of skill qualifications and standards, etc.

Your Executive Council believes that in the development and expansion of the defense program it is vitally important that a clear-cut separation be made between public works and work relief. The recommendation of previous years is reaffirmed in favor of a long-range public works program designed to meet public works needs of the nation and at the same time provide the necessary means of expansion and curtailment of public works projects in harmony with general economic conditions. Recommendation is also made for the welfare of unemployed wage earners and their families administered through federal and local public assistance channels. Relief work should be continued as needed. However, administration of this work should be considered an inseparable part of the general public assistance program relying upon the network of public employment offices for fitting the most appropriate relief employment to the needy unemployed and for relating the entire program to the other phases of unemployment relief and public assistance.

Housing For Workers

Under this caption there is presented for your information and consideration a report on low rent housing and slum clearance projects under USHA. This undertaking is of vital concern to wage earners because of the provisions for rehousing of workers from the slums to well designed, well built dwellings at rentals which they can afford, and also in the amount of employment provided for building trades mechanics and for workers in building ma-

terials and other related industries employed in the production of materials and equipment required by the program.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor headed by Vice-President Bates recommended, and the Council later adopted a public declaration urging that the housing program be continued and extended.

The progress of national legislation in this subject is presented. Your attention is directed to the development of provisions for continuing work in the event of disputes whereby work is to be continued until such time as the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., the local Housing Authority concerned, and the U. S. H. A. have had full opportunity to adjust the differences between the trades. This agreement also provides that wage rates in effect at the time work is begun on a USHA project shall remain in effect until the project is completed. It is the first time in history that such a far-reaching cooperative understanding has been achieved by any public agency with organized labor, and has proved a most helpful instrumentality.

Your Executive Council recommends a study of the defense housing situation to be undertaken at the earliest possible moment, the results of such study to be widely disseminated.

It is recommended that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor do all within their power to secure legislation necessary for the continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program which is vital to wage earners and their families.

Administration of Labor Laws

Under this caption your Executive Council points out the fact that legislation is important but incidental to our work and must not be allowed to dominate our activities. We are warned of the dangers which abound in bad administration of labor laws and the desirability of having representation for Labor and all other groups concerned on advisory councils to those administering labor laws. Your Council con-

demns the practice that has at times been followed by having nominal advisory councils with persons appointed to speak for Labor who have not been appointed by Labor and are not responsible to Labor for their actions on such councils. Your Council demands that in every case in which an advisory council is formed Labor representatives be officially designated by national or state federations, whichever may properly make such designations.

In this section your Council urges that the Civil Service examination system be reorganized to give due recognition to practical experience possessed by many wage earners who may not have met the academic standards frequently established.

On-the-job training should be given to Civil Service appointees under proper apprenticeship standards.

Labor Standards on Public Contracts

Under this caption your Council reports on the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act providing for the payment of prevailing wages on public contract work. Since the beginning of the administration of the Act prevailing minimum wages have been determined for thirty-one industries and cover an estimated 1,500,000 workers. A helpful table is included in this section of the report.

There is need for more rapid procedure in the handling of complaints under this Act as well as a stricter policy of enforcement.

It is recommended that the officers of the A. F. of L. continue their efforts to secure full and unimpaired application of the standards prescribed by the Walsh-Healey Act to all phases of defense production.

Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive

Under this caption a comprehensive report is made of the drive being conducted against Labor and unionism by an agency of the Federal Government. A survey is made of anti-trust legislation including the

Sherman Act, a history of anti-trust cases in the courts, and the "Arnold Drive".

It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to meet the trend toward government control of the collective bargaining process through the use of anti-trust legislation.

State Labor Legislation, 1940

The report on state legislation for 1940 discloses the fact that there were comparatively few laws enacted in this field. The record of favorable bills which failed to pass is more striking than the record of successful enactments. Some of those which did pass, moreover, were rendered ineffective because of faulty wording and poor drafting.

In making preparation for the 43 states whose legislatures will meet in 1941 attention should be directed as much to the defeat of hostile legislation as to the enactment of positive laws. Warning is sounded among other things, against measures having for their purpose the restriction of union activities. Efforts to restrict coverage of the Social Security Act is also to be guarded against.

Education

In the opening section of the report on this subject is the sentence: "Equal access to educational opportunities is the key to equality of opportunity under democratic institutions." The importance of educational opportunities must be kept in mind at all times and there must be no interference with our educational programs even in emergency or defense periods.

Various sections of the report on education treat of the need for educational planning in high school curriculum, a comprehensive report on vocational training and administration of the Smith-Hughes Act, the various training projects under NYA, CCC, on-the-job training in defense production, and the Federal Works Agency.

The report of the permanent Committee on Education has been included. The committee has been active in the past year and met for the purpose of formulating policies and reviewing the general field.

Reports

There is included in the report of your Executive Council reports from the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, Union Label Trades Department, and Railway Employees Department. The report from the latter is most comprehensive and illuminating.

American Federationist

Your Executive Council reports on the change which was made in the format and policy of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST during the past year.

Publicity and the Labor Press

In its report on this subject the Executive Council asks continued and increased support by the membership and friends to bona fide labor papers. The valuable service rendered by the Labor Press which has embraced the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor is acknowledged.

Research and Information Service

This section of the report recalls the service rendered by the Research Division of the A. F. of L. in the fields of collective bargaining and labor law administration. During the past year this service has developed around the following activities: organization and collective bargaining for federal labor unions, legislative proposals and administrative problems in social security, and the administration of the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts.

Legal Activities

This section deals with a very vital function of the American Federation of Labor—protection of the rights of the workers in the courts of the land. The report is, in effect, an accounting of the activities of the legal counsel of the A. F. of L. and cites most important cases to wage earners.

Trade Union Benefits

The report on benefits paid by national and international unions is a regular feature of the reports of your Executive Council. The detailed tabulated statement is compiled from information sent to headquarters and presents an informational comparative statement. It should be borne in mind that the figures shown do not represent the entire amount of benefits paid by all unions but only the amounts reported in response to queries sent out from headquarters of the A. F. of L.

War In Europe

In considering the serious threat of civilization involved in the war raging in the Old World your Executive Council presents for your consideration a frank statement of the position of Labor not only toward the war and the complications arising therefrom, but also toward post-war conferences and peace terms. Since Labor is a major group of society we insist that representation should be accorded to representatives of Labor in all world conferences held to consider international problems and agencies. We have frankly faced the international situation in its effect upon the free trade unions of Europe.

Defense

This is a subject which affects all citizens. Labor is willing and eager to serve in all possible ways and your Executive Council offers a program which we believe is essential to a defense plan as well as in the eventuality of war.

Your Council gives voice to the resentment felt over the failure of the President of the United States to include labor representation on the committee appointed to study and make recommendations on the administration of our defense program.

In the several sections of the report under the general heading will be found discussion of the defense administration, labor policy, continental aspects of defense.

Your attention is particularly directed to the sub-section, "Dues Exemption for

Members of Local Unions Called For War Service' and the recommendation of the Council that membership of directly chartered local trade and federal labor unions who may be called to military service be exempt from the payment of all local dues and per capita tax to the A. F. of L. while engaged in such military service.

German Boycott

In this brief section of the report is reiterated the disapproval which Labor feels toward certain practices engaged in by the Nazi government.

Japanese War on China

It is the opinion of the officers of the A. F. of L. that a general boycott of Japanese goods will weaken the economic resources of Japan and this course is again recommended.

International Federation of Trade Unions

The activities of the I. F. T. U. during the past year are reported for your information. At the meeting held March 14 and 15 of this year President Green was elected to be Sixth Vice-President of the I. F. T. U.

With the major part of Europe under the domination of dictators no democratic organization of free trade unions can exist there. Restoration of the I. F. T. U. to its former strength and influence is contingent upon the outcome of the present struggle between democratic civilization and totalitarianism.

International Labor Organization

Despite the European war the American Federation of Labor has continued its active participation in the work of the International Labor Organization. The I. L. O. carried on its work as long as was possible at its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It has now been necessary to locate the office in the Western Hemisphere.

A report is made of the several meetings held during the past year and the participation of the workers delegates to those meetings.

The A. F. of L. urges that the I. L. O. should be upheld and strengthened and that its contribution to the solution of social problems should insure it a place at the peace conference at the conclusion of the war.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

A report is made of the activities in the field of Pan-American labor relations. It is recommended that the President of the A. F. of L. and Vice-President Woll who serve also as officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be responsible for studying developments and planning next best steps subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Puerto Rico Federation of Labor

A very comprehensive and interesting report is submitted by the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor.

Workers Education Bureau

The activities of the Workers Education Bureau during the past year are reported in the special section under this caption. These are submitted for your information and guidance.

Conclusion

In completing its report for the year ending August 31, 1940, your Executive Council makes the following important statement:

Our membership has grown, our internal structure has been strengthened, our determination to make no alliance whatsoever with representatives or policies of communism or any other form of totalitarianism has been justified here and abroad, while the economic power of the trade union movement is demonstrated to be its primary resource for the protection

of wage earners and for the improvement of their standards of living. While our labor movement has grown and we have enjoyed peace and progress, reports from abroad tell how long-established labor movements in other countries have been destroyed during the past year to make way for another order of society. No country and no labor movement can anticipate the future with a feeling of security or confidence in established rights or guarantees, but we must all alike be on guard to defend our freedom and liberties and must realize the gravity of our responsibilities. The New Orleans convention will make its decisions at a time of world crisis.

President Green: I thank Brother Duffy for the service he rendered in submitting the summary, and I think I should say interesting summary of the report of the Executive Council.

Announcements

It is with a feeling of the deepest sorrow that I announce to the delegates in attendance at this convention the death of an outstanding leader of the American Federation of Labor, I refer to the death of Brother Michael J. Collieran, President of the Plasterers' Association of the United States and Canada, who was on his way to New Orleans to attend this convention but was suddenly stricken ill in Chicago, and after suffering for several days passed away at 9:00 o'clock last night.

I wish to announce also that tomorrow morning two outstanding Americans occupying outstanding positions in the Government will deliver addresses to this convention. The Chairman of the Social Security Board, Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer, will address the convention on Social Security at 10:00 o'clock.

Mr. Nathan Straus, United States Housing Administrator, will address the conven-

tion upon housing and slum clearance at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

I hope and trust that all delegates and visitors will come early in the morning and attend the morning session because I know the addresses to be delivered by these outstanding public service employes will be illuminating, education and most interesting. Please bear that in mind and tell everybody to come tomorrow morning.

Vice-President Woll: In view of the statement made by President Green on the unfortunate passing of President Collieran, I move that this convention instruct its officers to send a message of sympathy to the surviving family of President Collieran.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Woodmansee, Springfield, Illinois: I just want to make an announcement that the labor press usually meets once during the A. F. of L. convention. That meeting is scheduled for tonight in the Grand Ball Room of the Roosevelt Hotel. A number of members of the labor press are here and we would like to have them present at 8:00 o'clock and we will get through as quickly as we can.

Delegate Schwartz, Letter Carriers: A meeting of the postal and other civil service organization delegates will be held at 8:00 o'clock tonight at the Jung Hotel, Parlor A, Second Floor.

Delegate Quarles, on behalf of the local committee announced a smoker and entertainment for the men delegates only on Friday evening.

Mr. Robert Soule, a member of the local committee announced that shortly after the opening of the Tuesday morning session a bronze bust in tribute to the late James Reilly, a staunch member of the movement in New Orleans, would be presented to the Mayor.

There was no further business to come before the convention, and at 5:15 o'clock adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, November 19th.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA,

NOVEMBER 18, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

Greetings:

INTRODUCTION

At the close of the calendar year of 1940, the American Federation of Labor completes six decades of service to American labor, American industry and American democracy. As we review the years in which our organization has grown from 50,000 membership to 4,247,443, the record of achievements in raising standards of living for America's workers is impressive. Work hours per day and per week have been greatly reduced, wages greatly increased, with opportunities for progress, recreation and effective living greatly increased. As a result of our political activities, we have the protection of a new body of labor laws which define our personal rights as workers and guarantee social security against some of the emergencies which interfere with income earning.

Our organization has seen the industries in which we work revolutionized as completely as our living habits. Manufacturing has developed from hand production to electric power production with machines making possible the repetitive processes of mass production. Transportation and communication have been changed radically as has our work in connection with the services.

Equally drastic have been the changes in the political world. The World War shook the foundations of all countries and the revolutionary war now involving all of Europe, threatens the whole world with destruction. Our trade union movement which was organized to assert and establish the economic and personal rights of workers living under a democracy, now has the responsibility for defending the principles and institutions of democracy itself. As we realize the value of institutions preserving individual liberty and personal rights, we pledge ourselves and our movement during the coming decade to the preservation and the practice of the democratic way of life. We would be free and give our children opportunity for freedom.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1939, and ending August 31, 1940.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$716,151.82. Of this total \$627,488.86 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$88,662.96, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$1,938,483.85; the total expenses, \$1,768,836.39. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$169,647.46.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1940:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1939.....		\$546,504.36
Per capita tax.....	\$629,499.11	
Assessments.....	474,375.79	
Advertisements, American Federationist.....	74,090.76	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist.....	1,202.27	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist.....	334,275.00	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund.....	279,021.32	
Initiation fees.....	75,022.94	
Reinstatement fees.....	7,624.22	
Supplies.....	22,276.55	
Interest.....	11,906.25	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	18,936.53	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	9,353.11	
Total receipts.....		1,938,483.85
Grand total.....		\$2,484,988.21

EXPENSES

Organizing.....	\$578,936.24
Organizers' salaries.....	374,545.14
Office employees' salaries.....	198,433.35
Administrative salaries.....	48,894.83
General bills.....	280,448.69
Miscellaneous bills.....	12,670.91
Advertising commissions, American Federationist.....	38,324.88
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	166,946.29
Defense Fund.....	53,496.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	16,140.06
Total expenses.....	\$1,768,836.39
Balance on hand, August 31, 1940.....	\$716,151.82

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$88,662.96
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	627,488.86
Balance on hand, August 31, 1940.....	\$716,151.82

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1940:

Rent	\$10,796.00
Refunds, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc.....	783.73
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	16,140.06
Secretary-Treasurer's bond.....	202.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation.....	3,211.79
Forgery, robbery.....	15.00
Fire, on office furniture and fixtures.....	58.02
D. C. personal tax.....	204.84
Social Security old age benefit tax.....	5,857.08
State unemployment tax.....	20,584.06
Federal pay-roll tax.....	3,410.62
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,569.59
Legislative salaries and expenses.....	13,864.53
Newspapers, magazines and books (library).....	3,417.64
Postage stamps.....	10,582.88
Supplies for resale.....	12,423.87
Printing:	
General.....	\$30,457.87
Convention roll call.....	184.60
Convention daily proceedings.....	4,908.15
Convention bound proceedings.....	3,974.43
Convention miscellaneous.....	113.00
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	14,587.71
	<hr/>
	54,225.76
Office equipment and supplies.....	11,188.94
Miscellaneous expenses.....	12,070.91
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Dept.).....	3,975.81
Mailing equipment.....	3,292.94
Office furniture and fixtures.....	1,333.92
Telegrams and telephone.....	16,391.75
Fraternal delegates to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and British Trades Union Congress.....	1,278.20
Cincinnati Convention:	
Entertaining fraternal delegates.....	190.95
Messengers, sergeant at arms, assistant secretary, roll-call clerk and proofreader.....	921.22
Supplies.....	40.95
Stenographers' expenses.....	4,774.06
Official stenographers.....	1,939.18
Rental of office furniture.....	103.01
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, handling convention mail, porters, public address system, musicians' services, etc.....	904.24

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Auditing and Credential Committee	\$731.70
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges	595.82
Salaries:	
President	12,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer	10,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus (beginning Jan. 1, 1940)	4,000.00
Office employees	198,433.35
Executive Council meeting—telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, stenographers, etc.	17,724.24
President, traveling	6,825.14
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling	3,128.89
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, traveling	576.70
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits	53,496.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	587.49
Union Label Trades Department	108.15
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	188.87
Affiliation fee, International Federation of Trades Unions	5,222.60
* Organizers' salaries and expenses	953,481.38
American Federationist:	
Cost of printing	152,149.49
Advertising commissions	38,324.88
Postage	13,925.00
Story for Junior Federationist	240.00
Photographs	354.00
Miscellaneous	277.80
Legal services	46,188.76
Publicity salaries and expenses	16,026.85
Special committees and conferences	3,893.43
Study of Central and South American republics	1,000.00
Contribution to American Red Cross	1,000.00
Total	<u>\$1,768,836.39</u>

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

* During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1940, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$953,481.38. Of this amount, \$401,776.73 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$551,704.65, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

DEFENSE FUND

FOR

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1939, and ending August 31, 1940. During the year, \$100,000 was transferred from the Defense Fund to the General Fund as a charge against federal labor unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign.

RECEIPTS

Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the Defense Fund. . \$279,021.32

EXPENSES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>No. of Weeks</i>	<i>Aver. Mem.</i>	
14659	Brass Bobbin Winders,	Philadelphia, Pa.	4	77+	\$2,170.00
16303	Brush Makers,	New York, N. Y.	3	32	672.00
18267	Architectural Metal Wkrs.,	Cleveland, Ohio.	3	47	987.00
18820	Optical Workers,	Pittsburgh, Pa.	2	6	84.00
18868	United Florists,	New Providence, N. J.	7	19+	966.00
20120	Federal Labor Union,	Minneapolis, Minn.	2	52	728.00
20529	Chemical Workers,	Nichols, Calif.	6	105	4,410.00
20581	Federal Labor Union,	Keyport & vic., N. J.	6	232	9,744.00
20798	Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers & Assts.,	Los Angeles, Calif.	2	16+	231.00
20935	Federal Labor Union,	Fort Atkinson, Wis.	1	211	1,477.00
21455	Atlantic Fishermen,	Boston, Mass.	3	484+	10,178.00
21727	Federal Labor Union,	St. Paul, Minn.	6	66	2,772.00
21765	Chemical Workers,	Crossett, Ark.	4	46+	1,295.00
21903	Federal Labor Union,	Watertown, Mass.	1	76	532.00

Amount disbursed for assistance to members of striking unions:

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	
18820	Optical Workers,	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200.00
18826	Metal Specialty Wkrs.,	Green Bay, Wis.	200.00

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<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	
19401	Federal Labor Union, Tonawanda, N. Y.		\$1,000.00
19600	United Oystermen, Bivalve, N. J.		600.00
20020	Dried Fruit & Nut Packers, Oakland, Calif.		200.00
20298	Pencil Material Wkrs., Stockton, Calif.		400.00
21102	Warehouse Employes, Baltimore, Md.		400.00
21305	Federal Labor Union, Gouverneur, N. Y.		300.00
21455	Atlantic Fishermen, Boston, Mass.		4,800.00
21560	Federal Labor Union, Millville, N. J.		800.00
21863	Federal Labor Union, New York, N. Y.		500.00
22150	Cotton Seed Oil Wkrs., Cairo, Ill.		300.00
	Broom & Whisk No. 20		50.00
	Workers Education Bureau		7,500.00
Total expenses			\$53,496.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1939	\$501,963.54
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund as a charge against local trade and federal labor unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign	100,000.00
Balance Defense Fund	\$401,963.54
Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1940	279,021.32
Total	\$680,984.86
Strike benefits	\$36,246.00
Assistance to members of striking unions	9,750.00
Affiliation fee (Workers Education Bureau)	7,500.00
Total	53,496.00
Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1940	\$627,488.86

**STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF
SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BAL-
ANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED.**

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1939		Warrants paid:	
September 30	\$143,548.01	1939	
October 31	151,030.61	September 30	\$150,440.36
November 30	180,800.30	October 31	179,758.61
December 31	170,717.95	November 30	149,302.13
1940		December 31	163,389.66
January 31	162,380.10	1940	
February 28	142,698.17	January 31	151,619.66
March 31	166,402.63	February 28	138,623.84
April 30	150,585.15	March 31	142,109.62
May 31	149,845.65	April 30	155,201.63
June 30	147,175.07	May 31	133,621.83
July 31	172,938.15	June 30	140,310.08
August 31	200,362.06	July 31	145,094.59
Total income for 12 months	\$1,938,483.85	August 31	119,364.38
Bal. in hands of Secretary- Treasurer Aug. 31, 1939	546,504.36	Total expenses 12 months	\$1,768,836.39
Grand total	\$2,484,988.21		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income	\$2,484,988.21
Total expenses	1,768,836.39

Balance on hand, August 31, 1940 \$716,151.82

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	2,070.32
U. S. Treas. Bonds (3¼%) (\$50,000) @ 98 18/32	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	1,531.25
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$377,882.82
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	290,873.00
City Bank (subject to check)	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check)	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit)	25,000.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1940 \$716,151.82

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1940.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the 12 months ending August 31, 1940, there have been issued 327 charters to international, central, local trade and federal labor unions; of this number 2 were issued to the following international unions:

United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union.
Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union.

Central bodies as follows:

Alaska	Louisiana	New York
Sitka	Houma	Dunkirk and Vicinity
Kodiak		Norwich and Vicinity
Arkansas	Massachusetts	Ohio
Camden	Attleboro	Sebring
California	Missouri	Texas
Santa Clara County	Cape Girardeau and Vicinity	Kilgore
Illinois	New Jersey	Virginia
Pana	Cumberland County	Richmond (colored)
Cairo	Bergen County	West Virginia
Beardstown		Bluefield-Princeton
Dixon and Vicinity	New Mexico	Wisconsin
Indiana	Otero County	Waupun
Goshen	Tucumari	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the 12 months of this fiscal year:

Internationals	2
Central Labor Unions	23
Local Trade Unions	229
Federal Labor Unions	73
Total	327

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1940, we had 1,450 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 185,707, and a defense fund of \$627,488.86.

The Federation has 1,822 volunteer organizers, as well as 141 paid organizers and the officers of the 816 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$279,021.32; initiation fees, \$75,922.94; and reinstatement fees, \$7,624.22.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 9; reinstated, 10.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 31; suspended, 95; joined national and international organizations, 196; revoked, 3; cancelled, 3; reinstated, 15.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 12; suspended, 49; joined national and international organizations, 32; cancelled, 1; reinstated, 6.

INTERNATIONAL UNION REINSTATED: International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CHARTERED: United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union; Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union.

INTERNATIONAL UNION SUSPENDED: International Typographical Union.

INTERNATIONAL UNION REVOKED: International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP **OF** **AFFILIATED UNIONS**

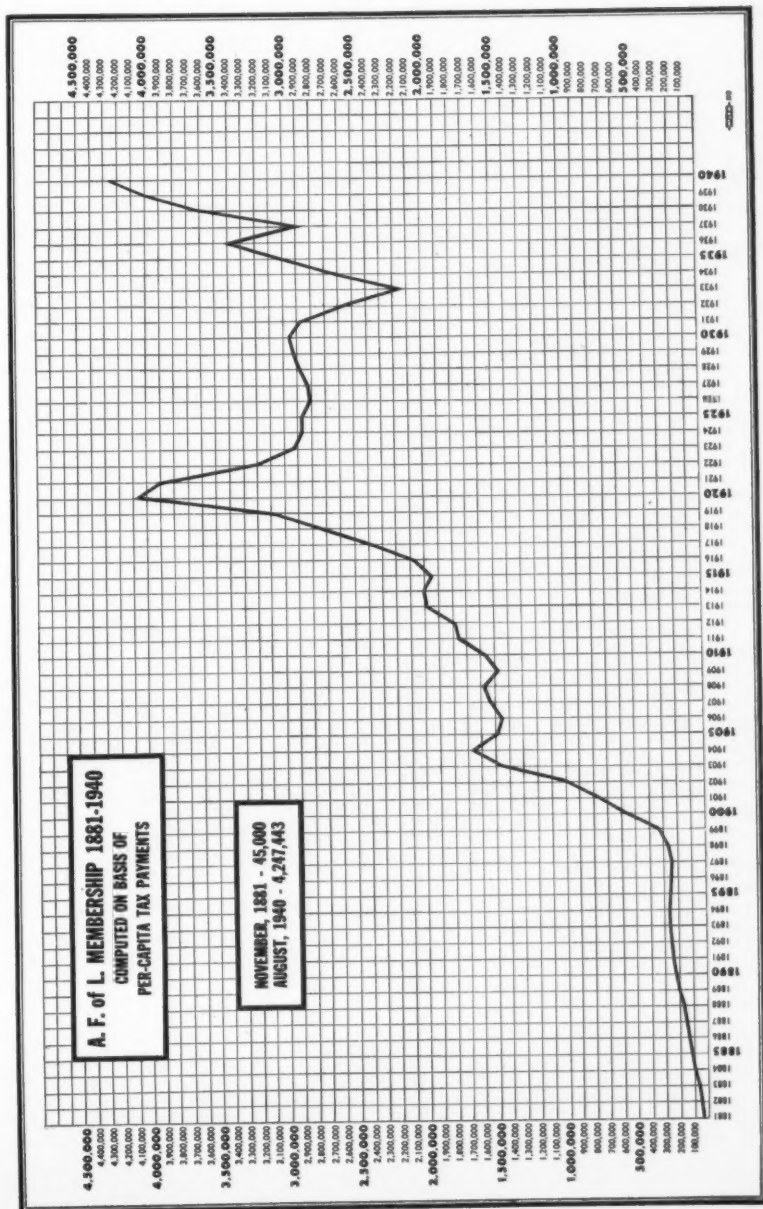
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions for the month of August, 1940, was 4,247,443.

National and international unions and local trade and federal labor unions are required to pay per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 43 years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1919	3,260,068
1898	278,016	1920	4,078,740
1899	349,422	1921	3,906,528
1900	548,321	1922	3,195,635
1901	787,537	1923	2,926,468
1902	1,024,399	1924	2,865,799
1903	1,465,800	1925	2,877,297
1904	1,676,200	1926	2,803,966
1905	1,494,300	1927	2,812,526
1906	1,454,200	1928	2,896,063
1907	1,538,970	1929	2,933,545
1908	1,586,885	1930	2,961,096
1909	1,482,872	1931	2,889,550
1910	1,562,112	1932	2,532,261
1911	1,761,835	1933	2,126,796
1912	1,770,145	1934	2,608,011
1913	1,906,004	1935	3,045,347
1914	2,020,671	1936	3,422,398
1915	1,946,347	1937	2,860,933
1916	2,072,702	1938	3,623,087
1917	2,371,434	1939	4,006,354
1918	2,726,478	1940	4,247,443

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1940—a total of 60 years.



VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1932 up to and including 1940. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	45	33	31	43	44	55	176	201	146
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	20	20	25	25	25	25	35	40	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl. Union United Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.	179	159	181	218	261	325	621	730	811
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	399	320	393	323	323	408	465	475	490
Bill Posters.	16	16	14	14	14	14	16	18	29
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	150	142	143	153	155	180	280	290	332
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	170	134	192	259	270	293	308	308	308
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	119	107	119	117	116	131	174	177	187
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	160	160	255	417	420	420	420	420	420
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	20	1	14	16	10	55	60	100	100
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	567	458	458	650	650	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.	120	100	160	160	160	227	413	395	413
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	3	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	180	180	192	275	350	420	658	700	700
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	2,900	2,058	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	800	592	550	550	583	650	650	650	650
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	9	8	8	6	4	4	4	4	3
Cigarmakers' International Union.	155	98	70	70	70	70	159	164	164
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs.	87	50	58	72	103	185	467	653	737
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	608	600	600	725	875	892	910	910	970
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	360	360	333	320	320	360	380	400	400
Clerks Post Office, Natl. Federation of.									
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Wkrs.									132
Circus, Carnival, Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union.									3
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.			833	1,000	1,200	†	†	†	e
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	46	61	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	21	20	20	20	20	19	14	14	14
Coopers' International Union.	6	7	25	29	25	26	36	41	42
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	3	3	2	2	4	3	3	3	3
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	10	7	10	12	12	14	18	19	19
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,399	941	1,135	1,300	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003	2,097
Elevator Constructors.	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	344	350	350	350	350	420	420	708	800
Engravers, Friendly Society of.		1	4	e	e	e	e	e	e
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal.	5	5	3	3	2	2	2	3	3
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	89	87	86	87	88	91	102	104	105
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	180	180	197	235	255	291	300	307	389
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.	93	92	101	149	207	236	254	268	312
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	7	5	20	32	37	35	35	35	e
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	38	40	20	30	150	e	e	e	e
Garment Workers of America, United.	456	395	370	371	406	395	400	400	400
Garment Workers, Intl. Ladies.	400	250	1,500	1,600	1,967	†	†	†	375
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.	9	6	10	12	12	13	12	12	e
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	60	60	60	62	108	200	200	200
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.			8	100	116	†	†	†	e
Glass Workers, American Flint.	39	36	61	61	48	53	179	178	186
Glove Workers.	3	5	34	35	22	17	7	9	16
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.		40	83	139	222	214	212	226	223
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The.	62	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Hatters of North America, United.	85	85	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Int. Union, United.			198	214	221	239	225	300	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	900	521	442	523	654	996	1,477	1,544	1,619
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	283	227	378	570	738	1,071	1,759	1,848	2,025
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	50	46	55	86	92	†	†	†	†
Jewelry Workers' International.	8	8	49	55	53	60	45	40	45
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.	165	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.	55	60	53	60	60	70	194	292	400
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	10	8	30	27	25	25	25	25	25
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of.	550	550	517	500	500	525	600	600	600
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	11	12	12	12	6	5	6	6	5

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	56	52	58	67	69	72	112	123	124
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	270	234	343	400	406	614	624	663	621
Machinists, International Association of	707	650	820	925	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900	1,901
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	371	278	312	335	357	418	523	576	633
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of	77	62	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots	30	25	20	22	25	29	30	30	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat'l. Asso. of			1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Messengers, Special Delivery Nat'l. Asso.							11	9	9
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	114	111	195	198	194	300	521	629	709
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet	250	175	160	160	160	162	198	200	200
Mine Workers of America, United	3,083	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	†	†	†	e
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of	21	13	116	146	159	†	†	†	e
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive							350	350	350
Molders Union of North America, Intl.	95	60	88	118	159	222	277	233	304
Musicians, American Federation of	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American					5	c	c	c	c
Oil Field, etc., Workers	4	3	125	428	405	†	†	†	†
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	796	593	578	656	665	801	994	1,002	1,002
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	40	23	115	90	66	116	163	206	243
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	70	70	70	25	26	42	68	70	74
Pavers & Hammermen, Intl. Union of	20	20	20	20	31	a	a	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	22	22	22	21	20	20	c	c	c
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	8	3	2	2	†	†	†	†	†
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.)	5	6	7	7	8	†	10	10	10
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C. Oper.	353	226	180	180	180	184	191	194	191
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	450	450	450	340	330	330	377	400	400
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal	23	14	35	40	46	56	70	70	70
Porters, Bro. Sleeping Car					12	55	60	60	66
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.						5	100	100	100
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Nat'l Asso.							12	15	15
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	52	45	79	100	104	110	120	130	140
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1
Printing Pressmen, International	400	353	320	320	320	337	372	396	437
Printers', Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate	11	10	12	14	13	10	9	9	7
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	50	50	69	85	91	157	300	322	400
Quarry Workers, International	26	21	20	20	20	20	c	c	e
Railway Employees' Amal., S. & E.	817	712	700	734	757	767	790	797	800
Railway Mail Association	207	200	192	191	193	210	217	217	221
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Asso.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Rubber Workers of Amer., United					85	†	†	†	e
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.	97	60	50	125	200	142	22	110	187
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.	1	6	8	11	9	8	8	7	6
Siderographers, Intl. Asso. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State County & Municipal Emp.						114	200	257	297
Spinners Union Intl.							5	5	5
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	240	240	240	240	240	242	278	420	420
Stereotypers & Electrotypes' of U. of A.	81	82	80	79	81	83	87	83	83
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen	57	56	56	57	52	50	42	41	41
Stove Mounters' International Union	7	6	15	20	23	30	36	42	49
Switchmen's Union of North America	72	63	73	80	85	89	83	78	81
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	28	17	26	45	59	†	†	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	70	70	85	120	127	154	221	256	300
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	820	713	955	1,370	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500	3,937
Telegraphers, Commercial	35	22	20	20	20	20	23	35	35
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	370	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350
*Textile Workers of America, United	275	150	387	792	1,000	†	†	*	36
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America	25	26	83	104	85	110	143	147	180
Typographical Union, International	761	738	731	734	733	755	794	792	†
Upholsterers, International Union of	65	65	65	65	85	102	110	110	148
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	5	5	6	6	5	9	30	31	31
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Centrals	619	618	686	730	734	735	792	806	816
State Branches	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions	339	711	2,184	1,750	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465	2,471
Total vote of Unions	26,092	22,554	28,105	31,866	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267	41,146

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation. d Amalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

* Reinstated. B-Title changed from Intl Seamens Union of America.

e Charter revoked.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

COMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1940	\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments	15,510.89
Total receipts	\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1940	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1940	\$10,855.25
Funds deposited as follows:	
1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	\$1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account	2,089.25
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1940	\$10,855.25

LUGGAGE WORKERS OF PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, FUND

Under date of March 2, 1940, an appeal was issued for contributions to assist the striking Luggage Workers of Petersburg, Virginia.

Receipts in response to this appeal from March 2, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	\$2,677.10
Amount forwarded to Luggage Workers from March 2, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	2,677.10
Account balanced	\$ 000.00

GERMAN LABOR DELEGATION FUND

Under date of February 28, 1940, an appeal was issued to assist the German labor delegation in the United States.

Receipts in response to this appeal from February 28, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	\$1,033.00
Amount forwarded to the German labor delegation from February 28, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	1,033.00
Account balanced	\$ 000.00

OREGON ANTI-LABOR LAW FUND

Under date of March 22, 1940, an appeal was issued to assist in the fight against the Oregon Anti-Labor Law.

Receipts in response to this appeal from March 22, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	\$4,710.00
Amount forwarded to the Oregon State Federation of Labor from March 22, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	4,710.00
Account balanced	\$ 000.00

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1940:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand August 31, 1939.....		\$20,749.44
Rents	\$33,198.78	
Sale of waste paper.....	29.76	
Total receipts		33,228.54
Receipts and balance.....		\$53,977.98

EXPENSES

Maintenance:		
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$18,658.06	
Taxes	3,219.36	
Electricity	1,803.06	
Fuel (coal)	1,053.88	
Supplies	1,859.34	
Upkeep and repairs	1,836.91	
Plastering and painting.....	2,788.66	
Cleaning windows	455.00	
Insurance (liability).....	418.52	
Water rent	51.52	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	156.00	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.)	13.79	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators	157.29	
Social Security Tax:		
Unemployment insurance.....	503.39	
Old age benefits.....	181.86	
Total expenses.....		33,156.64
Balance on hand August 31, 1940.....		\$20,821.34

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$53,977.98
Expenses	33,156.64
Balance on hand August 31, 1940.....	\$20,821.34
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares).....	\$1,218.00
Riggs National Bank	12,103.34
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1940.....	\$20,821.34

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
GEORGE MEANY,
JOHN P. FREY,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

Death of Vice-President John Coefield

We report, with a feeling of sorrow and regret, the death of Fourth Vice-President John Coefield. He died at his home in Washington, D. C., on February 8, 1940. The American Federation of Labor sustained a great loss through the death of Vice-President Coefield, who had served as President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada for 20 years, and as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for 12 years.

Resignation of Vice-President Arthur O. Wharton

The Executive Council accepted the resignation of Fifth Vice-President Arthur O. Wharton. Vice-President Wharton had served as President of the International Association of Machinists for 12 years, and as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for 11 years.

Filling of Vacancies Existing on the Executive Council

In conformity with authority vested in the Executive Council by Section 9 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council elected Harvey W. Brown, President of the International Association of Machinists, and W. C. Birthright, President of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, to fill the vacancies existing on the Executive Council.

In conformity with custom and precedent, the members of the Executive Council were moved forward in numerical positions. That meant that vacancies were created in the positions of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor. Harvey W. Brown was designated as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and W. C. Birthright as Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

As a result of these appointments, the Executive Council is pleased to report that all vacancies existing upon the Executive Council have now been filled.

CHANGE OF TITLE

Upon the application of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America for a change of title, the Executive Council granted said application and authorized a change in the title of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, reading as follows:

"International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America."

It will be noted that in this change of title the word "Stablemen" included originally in the title of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, was dropped and the word "Warehousemen" was substituted therefor.

ORGANIZATION

The past year will stand out as one characterized by great progress in the organization work of the American Federation of Labor. We have exceeded the achievement of other years in numerical growth as well as in the extension of the influence of the American Federation of Labor. Workers everywhere are turning to the American Federation of Labor. We have increased our membership by hundreds of thousands. This is an actual bona fide, paid-up membership. It reflects the loyalty and devotion of all who are included in the membership of the American Federation of Labor. We have carried on our organizing campaign without a moment's let-up among the unorganized workers of the nation. Agreements wholly in keeping with the developments of modern life and modern industrial processes have been negotiated. These agreements provide for wage schedules, hours of employment, vacations with pay, and the preservation of seniority rights.

In fields and industries where no organization had ever existed heretofore, new unions have been formed and new wage agreements have been negotiated. Through these processes we have lifted the wage levels and standards of life and living of thousands of working men and women to higher points. Our organizing work has been carried on among industrial workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, as well as office workers and professional working men and women.

The American Federation of Labor has directed its efforts not alone toward the organization of those who do not come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions, but has rendered every possible aid to our national and international unions. As a result, thousands of working men and women have been organized into trade and federal labor unions. In addition, we have helped to enlarge the membership of some of our national and international unions. In all this organizing work we have diligently endeavored to respect and protect the jurisdictional rights of national and international unions. Organizers directly employed by the American Federation of Labor are required at all times to cooperate with the representatives of national and international unions in the carrying forward of organizing work. Then we have attempted to establish and maintain a cooperative relationship designed to promote and protect the interests of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor first to organize workers who do not come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions into trade and federal labor unions. When a sufficient number of trade or federal labor unions are formed of any trade, calling or industry to warrant a cooperative relationship between such units of organization, a national council is formed for that purpose. In that way cooperative activities of such federal labor unions are established in fields of endeavor where no national or international union exercises jurisdiction. All of this has for its ultimate purpose the establishment of new national and international unions wherever in the judgment of the Executive Council it seems desirable and proper to do so.

Over 300 new trade and federal labor unions were chartered during the

past year. These unions were established in fields not covered by affiliated national or international unions and among workers who were unorganized. These organizations are made up of workers employed in chemical, agricultural, cannery and citrus, aluminum, distillery, grain processing, fabricated metal, rubber, beet sugar, textile and miscellaneous industries, as well as in the office and professional field.

During the past year regional conferences were held in Atlanta, Georgia, covering the ten southern states; Dallas, Texas, covering the five southwestern states; and Hartford, Connecticut, covering the six New England states. The attendance at all of these conferences was beyond any reasonable expectation. The tremendous attendance realized best attests not only the advisability of holding such conferences but the desirability of extending them. These conferences are of transcendent importance. They stimulate not only an interest in organization, but promote a better understanding of the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor. We have received splendid cooperation from our national and international unions, state federations of labor and central labor unions, in the holding of these regional conferences. We look forward to even greater enthusiasm, cooperation and support in the regional meetings we are to hold next year, the first of which will be held in Chicago, Illinois, after the New Year.

The following statistical figures indicate definitely the splendid work done not only in organizing the unorganized, but in the service rendered to our national and international unions.

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. Groups transferred to international unions before a charter was issued | 53 |
| 2. Directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions transferred to international unions | 235 |
| 3. Charters issued to directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions | 329 |
| (a) of the 329 | |
| 1 combined with another local | |
| 33 suspended | |
| 7 disbanded | |
| 21 transferred to internationals | |
| 1 charter withdrawn | |
| 3 charters revoked | |

Chemical Workers Union. The increase in membership of those employed in the chemical industry has been very encouraging. A year ago we reported 50 local unions in this field. Today, we number 151 locals in this field, representing approximately 20,000 dues paying members. On September 7, 1940, a National Council of these workers was formed in a meeting held in Akron, Ohio, attended by delegates from every section of the country. We look forward with assurance to great progress and continued growth being realized in this field during the coming year.

American Editorial Association. We are pleased to report that a National Council of federal labor unions composed of editorial workers and news writers was formed at a meeting held in Chicago, Ill., on October 22, 1940. The various federal labor unions composed of editorial workers and news writers participated in the formation of the Council. A strong declaration of prin-

ciple and objective was unanimously adopted by the Council. Through the cooperation and assistance of this Council organizing work will be carried on among editorial workers and news writers in the different cities throughout the country. An opportunity will be extended to all these workers to become a part of the bona fide American Federation of Labor organization.

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers. Our progress has continued in this field, particularly in the western states. We have met with tremendous opposition and annoying delays in cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board. But in spite of these obstacles, the membership in these locals has increased over last year. This includes the Beet Sugar Workers, whose council is doing splendid work in the Middle West and western states.

Aluminum Workers Unions. The aluminum workers unions are organized into a National Council. Splendid progress has been realized. Four new local unions have been formed and associated with the National Council. In addition, agreements have been successfully negotiated with their employers. Originally the National Council of these workers embraced only those employed by the American Aluminum Company. Today, it embraces members of other concerns and has an approximate dues paying membership of 6,000. Steady and continued progress is looked for in this field.

Distillery Workers Unions. Forty-four unions are now affiliated with the Distillery Workers Council. Here again, great progress has been made in organizing these workers and steady advances have been made in improving their wages and working standards and conditions of employment. We have chartered 12 new unions in this industry during the past year and have increased the membership by 1,212 members. Even greater progress is looked for during the coming year.

Grain Processors Council. The flour, feed, cereal, rice and grain mill workers locals which are formed into the Grain Processors Council have 107 unions affiliated with the Council. Agreements have been entered into with employers by practically all of these unions, and minimum wage and maximum hours standards have been provided in addition to employment conditions and relationships having been improved. During the past year 12 active unions have been added to our list of unions in this Council and the total dues paying membership now approximates 12,902.

Fabricated Metal Council. All of the unions affiliated with the Fabricated Metal Council are under contract with their employers at the present time with one exception. There are approximately 5,000 dues paying members. We have chartered 16 active unions in this field during the past year. This Council has made great progress in that period. It has evidenced a sincere desire to serve and has actively and energetically contributed much in bringing the unorganized workers in this field into affiliation. The organization spirit manifested is bound to reflect itself in increased membership and constant improvement in standards and conditions of employment.

Office Workers. Again, we report continued progress in the organizing of office and professional workers under direction of the Office Employees International Council. During the past year a number of new local unions

of these workers were chartered and the membership of existing local unions increased. Organizing activities were carried on in all sections of the country. Great educational efforts were engaged in and the work of organizing these office and professional workers was stimulated by distribution of literature, radio addresses, press statements, etc. Agreements have been entered into in many sections of the country granting to office employees higher standards of income and improved working conditions.

Rubber Workers Unions. We have been making inroads in the rubber industry and have succeeded in winning very important elections in the Hood Rubber, United States Rubber, and other large rubber companies. We have been making some progress in Akron, Ohio, and Connecticut. Every indication is that we will constantly and greatly expand in this industry. We now have 23 locals in this field and additions are looked for in the near future.

Textile Workers. At the last convention, we re-chartered the Textile Workers International Union. We have cooperated with this organization in every way possible. However, this is a field in which there is evidenced a great deal of resistance on the part of employers. Despite this opposition progress is realized. Recently, this International Union organized in Elizabethton, Tennessee, possibly the strongest anti-union section in the country, and was subsequently certified, after an election, as the exclusive collective bargaining agency of these workers. This International Union has also made progress in up-state New York.

Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers. During the past year we have transferred to the newly formed International Union of Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers 101 unions. Reports at hand evidence constant progress in the organizing of these workers and in the improving of their standards of employment.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union. The American Federation of Labor has been assisting the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America in the organization of communication workers. In this field we have encountered considerable communist activity by reason of a desire to control communications. Nevertheless, we look forward to tremendous progress in the coming year. Requests for organization of these workers emanate from all over the country. By mutual agreement, in some localities, these workers are also organized in local federal unions. Under this joint arrangement, we have organized 30 or more locals of these workers. Many others are joining the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America. There are approximately 35,000 eligible for membership as this is one of the largest companies in this field. Great impetus has been given to the workers in this field for organization since the National Labor Relations Board rendered a decision that the Western Union Telegraph Company has maintained a company dominated union.

American Federation of Teachers. This International Union has been passing through a period of internal reorganization for the past year. Under the direction of its President, Dr. George Counts, this organization is assured renewed interest.

Difficulties have been encountered in organizing the teachers, but they are not insurmountable. To the contrary, the difficulties experienced have been more internal than external. At the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers, this situation was realized and steps were taken to overcome the obstacles presented. As a result, a special organizing committee of the American Federation of Labor has been selected to cooperate with a like committee of the American Federation of Teachers.

This joint committee has taken firm hold of the situation and in such fashion as to lend to the hope and conviction that a new era is presenting itself in the life and work of the American Federation of Teachers, which we are confident will attract constantly increasing numbers of teachers into affiliation with this organization. Real progress is looked for hereafter in this professional field.

Miscellaneous Unions. Remarkable progress has been realized among miscellaneous groups who do not come under the jurisdiction of national or international unions. During the fiscal year we have chartered 131 active unions in this field. We look forward to even greater growth in this direction during the coming year.

At the end of our fiscal year, we had affiliated with the American Federation of Labor 1,416 local trade and federal labor unions with an approximate membership reported as of August 31, 1940, of 208,501. This has increased to 215,673 in September, 1940, with an average figure of dues paying members of 186,419.

In addition to the organizing of the unorganized workers, the American Federation of Labor has assisted national and international unions in mediation conciliation, arbitration cases and before boards in various states. It has rendered a considerable service in cases before the National Labor Relations Board. We have assisted national and international unions in conferences with employers and during strikes. The national and international unions to which special assistance has been extended are the following:

The Laundry Workers International Union,
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees,
American Federation of Government Employees,
United Leather Workers International Union,
International Glove Workers Union of America,
International Metal Engravers' Union,
International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union,
United Brick and Clay Workers,
The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America,
Seafarers' International Union of North America,
United Textile Workers of America,
International Union United Automobile Workers of America,
International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America,
International Jewelry Workers' Union,
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union.

We bespeak a fitting tribute to the organizing staff and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor and to the state federations of labor, city central labor unions and to the officers and members of national

and international unions for valuable contributions and assistance rendered in this work of organizing.

The result of all these efforts is to be measured not alone in the number of local unions chartered and in the enlarged dues paying membership realized. In addition to an enlarged membership and to higher standards of employment and improved conditions of employment realized, we have advanced a better and more friendly understanding and relationship with employers everywhere by means of collective bargaining and agreements entered into. The success we have achieved is a complete answer to those who assert that harmony, conciliation and cooperation are wholly impossible between labor and capital, and vice versa. The new idea of joint and collective responsibility in approaching and solving industrial problems on the part of employers, management and labor is rapidly spreading to all fields of endeavor. Daily work in industry is now a collective undertaking. The trade union expresses the workers unsatisfied desire for self-betterment in all phases that desire may find expression. No substitute can hope to replace the union, for it has the intrinsic right to existence, which comes from service rendered to fit changing stages of development. Thus permitted freely to exercise his choice and protected in this choice, the individual worker readily responds to his needs and requirements and finds a natural attraction to those of his trade and calling. In the effort to protect and improve himself, he seeks collective security and advancement, and this fundamentally is the great inspiration for trade union organization and is to be encouraged at all times, on every occasion and by every possible and available means.

The fact that the American Federation of Labor now numbers approximately 4,247,443 workers is the best evidence of the validity and value of organization and of the great service rendered by the American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

The Executive Council is pleased to report that the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is again affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are very happy over the fact that it is now numbered as one among the 105 national and international unions which make up the American Federation of Labor.

Conferences were held between representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and of the American Federation of Labor during the early part of 1940. At conferences held, the differences which existed were discussed and a basis of understanding was considered. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor sincerely invited and earnestly appealed to the officers and membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to again become a part of the American Federation of Labor. Gradually the differences which stood in the way were overcome, understandings were reached and a basis of accommodation established.

The Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union took the initiative in favor of reaffiliation with the American Federation of

Labor. The report of the Executive Board recommending that such a course be followed was submitted to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union which was held in New York City beginning May 27. The convention decided by an overwhelming vote in favor of the recommendation made by the Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to return to and become a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Following this action by the convention, an invitation was extended to President Green to attend and address the convention and to formally welcome the great International Ladies' Garment Workers Union back into the fold of the American Federation of Labor. The invitation was accepted. President Green addressed the convention on June 6, 1940, and formally presented the organization with its charter of reaffiliation.

The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor were very gratified over this outcome of negotiations which had been carried on for some time between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union showed their happiness and enthusiasm over the developments which had taken place. Altogether it created a profound impression upon the membership of organized labor in the United States and their friends. No event affecting the organized labor movement of our country which transpired during the past year was fraught with deeper significance than the reaffiliation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union with the American Federation of Labor. The delegates representing this international union are in attendance at this convention of the American Federation of Labor. We extend them a hearty welcome and assure them of our determination to cement if possible in a strong and indestructible manner the bonds of affiliation and fraternity which have again been so happily established between the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the other 104 sister organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

The International Typographical Union became delinquent with the American Federation of Labor because of its refusal to pay tax and assessment to the American Federation of Labor which had been legally levied by conventions of the American Federation of Labor. No delegates representing the International Typographical Union were seated in the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, during the month of October 1939.

At the Convention of the International Typographical Union which was held in the city of New Orleans, August 17-23, 1940, a resolution was adopted instructing the Executive Council and the delegates elected by the International Typographical Union to represent said Union in conventions of the American Federation of Labor to meet with a committee representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of trying to

work out a settlement of differences existing between the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union. In response to this decision of the International Typographical Union Convention, arrangements were made for a conference between representatives of the two organizations to meet in the city of New Orleans while the convention of the American Federation of Labor is in session. These conferences will begin on November 20, 1940. Representatives of the Executive Council and of the International Typographical Union will confer, deal with the differences which exist, and endeavor to reach a settlement.

The Executive Council expresses the hope that out of these conferences and meetings will come an agreement which will provide for a settlement of all differences and a restoration of the International Typographical Union to good standing in the American Federation of Labor.

PER CAPITA TAX TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

This report to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor makes clear the success which has attended the widespread efforts of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on organization activities. The emphatic need for a financial income equal to the amount the American Federation of Labor is receiving through per capita tax and assessment, has been clearly established. The field in which there is a demand for organization work and organizing activities, is growing and expanding. Apparently the workers everywhere are turning to the American Federation of Labor.

To meet the increasing needs for organization work and services to those organized, the American Federation of Labor must be supplied with adequate financial income. In order to accomplish this purpose and to place the income of the American Federation of Labor upon a permanent and assured basis, the Executive Council makes the following recommendation:

That the assessment of 1 cent per member per month levied by the convention which was held in 1937, and continued by each succeeding convention, be discontinued, and that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies as follows: from international and national trade unions, a per capita tax of 2 cents per member per month; from local trade unions and federal labor unions, 36 cents per member per month, 12½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

Such an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor would, in the judgment of the Executive Council operate in such a way

as to provide and guarantee an income which would enable the American Federation of Labor to properly service organizations formed, and to carry on aggressive, successful campaigns among the unorganized workers of our nation.

SUSPENSIONS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor is definitely committed to the preservation as well as the practice of democracy. Our great organization seeks to apply the principles of democracy in a broad and comprehensive way in the administration of its affairs. We firmly believe in majority rule in the formulation and execution of administrative and organizational policies in accordance with democratic rules and procedure. We maintain that the membership of the American Federation of Labor shall formulate its policies, control and administer its affairs and determine its course through majority decisions arrived at in thorough democratic fashion at annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with this principle, the Executive Council recommends to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that a national or international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention; except in cases where two or more national and international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create and form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against said organizations, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

THE C. I. O.—ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

A full report was submitted to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which met at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 2-13, 1939, upon an official communication addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, dated September 30, 1939, upon the controversy existing between the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. In reporting to this, the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council deems it advisable to quote the following paragraphs from the letter received from President Roosevelt:

And so I ask you, as I shall ask the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its convention a little later, to continue wholeheartedly and generously the search for an accord. The men and women working daily in the mills, mines, factories and stores and in the transports, want this

accord. The American people want it and will hold in honor those whose insight, courage and unselfishness can effect it.

I hope that you will let me hear from you that the progress already made will be continued, and that your committee is prepared to renew the negotiations and continue them until a settlement is reached.

The Cincinnati Convention unanimously approved the telegraphic answer which was made to the letter received from President Roosevelt by President Green, on October 3, and which read as follows:

I thank you sincerely for your letter dated September 30th. It will be read to convention today. As a partial reply thereto I am mailing you copy of report of Executive Council American Federation of Labor to convention upon negotiations carried on by committees representing American Federation of Labor and C. I. O. during the past year. I especially direct your attention to last paragraph in said report which reads as follows: "Our committee still stands clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so. We have opened the door of the American Federation of Labor wide and completely. We have invited those who left the American Federation of Labor to return. We have urged them to come back home and settle differences within the family of labor in a sensible, honest and fair way. In doing this we have been inspired by a genuine desire to establish here in America a solid, united labor movement through which the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation can be fully and completely served." I will transmit to you promptly such decision and such action as the convention may take later upon both your communication and report of Executive Council dealing with C. I. O.

You will note that in the telegram sent to the President of the United States the position of the American Federation of Labor was made clear and definite. The President was advised that "Our committee still stands clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so."

The Cincinnati Convention also adopted the following declaration:

Your committee further recommends that the present committee of the American Federation of Labor be continued, and that it hold itself in readiness to meet with representatives of the C. I. O. whenever that organization will indicate a willingness to resume conferences.

Notwithstanding these representations publicly made to the President of the United States, no meetings of committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. have been held during the past year. Failure to hold conferences between duly accredited committees representing the two organizations is directly attributable to the fact that the leader of the C. I. O. refused to consent to such a meeting or to arrange for a committee representing the C. I. O. to meet with a committee representing the American Federation of Labor. The responsibility for failure to meet, confer and endeavor to settle differences, rests fully and absolutely with the leader of the C. I. O. movement. Press dispatches stated that the leader of the C. I. O. had publicly announced that no good purpose could be served through meetings of committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O.

When the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor held its mid-winter meeting beginning January 29, 1940, more than three months following the adjournment of the Cincinnati Convention, it formulated and adopted a statement dealing with peace negotiations with the C. I. O., which read as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

February 8, 1940.

In March, 1939, the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. appointed committees at the request of the President of the United States to negotiate peace in Labor.

The committees met several times in March and April in an effort to reach a settlement. The last meeting was on April 4. The following day the leader of the C. I. O. notified the American Federation of Labor Committee that he and his associates would be forced to postpone the negotiations because of other business. He promised to inform the American Federation of Labor Committee when he would be ready to resume negotiations. Ten months have passed since then. The American Federation of Labor Committee still is waiting to hear from the leader of the C. I. O.

Last August the leader of the C. I. O. declared at a press conference that so far as he was concerned peace with the American Federation of Labor was "impossible." Thus, for the second time, he deliberately wrecked efforts to restore unity to the family of labor. The first occasion was in December 1937, when committees representing both organizations had reached a unanimous agreement on a settlement which was vetoed at the last moment by the leader of the C. I. O.

The next development took place last October when the President of the United States addressed an urgent plea to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. for the resumption of peace negotiations. The response of the American Federation of Labor Convention was immediate and favorable. The convention, through President Green, informed the President by telegram that the American Federation of Labor Committee stood ready to meet the C. I. O. Committee at any time and any place. The C. I. O. convention ignored the communication from the President of the United States.

President Green reports to the Executive Council that since the convention he has conferred with President Roosevelt three times at the White House on the subject of Labor peace. The President renewed his request for resumption of negotiations. Mr. Green replied that the American Federation of Labor was ready and willing to do so. The President also interviewed the leader of the C. I. O. several times since the convention. No public response was forthcoming from that individual.

At his last conference at the White House, President Green asked President Roosevelt whether he had received a favorable response from the leader of the C.I.O. President Roosevelt indicated that he had as yet been unable to prevail upon the leader of the C. I. O. to accede.

We must assume that if the leader of the C. I. O. had agreed to resume negotiations we would have been informed long before this and peace negotiations already would have been under way. Thus, we must draw the inescapable conclusion that the C. I. O. leader persists in his obdurate refusal.

The responsibility for blocking progress toward the restoration of peace in organized labor therefore must fall upon one man, Mr. John L. Lewis.

The working people of our country, the press, and the public at large

are asking why peace negotiations are not resumed. As a matter of simple justice, the truth should be told to them. The President of the United States can do it.

In the opinion of the Executive Council the time has arrived when the President of the United States should make the facts known.

We therefore respectfully request the President of the United States to issue a public statement on this matter so that the responsibility for continuation of the division which exists in the ranks of Labor can be placed where it properly belongs.

In conformity with the request made in a telegram sent by direction of the Executive Council to President Roosevelt, dated February 8, the President at a press conference at the White House the following day discussed this subject. The following statement is quoted from the New York Times report of this conference:

Washington, D. C., Feb. 9, 1940.

President Roosevelt broke his silence on the feud between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations today, and attributed to John L. Lewis, head of the C. I. O., responsibility for failure of his efforts to bring about a resumption of peace negotiations between the organizations.

Press dispatches reported that in an address delivered by the leader of the C. I. O. before the American Youth Congress on February 10, 1940, he stated:

In the newspapers of yesterday and today it seems that President Roosevelt and President Green of the American Federation of Labor have agreed that I am solely responsible for the non-convening of the peace conferences between these two organizations, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Well, that is a remarkable discovery, because I have been willing to admit it all the time.

Instead of responding to the appeals made by the President of the United States for a restoration of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor, the representatives of the C. I. O., the dual, rebel movement, have continued their attempts to invade the jurisdiction of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This has been particularly true in the building and construction field. The representatives of the rival building and construction C. I. O. organization have appealed to employers to recognize said rebel movement and to employ members of said rebel organization in building and construction work at a rate of pay very much less than the scale established through years of sacrifice and effort by the bona fide building trades organizations chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

This action on the part of the C. I. O. is more than unethical. It violates every rule of trade union conduct and does violence to every moral obligation which members of unions have assumed toward each other. It has always been assumed that only strike-breakers and those who never belonged to a union would offer to work at rates of pay greatly below the union scale and union wage standards. It is bad enough to raid established unions, to persuade and beguile unsuspecting men to leave the bona fide labor movement which has functioned for three-quarters of a century and join with rebels in

a dual movement; but it is infinitely and despicably worse for the leaders of such a rebel, dual movement to beg employers to utilize their men and to permit them to be used in lowering wage scales and in destroying working standards in a great industry such as the building and construction industry. This is a violation of the moral code established by trade unions and religiously observed by loyal union members. It is a crime which exceeds and transcends all others included in our trade union vocabulary.

If there is any one field where the pursuit of a raiding policy or an attempt to set up a rival movement is absolutely unjustifiable, it is within the building and construction field. No excuse can be given, no reason offered, no justification advanced for the invasion of the American Federation of Labor building and construction field by the rebel dual C. I. O. movement. We denounce it as reprehensible beyond expression and we pledge the full and complete support of the American Federation of Labor to the defeat of this criminal policy pursued by the C. I. O.

The answer which the workers of the nation have made to the efforts of the C. I. O. to raid established unions, to prevail upon workers to join with the rebel, rival, dual movement is reflected in the report of the paid-up membership in the American Federation of Labor. These figures speak for themselves. They show a substantial increase in paid-up membership. These financial facts can only be interpreted as meaning that the workers of the nation are turning to the American Federation of Labor. They regard it as the established American labor movement, firmly established upon a sound American labor basis.

On the other hand, the C. I. O. has never submitted a financial statement showing its paid-up membership. Everybody knows, all working men and women and the public at large, the actual paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor. This is made possible because the American Federation of Labor submits periodical reports reviewed by auditors who audit its accounts, which show the paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council fully understands the need of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. It entertains a full and deep appreciation, as well as a complete understanding of the value of united action and of the mobilization of the full strength, power and influence of the workers of the nation into one united American labor movement. The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that Labor in America can be solidified and united through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In order to accomplish this purpose and realize this objective, the Executive Council reports to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has endeavored to re-establish unity within the labor movement through conferences with representatives of the C. I. O. and has endeavored to bring about a settlement of existing differences during the past year.

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C. I. O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place.

PRINTING TRADES—LITHOGRAPHERS

The Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor considered the report of the Executive Council on the dispute existing between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, and directed that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about adjustment of this controversy through conferences and agreements.

Pursuant to these instructions, conferences have been held during the past year between representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, the International Photo-Engravers Union of North America, and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, in which the President of the American Federation of Labor participated. Earnest efforts were put forth to bring about a settlement and to terminate the jurisdictional controversy which has existed for a number of years. All propositions offered by the President of the American Federation of Labor designed to bring about a settlement on a fair and just basis were rejected. Each meeting ended in disagreement.

The Executive Council again considered the controversy at its meeting held in Washington, D. C., beginning September 30, 1940. Reports of conferences held and of the existing status of the controversy were examined and considered carefully. The Executive Council directed that failure to bring about a settlement through conferences in which the representatives of all parties at interest participated, be reported to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

RESPECT FOR LAW AND THE PURSUIT OF LAWFUL POLICIES

The American Federation of Labor is an American institution definitely committed to the preservation of our form of government and our American institutions. From the moment when the American Federation of Labor was launched, it has sought through official pronouncements and the formation of administrative policies, to develop and promote respect for and observance of the laws of the land. We seek to operate within the law and to secure economic betterment and higher standards of life and living for all working men and women through the utilization of lawful methods. That is the high aim and lofty purpose of the American Federation of Labor.

Unfortunately, we have found that men who have been influenced by criminal instincts have penetrated our movement and through a seizure of power and control have resorted to exploitation of helpless workers for purely selfish purposes. We are compelled to deal with the realities of the situation, to organize men and women as we find them, to accept into membership wage earners who are willing and qualified to join. The economic success of the workers in each industrial calling depends largely upon the percentage of workers who become organized and who assume union obligations. Wage earners are wage earners. We accept all qualified wage earners into membership in our unions. They in turn, exercising their democratic rights, elect their officers.

We seek to establish and maintain our unions upon a high moral, ethical and law-abiding basis. We disavow racketeering, gangsterism and disregard for law most emphatically and without reservation. These forces of lawlessness inflict great injury upon the membership of organized labor. We want none of it in our movement. We know that public opinion, which after all is a vital and controlling force in American life, will support organized labor when it is right, and will turn against it when it is wrong. We seek to keep the American Federation of Labor right because we are inspired by a sincere desire to lift the standard of life and living among working men and women to a higher level. As a voluntary organization, we realize that our progress and our achievements will depend very largely upon the support of a healthy public opinion.

The millions of members who make up the American Federation of Labor are honest, sincere, law-abiding citizens. They exercise a wholesome influence in the promotion of the civic and moral betterment of each community. Invariably they take an active part in all movements launched in their respective communities designed to advance community and individual interests. Their interests must be protected and their welfare promoted.

In order to accomplish this high and lofty purpose the Executive Council calls upon all members of unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor to exercise all care and diligence in preventing exploiters and gangsters from securing official positions in their organizations and from exercising control over their administrative policies.

In dealing with this question, however, it must be pointed out that national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor are autonomous organizations, exercising full and complete authority over their own administrative policies. Full and complete control is vested in the membership of these national and international unions to formulate and execute their policies, to adopt their own constitutions and to elect their own officers. All of this is in entire conformity with the voluntary as well as the democratic procedure established and followed by the American Federation of Labor since its formation over sixty years ago. The American Federation of Labor could not confer upon these organizations full and complete power to administer their own affairs and at the same time reserve to itself the right to exercise dictatorial control. Such attitude would be contradictory.

However, the Executive Council urges that the membership of national and international unions select and elect men of character, of known honesty and integrity to official positions, and prevent those with criminal records from either holding official positions or from representing them in any capacity whatsoever.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Congress was in session during the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor. The second session of the 76th Congress had assembled on September 21, 1939, and adjourned on November 3, 1939. This session had been called by the President to revise the Neutrality Act in the light of

changed conditions. Among chief changes sought was repeal of the arms embargo in the Neutrality Act. There was opposition but not sufficient to prevent the change. Amendments to continue the arms embargo were defeated in the Senate by substantial majorities. An attempt in the House to instruct its conferees to insist on the arms embargo was voted down, 242 to 181. Two provisions not previously incorporated in neutrality enactments give Congress as well as the President the right to determine whether a state of war exists and authorize the President to designate combat areas through which American vessels shall not travel.

The third session of the 76th Congress convened on January 3, 1940, and is still in session. This will probably be one of the longest drawn out sessions of Congress in the history of our country. Most of the legislation in the latter half of the current session was concerned with national defense. Military and naval appropriations, including contractual authorizations, totaled \$17,016,113,693. To partially meet the future drafts on the treasury an excess profits tax was imposed and taxes on tobacco, liquor, gasoline, etc., were boosted. The income tax was broadened by lowering the amount of exempt net income from \$2,500 to \$2,000 for married persons and from \$1,000 to \$800 for single persons. This change is expected to add approximately 2,250,000 income tax payers to the rolls.

As the war clouds in Europe became darker and more menacing there was an ever growing tendency to sidetrack proposed legislation that did not have a direct bearing upon national defense. The summary of legislation submitted herewith clearly illustrates this point. In other words, it is reasonably certain that more progress would have been made with many of the bills sponsored by Labor if normal conditions had prevailed. Notwithstanding this handicap the American Federation of Labor was successful in obtaining a number of laws beneficial to Labor. This report also records the defeat of objectionable legislation because of the alertness of the American Federation of Labor.

It should be noted that this summary was compiled under difficulties since Congress was and is still in session and the status of bills changes from day to day. However, an earnest effort has been made to carry every item to the day of going to print.

A list of favorable legislation and of objectionable measures defeated, follows:

1. Providing a continuing study of facts on productivity and labor costs.
2. Protection for those to be inducted into the armed forces.
3. Adequate appropriations for Federal housing projects: (a) to facilitate national defense and (b) for the low-income groups.
4. Further protection against prison labor competition and provision for further study of the problem.
5. Various enactments to safeguard and improve the working conditions of Federal employees.
6. Remedial laws for migratory labor.
7. Prevailing wages at Boulder Dam.

8. "Fair Wages and Equitable Working Conditions" under Transportation Act of 1940.

9. Truth in Fabric Act requiring labeling of goods to indicate wool contents.

10. Aid for blind persons.

11. Citizen employment on Panama Canal and an appropriation to house the required additional personnel.

12. Beneficial amendment to Alaska Railroad Retirement Act.

13. Prevailing rate of wages for territories.

14. Extension of "Clean Politics" Act.

15. Improved Unemployment Compensation Law for the District of Columbia.

16. Improved Unemployment Insurance Law for railroad workers.

17. More drastic provisions for the deportation of aliens advocating overthrow of the Government.

18. Marine war risk insurance.

19. Protection for American fisheries against unfair foreign competition.

20. Reserving towing between American ports to American ships.

21. Protection against dangerous cargoes.

22. Penalties for stowaways who have, in the past, used this method for illegal entry to the United States.

23. Federal regulation of nautical schools.

24. Higher standards for licensing operators of motorboats.

25. Defeated objectionable amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act.

26. Defeated several bills seeking to destroy the Asiatic Exclusion Law of 1924.

27. Defeated several overt attacks on the Seamen's Act of 1915.

Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs—H. J. R. 265 (Public Res. 77)—The purpose of this resolution, introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor, is to authorize and direct the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor to make continuing studies of productivity and labor costs in the manufacturing, mining, transportation, distribution, and other industries. Estimates show that between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 men and women are unemployed today because of labor-saving devices installed in industry since 1929. Statistics pertaining to productivity and labor costs are necessary in efforts to prevent technological unemployment. These statistics will show in what industries work hours should be shortened where new machinery and techniques have increased productivity and reduced labor costs. Figures are also needed by employers and employes for wage negotiations. By making adjustments in those industries where scientific advance makes shorter hours and higher wages possible, the problem of technological unemployment can be attacked at its source and controlled through the normal channel of trade union agreements. This is the rightful and constructive way to make sure that scientific advance in industries will bring higher living standards instead of an increasing problem of technological unemployment. The information necessary to give productivity and labor cost information each month in 59 industries is readily available in the monthly records kept

by these industries. This information has already been compiled so as to show productivity and labor costs from 1910 through 1936 in a study made with W. P. A. funds. Keeping these figures up to date will greatly increase the usefulness of this original investment and develop information which will be constantly used by employers for managerial and financial decisions as well as by unions in planning their lines of action. The sum of \$50,000 was appropriated to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Conscription, S. 4164 (Public No. 783)—A conscription law was enacted providing for compulsory military service for all males from 21 to 36 years of age. After the bill was introduced, the American Federation of Labor suggested that before applying conscription in the United States a voluntary enlistment plan be applied. It was felt that this was the American way, particularly during peace-time periods. When it became obvious that Congress intended to enact a compulsory conscription bill our cooperation was promptly forthcoming for patriotic reasons. We endeavored to protect, as best we could, the interests of those who were to be inducted into armed forces. The bill originally provided for the registration of all men from the ages of 18 to 64, but these ages were reduced to 21 to 36 with selections from this group not to exceed 900,000 in time of peace for one year's training. Monthly pay was also increased to \$30 per month. Public officials, persons in agriculture, industries or public employment necessary to national health, safety or interest were exempted, as were students entered in a recognized college or university for the 1940-41 academic year, ministers, divinity students and conscientious objectors due to religious training or belief.

Another provision dealt with recalcitrant, non-cooperating employers as it permitted the taking over of plants on a rental basis.

After much consideration there was also written into the law a clause guaranteeing to United States Government employes the return to their positions after completion of their military service. The following sub-sections aim to give like protection to those in private employment and to employes of any state or political subdivision thereof:

If such position was in the employ of a private employer, such employer shall restore such person to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so;

If such position was in the employ of any state or political subdivision thereof, it is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress that such person should be restored to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay.

Seniority rights, insurance and other benefits were protected for both government and private employes with appeal to the United States District Court provided against non-complying employers in private industry.

Provisions were also made "that no men shall be inducted for training and service until adequate provisions shall have been made for housing, sanitary facilities, water supplies, heating and lighting arrangements, medical care, and hospital accommodations."

The Executive Council has ordered that members of local unions directly

affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, who enter the military service, be protected as to their standing in their unions and it has also recommended that affiliated national and international unions give consideration to this question.

Housing—It will be recalled that S. 591—authorizing expenditure of \$800,000,000 for the use of the United States Housing Administration in extending Federal housing aid to low-income groups—was passed by the United States Senate in the first regular session of the 76th Congress and that the House of Representatives sidetracked the legislation by refusing to adopt a rule providing for its consideration. Since the House took this action the officers of the American Federation of Labor have made every consistent effort to secure final passage of this legislation and S. 591 is now on the House calendar. The recent adoption of a plank in the Democratic platform calling for housing extension, its proposed extension to rural areas and to national defense, will give the proposal additional impetus.

As high officials in Government and influential members of Congress had promised American Federation of Labor officials a housing bill would be enacted, it was believed and expected that the proposed legislation would become law before the 76th Congress adjourned. However, as the international situation became more involved it became necessary for the Congress to concentrate upon measures providing for national defense and legislative proposals of less vital importance were neglected.

H. R. 10200, introduced July 11, 1940, by Mr. Vinson, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, authorizes the construction of various public works projects in connection with national defense. This bill contains a section authorizing the Housing Authority to issue bonds for \$250,000,000 for national defense housing. *H. R. 10200* remains on the House calendar at the time of writing.

H. R. 10263 (Public No. 781). This is known as the Second Deficiency Act. When the bill was before the Senate Committee on Appropriations, representatives of the American Federation of Labor testified in support of an amendment by Senator Wagner which proposed an appropriation of \$300,000,000 for defense housing. One hundred million was inserted in the bill by the Senate and agreed to by the House for this purpose.

H. R. 10412 (Public No. 849), was introduced August 27, 1940, by Chairman Lanham of the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee. This measure provides for housing in case the President finds it necessary to facilitate national defense activities. It authorizes an appropriation of \$150,000,000 for this purpose. The bill as introduced carried no labor provisions and provided that the Public Buildings Administration would have charge of all work done under the bill. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were able to secure amendments in the House providing for the prevailing rate of pay and for reasonable working hours. When the bill was in Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, representatives of the Federation testified and prevailed upon the Committee to amend the bill in order that the Administrator of Federal Works might use any agency

of the Government over which he had jurisdiction in doing this work. This took the administration of the bill from the Public Buildings Administration which does not have the experience of many other government agencies doing housing. The bill as amended became law.

House Joint Res. 607 (Public Res. 99), introduced September 10, 1940, by ranking Republican and Democratic members of the House Appropriations Committee provides an appropriation of \$338,263,902 for the construction and installation of buildings, flying fields and appurtenances thereto, including acquisition of the land. It was done without notifying or consulting with all members of the House Appropriations Committee. Objection was raised by some committee members to this procedure on the floor of the House and there was also much complaint because a copy of the bill was not available to members while it was being acted upon. Despite this fact it was passed in a very few moments and the following day the same procedure was followed in the Senate—in both instances without a roll call vote. The resolution was approved by the President on September 24, 1940.

House Joint Res. 614, introduced October 7, 1940, by Representative Taylor, makes an additional appropriation of \$75,000,000 to enable the Federal Works Administrator to carry out the provisions of the before mentioned H. R. 10412, relating to national defense housing. This resolution was reported October 8, and is pending on the House floor for action.

Housing for Migratory Labor. A summary of housing legislation pertaining to migratory labor will be found under the caption "Migratory Labor."

Prison-made Goods—For many years efforts have been made to curtail competition of convict-made goods with those produced by free labor. The American Federation of Labor has led the fight for such legislation and in 1929 secured the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act (Public No. 669, approved January 19, 1929).

Under the Constitution Congress was given power to legislate in regard to interstate commerce but as all powers not expressly given to the Federal Government by the Constitution are reserved to the states, Congress is powerless to legislate regarding intrastate commerce. By enacting the Hawes-Cooper Act Congress divested itself of a portion of its jurisdiction over prison products in interstate commerce by authorizing states to subject such goods, when shipped, to their own laws. The effective date of the Act was deferred five years in order that states might make necessary adjustments. A majority of the states took advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act and protected themselves by enacting legislation restricting the sale or use of prison-made goods. However, shipments continued to be made into states having restrictive laws and prison-made products were being "bootlegged" in such states.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, prepared and had introduced the Ashurst-Sumners Act (Public No. 215, approved July 24, 1935), prohibiting the shipment of convict-made goods into states which prohibited their sale in the open market. It also required that containers of such goods be marked as to their origin. The Hawes-Cooper and Ashurst-Sumners Acts caused all

but the following eight states to enact restrictive laws regarding prison products: Alabama, Delaware, Missouri, Nevada, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Some states, however, continued to ship convict products into states without protective laws and the results were deplorable. For example: Minnesota shipped its prison products into Missouri and sold them at a price lower than the latter state's prisons could produce them. Minnesota also manufactures farm machinery in its prison and there is currently in use in Wisconsin \$7,000,000 of farm machinery manufactured in the Minnesota prison. In order to deal with the situation created by lack of cooperation from the eight states mentioned, the Executive Council sponsored and was successful in having enacted *S. 3550 (Public No. 851)* prohibiting the shipment of any prison products in interstate commerce, except agricultural commodities, repair parts for farm machinery, or goods manufactured for another state.

The Executive Council also actively supported two other measures relating to prison labor:

Senate Joint Res. 59 (Public Res. No. 85), authorizes the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information concerning character, kind, type, amount, and value of all goods produced in state and Federal prisons, showing separately the amount of all goods produced under the state-use, state-account, contract, and piece-rate system.

S. 2303 (Public No. 539) authorizes the continuance of the work of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration. This agency assists any state, upon invitation, in working out more satisfactory and efficient methods of employing and training prisoners. Previous studies of prison conditions have revealed indefensible competition with free labor and industry, wholesale demoralizing idleness of thousands of prisoners due in part to restrictive Federal and state legislation, as well as overcrowded and obsolete housing conditions. The principal purpose of the work carried on by the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration is to help the states to eliminate competition of prison-made products with the products of free industry, to find useful employment for all their prisoners, and to establish better methods of penal treatment. These objectives are, of course, interrelated and inseparable.

Ship Construction by Maritime Commission—H. R. 10380 and S. 4341. These bills were introduced to expedite national defense by suspending provisions of the 8-hour law on work covered by contracts of the Maritime Commission. As introduced, they made no provision for overtime. The American Federation of Labor intervened and succeeded in having the following inserted:

That the wages of every laborer and mechanic employed by any contractor or subcontractor engaged in the performance of any such contract shall be computed on a basic rate of 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week and work in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week shall be permitted upon compensation for all hours worked in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week at not less than one and one-half times the basic rate of pay.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to modify any contracts between

management and labor in shipyards which provide for conditions more favorable to labor than the minimum provisions as to hours per day and hours per week and for overtime provided in this Act.

The United States Maritime Commission was authorized to modify its existing contract in conformity with the terms of the bill.

The Senate bill, S. 4341, was then enacted into law (Public No. 831).

Federal Employees—In accordance with convention instructions close cooperation was given to the affiliated organizations in their efforts to obtain beneficial legislation for employees of the Government. The following proposals were before Congress:

H. R. 960—Extension of Civil Service—introduced by Congressman Ramspeck on January 3, 1939. This bill permits the President to blanket into Civil Service all employees of the Government. Amendments were agreed to exempting the TVA, deputy marshals, attorneys, policy forming officials and those directly employed by WPA. An amendment also was placed in the bill prohibiting employees from a state, which is in excess of its quota, from being blanketed into Civil Service. It is estimated that about 200,000 employees could be placed under Civil Service by the terms of this bill. The political opponents of the bill contended it was devised to make political appointees permanent and secure in their positions. The bill passed the House on February 9, 1940, and lay dormant in the Senate Committee until June 10, 1940, when it was reported. It passed the Senate on September 27, 1940, after several days discussion and after it had been amended by requiring fingerprinting instead of a photograph of an applicant for identification purposes. On October 7, 1940, the House refused to accept the conference report because of the quota amendment and because of the fingerprinting amendment. The American Federation of Labor took a very active part in securing the passage of this bill and was exceptionally active in having TVA exempted. If the conference report is approved at all it will not be prior to the election.

Working Hours in War and Navy Departments—Two laws "to expedite the strengthening of national defense," H. R. 9822 (Public No. 671) and H. R. 9850 (Public No. 703), removed the previously existing limit on the 8-hour workday and the 40-hour workweek.

Sec. 5(a) of Public No. 671 reads:

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the regular working hours of the Navy Department and the Coast Guard and their field services shall be eight hours a day or forty hours per week during the period of the national emergency declared by the President on September 8, 1939, to exist: Provided, That under such regulations as the head of the Department concerned may prescribe, and where additional employees cannot be obtained to meet the exigencies of the situation, these hours may be exceeded: Provided further, That compensation for employment in excess of forty hours in any administrative workweek computed at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate shall be paid only to monthly per diem, hourly, and piece-work employees, whose wages are set by the Act of July 16, 1862 (12 Stat. 587), as amended or modified; and also to professional and sub-professional employees and to blue-printers, photostat and rotaprint operators, inspectors, supervisory planners and

estimators, and supervisory progressmen, and assistants to shop and plant superintendents of the CAF service, as defined by the Classification Act of March 4, 1923 (42 Stat. 1488; U. S. C. 5, ch. 13), as amended: Provided further, That in determining the overtime compensation of per annum Government employes the pay for one day shall be considered to be one three-hundred-and-sixtieth of their respective per annum salaries: Provided further, That the President is authorized to suspend, in whole or in part, for the War and Navy Departments and for the Coast Guard and their field services, during the period of the national emergency declared by him on September 8, 1939, to exist, the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1931 (46 Stat. 1482; U. S. C. 5, 26 (a)), if in his judgment such course is necessary in the interest of national defense, and any regulations issued pursuant to the Act of March 14, 1936 (49 Stat. 1161; U. S. C. Supp. V, title 5, sec. 29 (a)), may be modified accordingly: And provided further, That notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to prescribe regulations to establish such uniformity among the War and Navy Departments and the Coast Guard and their field services in regard to hours of work and compensation for overtime of their civilian employes as he may deem necessary in the interest of national defense.

Section 4(b) of Public No. 703, reads:

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the regular working hours of laborers and mechanics employed by the War Department, who are engaged in the manufacture or production of military equipment, munitions, or supplies shall be eight hours per day or forty hours per week during the period of any national emergency declared by the President to exist: Provided, That under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, such hours may be exceeded, but compensation for employment in excess of forty hours in any workweek, computed at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate, shall be paid to such laborers and mechanics.

S. 4196 and S. 4208 were introduced by Senators Walsh and Sheppard, respectively, to make eligible certain other groups for the time and one-half overtime payment. Both bills passed the Senate but at the time this is written only *S. 4208* has passed the House. *S. 4196* is still pending in the House Naval Affairs Committee.

H. R. 2001—For the Equalization of Letter Carriers. Passed House July 17, 1939; passed Senate August 1, 1939; Conference report agreed to January 18 and 29, 1940; vetoed by President Roosevelt February 13, 1940 (Document No. 635).

S. 488 and H. R. 7760—Providing for Appointment, Promotion and Compensation of Substitute Postal Employes. No action.

S. 1350 and S. 3147—Fixing the Compensation of Substitute Employes. No action.

S. 526—To clarify the Status of Custodial Employes in Postal Service. Sub-committee appointed April 2, 1940.

H. R. 892—Extending Certain Benefits to Custodial Employes of the Postal Service. Passed House May 1, 1939; passed Senate September 30, 1940; House agreed to Senate amendments October 9, 1940. Vetoed by President Roosevelt October 21, 1940. (Document No. 980.)

H. R. 7663—Providing Sick Leave for Substitute Postal Employees. Passed House April 15, 1940; substitute bill, S. 3019 passed Senate April 22, 1940; approved April 30, 1940 (Public No. 492).

H. R. 8582—Adjusting Salaries of Rural Letter Carriers. Passed House May 20, 1940.

H. R. 1827—Allowing Moving Expenses to Employees in the Railway Mail Service. Passed House May 15, 1939; passed Senate May 28, 1940; approved June 25, 1940 (Public No. 662).

H. R. 8733—Clarifying the Employment Status of Special Delivery Messengers in the Postal Service. Passed House April 15, 1940.

H. R. 9670—Providing Eight-hour Workday and Payment for Overtime for Dispatchers and Mechanics-in-Charge in the Postal Motor-Vehicle Service. Passed House May 20, 1940; passed Senate September 30, 1940; approved October 9, 1940 (Public No. 823).

H. R. 3649—Establishing a System of Longevity Pay for Postal Employees. Joint hearings held April 4 and 5, 1940.

S. 487 and S. 3110—To Establish a System of Longevity Pay for Postal Employees. Hearing held April 4, 1940.

S. 4382—Automatic Promotions of Special Clerks in First Class Post Offices. No action.

H. R. 10578—Providing for Automatic Promotions of Special Clerks in First Class Post Offices from the First to the Second Grade. No action.

H. R. 8640—Day's Work in the Postal Service to be Performed in Eight Hours within Nine Consecutive Hours. No action.

H. R. 7662—Increasing Salary for Postal Employees. No action.

H. R. 9272—Rural Carrier Substitute Status and S. 1663—Heavy Route Adjustment. Opposition of the Post Office Department and the existence of a dual organization of rural letter carriers, with conflicting opinions on pending legislation, kept these bills in Committee.

H. R. 9857—Providing two Additional Grades for Postal and Railway Mail Laborers. No action.

S. 1664—To Reclassify the Salaries of Watchmen, Messengers and Laborers in the Postal Service. No action.

H. R. 10405—Granting Certain Increases to the Custodial Group in Navy Yards and Stations. Passed House September 14, 1940; passed Senate September 25, 1940; vetoed by President Roosevelt October 4, 1940. (Document No. 964.)

Migratory Labor—By the adoption of House Res. 63, the Speaker was authorized to appoint a committee of five members "to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across state lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation." The Executive Council actively supported the authorization for this much needed investigation. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated to cover the expenses of the Committee, which is as follows: John H. Tolan,

Chairman, California; Claude V. Parsons, Illinois; John J. Sparkman, Alabama; Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska; and Frank C. Osmer, New Jersey.

The Executive Council also successfully urged adequate appropriations for a continuance of the migratory labor camp program of the Farm Security Administration. Available records show that at least 350,000 American families—more than a million men, women and children—are wandering from state to state in a desperate effort to earn a living as migrant farm laborers. These families probably have the lowest living standards of any group in the United States. Their incomes usually range between \$200 and \$450 a year. The camp program, inaugurated by the Farm Security Administration, is the very least the Government should do to alleviate the suffering of these migratory farm families.

Finally, the Executive Council strongly opposed the proposed curtailment of the farm tenant purchase program. This program is of immediate interest to organized labor because it constitutes one of the most promising methods of halting the drift of surplus labor from the farms to the cities. During the last decade many thousands of displaced tenants and sharecroppers have moved to the cities in search of jobs or in hope of relief. These job hunters have, of course, thrown a depressing burden on the labor market, which is growing heavier year by year. The tenant loans under the Bankhead-Jones Act have proved highly effective in checking this trend by anchoring farm families on their own land. In addition, the tenant-purchase loans have increased activity in the rural-housing field and furnished considerable employment for building trades workers. Tenant-purchase loans are made large enough to cover not only the cost of the farm land, but also the cost of placing the farm buildings in good repair. In many instances this has required all new construction. In the first two years of the program, for instance, out of a total of \$35,000,000 available for the tenant-purchase program more than \$6,500,000 was spent for construction. The farm tenant purchase program was adopted in the Senate with little opposition and was continued by a House vote of 194 to 144.

Wages at Boulder Dam—H. R. 9877 (Public No. 756). For several years American Federation of Labor unions with members employed in the construction, operation and maintenance of Boulder Dam, have expressed dissatisfaction with the methods used in determining wages. Boulder Dam is under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department and this session of Congress considered a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to put into effect certain modifications in the charges for electrical energy generated at Boulder Dam. The Executive Council took advantage of this opportunity to clarify the determination of wages. The following amendment was submitted and adopted:

All laborers and mechanics employed in the construction of any part of the project, or in the operation, maintenance, or replacement of any part of the Boulder Dam, shall be paid not less than the prevailing rate of wages or compensation for work of a similar nature prevailing in the locality of the project. In the event any dispute arises as to what are the prevailing rates, the determination thereof shall be made by the Secretary

of the Interior, and his decision, subject to the concurrence of the Secretary of Labor, shall be final.

Transportation Act of 1940—S. 2009 (Public 785)—Providing various changes in older statutes covering the regulation of transportation this Act finally gives the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction over water-borne commerce. Regulatory functions concerning water-borne commerce now administered by the Maritime Commission are to be transferred to the Interstate Commerce Commission at such time as the President may specify by Executive Order. Of first importance to railroad employes are its provisions relating to Labor. Among other things it provides for fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation subject to the provisions of the Act so administered as "to encourage fair wages and equitable working conditions." Despite much opposition, labor representatives were successful in securing adoption of a section which provides that, incident to its issuing an order approving any proposed consolidation, merger, acquisition of control, etc., the Interstate Commerce Commission shall include terms and conditions setting forth that "during the period of four years from the effective date of such order such transaction will not result in employes of the carrier or carriers by railroad affected by such order being in a worse position with respect to their employment, except that the protection afforded to any employe pursuant to this sentence shall not be required to continue for a longer period . . . than the period such employe was in the employ of such carrier or carriers prior to the effective date of such order."

Truth in Fabric Bill—S. 162 (Public 850)—Based upon the principles of the Pure Food and Drug Act, this law provides for the labeling of goods in such a manner as to show their content of "wool, reprocessed wool and reused wool" and so protects producers, manufacturers, distributors, and consumers from unrevealed presence of substitutes and mixtures in manufactured wool products. The Federal Trade Commission will enforce the law. This type of legislation has been advocated for many years and was supported by the American Federation of Labor.

Aid for Blind Persons—H. R. 9539 introduced on April 25, 1940, is a revision of H. R. 4927 upon which a report was made to the Cincinnati Convention. It liberalizes existing law authorizing the operation of vending stands in Federal buildings for blind persons. Efforts to have this bill reported were without success. Congress did, however, increase by \$25,000 the former appropriation for books for the adult blind.

Canal Zone—At the last convention a comprehensive report was made regarding labor conditions on the Canal Zone. It was pointed out that thousands of aliens were performing skilled work at low rates of pay. Efforts to correct the situation were continued and as government executive officials showed no disposition to be helpful, legislation was proposed by the American Federation of Labor. After a long drawn out contest it was adopted.

The Navy Department Appropriation Act (Public No. 588), the War Department Military Appropriations Act (Public No. 611) and the War Department Civil Functions Appropriation Act (Public No. 653), as finally approved,

carried identical sections which provided: (1) observance of a treaty with Panama providing equal employment rights for the nationals of that country; (2) elimination of all aliens, except those covered by the treaty, from all clerical, technical, administrative, supervisory and skilled positions; (3) equal rates of pay for comparable positions in continental United States plus 25 percent; (4) 40-hour week. The legislation will be effective May 1, 1941, and because of its enactment thousands of Americans will be employed in positions formerly held by aliens.

A new canal and additional fortifications are being constructed. These projects require additional personnel, both civilian and military, which must be housed. The Government will spend \$600,000,000 for this purpose in the next five years.

The new legislation applies to all activities on the Canal Zone of the Army, Navy, Panama Canal, Panama Railroad and Panama Railroad Steamship Line, as well as contractors who perform work for them on the Isthmus.

The Executive Council has made provisions to station a competent person on the Zone for the purpose of representing the interests of Labor when the law is effective. This representative is instructed to cooperate with administrative officials in every consistent way, to the end that the work may proceed as rapidly and with as little friction as possible.

Canal Zone Retirement Act Amendments—S. 310 and H. R. 1819—The Senate bill passed the Senate in 1939 and was favorably reported by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries but was objected to on the floor of the House on two occasions and failed to pass because of objections raised by the chairman of the House Civil Service Committee.

Alaska Railroad Retirement Act (H. R. 8046—Public No. 680)—When the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act was passed the clerical employes were exempt from the retirement benefits thereof and were given instead the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act. That led to confusion and by the bill, H. R. 8046, all of the Alaska Railroad employes, including the clerical employes, are now enjoying the superior advantages of the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act. Those employed on river boats, owned and operated by the Alaska Railroad, were included in the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act at the 1939 session of Congress by H. R. 2178 (Public 320).

Prevailing Rate of Wages for Territories—S. 3650 (Public No. 633)—This legislation extends to the territories of Alaska and Hawaii the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act requiring the payment of the prevailing rate of wages on all public works.

Extension of "Clean Politics" Act—The original "clean politics" act, known as the "Hatch bill," to ban pernicious political activities, became effective on August 2, 1939. It was summarized in the Executive Council's report to the Cincinnati Convention. In brief, it forbids political activity on the part of Federal employes. The second Hatch Act, S. 3046 (Public No. 753), prohibits political activity on the part of state employes paid, in whole or in part, from Federal funds. The second Hatch Act also restores to Washington, D. C., Government employes, living in nearby Virginia and Maryland, the right to

participate in purely local elections and to serve as town and county officials, subject to regulations of the Civil Service Commission. In addition, it limits to \$3,000,000 the annual expenditures of any political committee and to \$5,000 the amount any one person or organization may contribute to national committees for campaign purposes. The Act ran a checkered career through Congress, and, in fact, a majority of the Democrats in the House voted against it.

Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941—House Joint Res. 544 (Public Res. No. 88)—Every consistent effort was made to secure adequate appropriations and to prevent the reenactment of the objectionable features of the 1940 Act, but without avail as it was argued that the appropriations need not be increased due to the fact that the great increase in expenditures for national defense would reduce relief rolls. The objectionable 130-hour monthly provision was continued and the prevailing rate of wage clause was again omitted. Aliens, Communists and members of Nazi Bund organizations or persons advocating overthrow of the Government were barred from employment under its terms. As requested by the President, \$975,650,000 was appropriated for the Works Project Administration. All W. P. A. projects contributing to the national defense were exempted from the standing requirement that local sponsors must defray 25 per cent of the cost.

Reorganization of Government Activities—The Reorganization Act of 1939 authorized the President to submit to Congress plans for reorganizing, with certain exceptions, various governmental departments, bureaus and agencies so as to: (1) reduce expenditures, (2) increase efficiency, (3) consolidate agencies according to major purposes, (4) reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions and by abolishing such as may not be necessary, (5) eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort.

The Reorganization Plans submitted by the President take effect sixty days from the date of submission unless a majority in the House and Senate adopt a resolution expressing disapproval.

Reports upon this subject were made to the last convention. The fourth Reorganization Order provided, among other things, for a transfer of the Civil Aeronautics Authority and its functions, the Office of the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics and its functions, and the functions of the Air Safety Board to the Department of Commerce. This transfer was bitterly opposed by the Air Line Pilots Association, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. The air pilots, among other objections, pointed to the remarkable safety record established under the independent functioning of these agencies. The Executive Council backed the pilots in their contention but while the House adopted a resolution opposing Reorganization Plan No. IV, the Senate resolution of disapproval failed by a vote of 34 to 46.

The fifth plan provided for a transfer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. Because of apprehension of fifth-column activities and the general belief that the Department of Justice was best qualified to check on disloyal alien residents of the United States there was little opposition to this transfer and it became effective on June 14, 1940.

Reapportionment—S. 2505 (Public 481)—This law provides for “automatic reapportionment” for the House of Representatives. The membership of the House will remain at 435. Results of the 1940 Census will be reported to Congress on January 10, 1941, and a reapportionment of House seats by the method of “equal proportions and major fractions” will take effect in sixty days unless Congress has in the meantime adopted a different system. The new apportionment will affect those to be elected in November, 1942, to take office January 3, 1943.

National Labor Relations Act—The American Federation of Labor aided in the preparation of the National Labor Relations Act (Public No. 198, 74th Congress) and took a leading part in its passage. It was approved by the President on July 5, 1935.

The National Labor Relations Board created by the law began its work on August 27, 1935. The Act was created to protect labor by outlawing certain unfair practices of employers and guaranteeing recognition of representatives selected by the majority of the employes for the purposes of collective bargaining.

Shortly after the National Labor Relations Board commenced to function and especially after the formation of the C.I.O. (November 10, 1935) dissatisfaction began to be expressed by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor due to the biased and unfair attitude exhibited by the members of the Board and by their appointed agents throughout the country.

Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act were prepared by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and introduced in the House by Congressman Martin Dies (H. R. 6143, April 5, 1937) and Senator David I. Walsh (S. 2108, April 7, 1937). These amendments were designed to protect the rights of the craft unions which were under constant attack by the C. I. O. industrial unions and the National Labor Relations Board. No action ensued on the two above mentioned amendments and complaints increased in volume against the acts of the National Labor Relations Board who, by continued unfair rulings and bias in favor of the C. I. O., created an intolerable situation in so far as the American Federation of Labor was concerned.

A more complete report upon the National Labor Relations Act and the status of proposed amendments is covered in another section of the Executive Council's report, under the title, “National Labor Relations Act.”

Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments—During the first regular session of the 76th Congress the American Federation of Labor prevented the many objectionable amendments proposed to the Fair Labor Standards Act from being reported upon by congressional committees, as it feared if the law was brought upon the floor for amendment that the entire law would be repealed or nullified.

During the present session, however, reactionary forces in and out of Congress succeeded in forcing amendments out of committee and to the floor of the U. S. House of Representatives. Officials of the American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed these amendments. As a result the bill, H. R. 5435, was recommitted.

Walsh-Healey Act Amendments—The Walsh-Healey Act requires all contractors for government supplies to pay prevailing rates of pay, work their employes but forty hours per week, and to employ no child or convict labor on contracts in excess of \$10,000. The amendments provide an extension of the Act to purchases other than government supplies such as ships, etc., cut the \$10,000 limitation to \$4,000, and prescribe severe penalties for violations.

These amendments, embodied in S. 1032, passed the Senate July 17, 1939, and still repose in the House Judiciary Committee although a subcommittee held extensive hearings and favorably reported the bill to the full committee in June, 1940.

Great difficulty was encountered in the House Judiciary Committee in securing the passage of the original Act and the present delay in the full committee is apparently due to objections coming from the same individual members of that Committee.

Oppressive Labor Practices—S. 1970—This bill was written to give vitality to the rights of free speech and assembly guaranteed by the Constitution, which have been denied by private spy systems and by private force. The exhaustive investigations conducted by the LaFollette Committee on Civil Liberties found that the traffic in labor espionage had assumed the proportions of a substantial industry serving thousands of clients, employing thousands of men, and costing millions of dollars each year. Spies took official positions in unions, embezzled funds, betrayed the names of active union members and the proceedings of secret union deliberations. Spies penetrated into the homes of workers, into fraternal organizations, and even into schools and churches. Spies counseled violence, spread discord, and sowed suspicion. Incalculable damage has resulted from the use of these labor spies to those who were the users as well as to those who were intended to be the victims. The very existence of a well organized highly developed private espionage system constitutes an ever present threat to the rights of free-born American citizens.

In a very direct sense this bill, if enacted into law, will contribute to industrial peace. It will take machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, and offensive weapons of chemical warfare out of factories and mills.

As reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education the bill had been carefully drawn to accomplish its objectives with a minimum of regulation and without placing a burden on the fair-minded employer. However, floor amendments in the Senate materially weakened the bill. Amendments were added to the bill which were not germane to the subject and had no bearing on oppressive labor practices and should have been passed, if at all, in a separate measure. After passage by the Senate, in the amended form, S. 1970 went to the House Committee on Labor where a companion bill, H. R. 7454, is also pending.

Settlement of Disputes with the United States—H. R. 6324 and S. 915—Because these bills provide a more expeditious settlement of disputes with the United States, the proposed legislation was approved by the Cincinnati Convention. Laws enacted by Congress are frequently misinterpreted by administrative officers of the Government who make rules and regulations to carry

out law. These bills provide that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia be given jurisdiction to hear and determine within thirty days whether any such rule or regulation is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States or the statute under which it is issued. If a rule is held contrary to law and invalid it shall not thereafter have any force or effect and no person shall be penalized for any act done or omitted to be done in good faith in conformity with the rule which has been rescinded or declared invalid by the court.

H. R. 6324 passed the House on April 18, 1940, and is on the Senate Calendar for action. S. 915, a companion bill, had previously passed the Senate but was reconsidered on motion of Senator Minton.

Anti-Lynching Bill—H. R. 801—The purpose of this legislation is to enlist the aid of the Federal Government within its constitutional province to supplement the efforts of the states in stamping out lynching and removing the threat of mob violence from American life. It is a basic premise of this legislation that the function of checking and punishing mob violence is in the first instance an obligation of the states and that it is only when state agents fail or refuse to do their duty that Federal power is to be exercised in the form of penalties upon the state agents and agencies which have been derelict in their duty. The Federal Government cannot intervene in any case in which state agents and agencies have been diligent in attempting to prevent and punish mob violence. The proposed legislation will operate in three ways: (1) The Department of Justice is empowered to investigate lynchings wherever there is evidence of delinquency on the part of local officials. (2) Local officials who are remiss in their duty with reference to restraining the mob or bringing lynchings to the bar of justice are subject to punishment. (3) The county or city whose peace officers or other agents charged with law enforcement, aid the lynchings or refuse to oppose the mob, becomes liable for damages to the victim of mob violence or the next of kin of such victim.

Legislation of this character has frequently been before Congress but has failed because filibustering in the Senate has prevented a vote. At this session the bill passed the House on January 10, 1940, by a vote of 252 to 131. It was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Judiciary by a vote of 11 to 4 but there has been no action by the Senate to date.

Payment of Poll Tax as a Prerequisite for Voting—The last convention, held in Cincinnati, by unanimous vote: "Declared its approval of the principle that all citizens, regardless of color or race, should be equally entitled to the full rights of adult suffrage."

By virtue of this declaration and because in eight southern states payment of a poll tax or head tax is a prerequisite to voting the Executive Council favored the enactment of H. R. 7534 making it unlawful "to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Vice-President or Presidential Elector or Senator or Member of the House of Representatives of the United States." While it is generally assumed that payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in eight southern states is designed primarily to disfranchise the negroes

it has become evident that by the levy and manipulation of this tax white citizens, in the low-income bracket, are being disfranchised in increasing numbers. In the eight Southern Poll Tax States an average of only 22 percent of the normally eligible vote was cast at the general election of 1936. The United States average was 64 percent and the average for the 40 states that do not use the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting was 72 percent. Just how difficult it is for the poor citizens of these eight southern states to pay the poll tax is further illustrated by a 1935 tabulation of the per capita income by states and published in the Congressional Record of August 5, 1939. It shows that while the average annual per capita income of the United States was \$432—the per capita income of these eight southern states was among the lowest, ranging from \$316 in Texas to \$170 in Mississippi.

A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee held hearings on the bill but has failed to make a report. Mr. Geyer, who introduced H. R. 7534, has publicly charged that Mr. Walter, the chairman of this subcommittee, after giving the hearings his "O. K. for printing" withdrew the copy from the Government Printing Office. A petition to withdraw the bill from the Committee for action on the floor is now on the Speaker's desk. Two hundred and eighteen signatures are required to make the petition effective.

Motion Picture Films Distribution—S. 280—This bill prohibits the trade practices known as "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion picture films in interstate and foreign commerce.

It is estimated that enactment of this bill will cut production schedules of the motion picture industry in half and thus directly affect the employment of some 282,000 persons who are employed in the production, distribution and exhibition divisions of the industry.

The evidence presented at the hearings in the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce indicated that there are 276 crafts employed in the industry and that many thousands of these workers will lose continuity of employment or be made entirely idle if the bill should be enacted into law. Despite the opposition of all unions whose members are employed in the industry the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 46 to 28.

In accordance with the action of the Cincinnati Convention the Executive Council continued its opposition and a representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in opposition to the bill. Committee hearings on the bill have terminated and at the time this report is written the bill is still in the hands of a subcommittee of five members. The indications are that it will be entirely rewritten before it is reported back to the full committee.

Wire-Tapping—H. J. Res. 571—Permits wire tapping by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the interest of national defense. The American Federation of Labor, through its highest officials, has publicly pledged its unstinted support of the national defense program. Indeed, the American Federation of Labor has for the past several years persistently condemned and pointed to the dangers of Nazi, Fascist, Communist and other fifth-column activities in this country. It is clear, therefore, that the American Federation of Labor

regards the objectives of this Joint Resolution by Congressman Celler as being highly commendable. Nevertheless, a study of the resolution discloses potential dangers to organized labor. For this reason an amendment safeguarding Labor's rights has been submitted to Chairman Wheeler of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, where the bill is now pending, after adoption by the House.

Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Law Schools—S. 1610—A report upon this bill was made to the last convention. At that time the bill had passed the Senate and had been favorably reported in the House. When the bill was reached on the House Calendar it was objected to and as a rule for its consideration could not be secured, S. 1610 is among the many bills caught in the last-minute legislative jam.

Government Printing Office Employees—Senate Joint Res. 71 provides for additional leave of absence to certain employees of the Government Printing Office. When the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, suspended the leave for all government employees for the fiscal year 1933 it deprived employees of the Government Printing Office of certain leave privileges. The Economy Act was effective June 1, 1932, and prior to that date the Government Printing Office operated under rules which prohibited leave of absence with pay until after the expiration of the fiscal year in which such leave was earned; therefore, these employees were penalized due to an oversight. Senate Joint Res. 71 will correct this injustice by granting this additional leave. The Resolution passed the Senate and is pending in the House.

Sugar Legislation—Several bills were introduced on this subject, as follows: S. 3237, by Senator Ellender; H. R. 8746, by Mr. Cummings; H. R. 9044, by Mr. Barry; and H. R. 9654, by Mr. Cummings.

Many divergent interests were concerned in sugar legislation and representatives of beet sugar, cane sugar, foreign producers, financial, refinery, and dock and transportation interests, were in Washington to secure action favorable to their several viewpoints. The American Federation of Labor has organizations in beet sugar and cane sugar refineries and in addition organizations on the docks and in transportation agencies. It, therefore, co-operated with its affiliated organizations in Labor's interest. The subject matter was so controversial that Congress finally decided to extend the 1937 Sugar Act (Public No. 414, 75th Congress). This Act, H. R. 9654 (Public No. 860) requires the Secretary of Agriculture to determine for each calendar year the amount of sugar needed for domestic consumption and this determination must be made during the month of December in each year for the succeeding calendar year. He then sets the quota as to the amount to be produced within the continental United States and also sets the quota for importation into the United States for Cuba, the Philippine Islands, and foreign countries.

S. 3237 (Public No. 660) was designed to permit the payment of subsidies to producers of sugar beets or sugar cane who had unknowingly violated the law in regard to child labor. Section 301 of the 1930 Sugar Act prohibited the payment of such subsidies to anyone employing children in the production

of sugar beets or sugar cane. As introduced this bill was opposed by the Executive Council as it virtually repealed the intent of Congress regarding the employment of children on sugar cane and sugar beet farms. It was, therefore, amended to provide that payments might be made with respect to sugar crops produced prior to enactment of the legislation with a deduction of \$10 for each child, for each day or portion of day, during which such child had been permitted to work. The bill as passed was approved by the Department of Agriculture and the Children's Bureau of the Labor Department.

Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs—S. 1108 as adopted by the Senate provides for an embargo on the exportation of certain types of logs produced on the West Coast which are indispensable to the American wood-using industries.

The House Ways and Means Committee considered the bill but finally decided to shelve it for the session. The Committee requested the State Department to write a full report on the bill for the next session and advise Congress whether or not the proposed legislation would affect our already tense international relations.

In accordance with the instructions of the last convention, the Executive Council supported the bill. It is not disputed that the unrestricted exportation of the logs covered by the bill has for several years past deprived American workers of many millions of dollars in wages and is contributing to a premature depletion of an essential raw material which can never be replaced. The logs covered by the proposed embargo represent the highest quality of softwood logs available anywhere in the world. Therefore this high quality of raw material permits of a greater degree of refinement through manufacture than ordinary logs and consequently the wage item in the manufactured products such as plywood, mill work, etc., is as high as \$25 to \$30 per ton. For comparison the wage item represented by the same logs if exported is only about \$2 per ton. Under these circumstances it is easily explained why foreign countries are desirous of importing these logs which are unavailable from any other source. Attention should also be called to the fact that while we are exporting these logs our own industries in certain localities on the West Coast are experiencing a shortage of high grade logs and this situation is becoming progressively more serious. Plywood and other products manufactured from these logs are used in every state of the Union. The future production cost is certain to advance as a result of scarcity of raw material and this will immediately adversely affect prospective home owners and hundreds of thousands of workers in the building industries. The question of forest conservation is also involved. These high grade logs command a premium and the profit derived from the logging of this material must in part be applied to commercial reforestation enterprises. It is obviously in national interest to extend the cutting of this class of timber as far into the future as possible both with the object of furthering reforestation and to create employment opportunities for our own labor.

Social Security—S. 4269 and H. R. 10384 (companion bills)—introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor by Senator Wagner and Rep-

representative McCormack, respectively, provide that the old age and survivors' insurance provision of the Social Security Act shall be extended to all agricultural and domestic workers, employes of a state and their political subdivisions, non-civil service employes of the Federal Government and employes of non-profit, religious, charitable and educational institutions except ordained ministers and members of religious orders performing duties in such order; extend the coverage for the unemployment compensation provisions to non-civil service employes of the Federal Government, non-profit institutions and enterprises employing fewer than eight employes; increase the amount of Federal aid for old-age assistance payments to poorer states by changing from a flat to a variable basis predicated upon the ratio of the per capita income of the United States to the per capita of the state, but in no event in excess of three-fourths of the total expended by the state.

*Unemployment Compensation—S. 3181 and H. R. 7762 (companion bills)—*Because the unemployment compensation laws of several states are wholly inadequate, these bills were introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor by Senator Downey and Representative McCormack, respectively, to raise minimum standards by providing: (1) Compensation shall not be paid for less than 20 weeks within a period of 52 consecutive weeks; (2) that contributions required shall not exceed 25 times the weekly rate of compensation nor more than 24 weekly payments; (3) that waiting period shall not exceed 7 consecutive days; (4) that minimum weekly compensation shall not be less than \$6 for full-time weekly earnings of \$10 or less, 60 percent for full-time weekly earnings of more than \$10 but not more than \$40, and \$24 for full-time weekly earnings of more than \$40; (5) that disqualification shall not continue for more than 6 consecutive weeks; (6) that total contribution required shall not exceed 2.7 percent of total annual pay roll with respect to which contributions are required. States paying higher compensation benefits than the minimum required shall be allowed additional credit against their required contributions, the required contribution being reduced from 2.7 percent when 20 weeks of compensation are paid to 1.5 percent when 26 weeks of compensation are paid. To assure regular payments of minimum benefits this bill establishes a trust fund in the Treasury of the United States to be known as the "Federal Unemployment Reinsurance Fund." For reasons already stated there were no hearings on this bill.

Health Insurance and Hospitalization—S. 3230 is known as the "National Hospital Act of 1940." It authorizes the appropriation of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year 1941 and such sums as may be deemed necessary by Congress thereafter, to the Public Health Service for use in providing hospital facilities to rural communities, etc., and establishes a National Advisory Hospital Council (the Surgeon General and six members appointed by him with approval of the Federal Security Administrator) to review applications, formulate standards, etc. The Surgeon General shall approve projects, make inspections, etc., and lease hospital projects to applicants for indefinite periods. On approval by the Surgeon General, the hospital project shall be certified to the Federal Works Agency by the Federal Security Administrator for construc-

tion with funds appropriated under this Act. The President is authorized to allocate to the Public Health Service the necessary administrative funds from amounts appropriated under this Act. The bill passed the Senate on May 30, 1940, and is now pending in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Industrial Hygiene—S. 3461 and H. R. 8730 (companion bills) would make possible more adequate provision for the control and prevention of industrial conditions hazardous to the health of employes. This proposed legislation has two vital objectives. It would (1) increase the appropriation for industrial hygiene work which so far has been so small as to prevent any effective work, and (2) place the supervision or administration of industrial hygiene programs under state departments of labor. A representative of the A. F. of L. testified for this bill at the Senate Committee hearings but to date there has been no action by the committee.

Continued Study of Social Security, S. Concurrent Res. 34—This resolution, introduced by Senator Wagner, provides for the appointment of a representative advisory council, composed of employers, employes and the general public, to study and recommend further amendments to the Social Security Act. The adoption of this resolution was strongly urged by the American Federation of Labor but remains in the Senate Committee on Finance at the time this report is written.

A more detailed report upon the Social Security Act is contained in another section of the Executive Council's report under the heading, "Social Security."

Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, S. 3920 (Public No. 833)—This legislation provides increased benefits for every person who would have been entitled to benefits under the Act if it had not been amended. In addition, it provides benefits for some of those who have not received any until now, because of the limitations which the Act contained. These increased benefits arise (1) from the reduction in the waiting period, (2) by raising the daily rate for workers who receive \$1,000 or more in the base year, and (3) by increasing from 80 to 100 the number of days for which benefits are payable during the benefit year. During the past year the average benefit per day has varied between \$2.23 and \$2.33 per day.

Unemployment Compensation, District of Columbia—H. R. 9791 (Public No. 719), provides for more adequate benefits and a reduced tax rate by employers. The unusually large reserve in the District of Columbia unemployment compensation fund made possible the simultaneous increase in benefits and reduction in tax rate. The maximum and minimum benefits are raised to \$18 and \$6 respectively. The weekly benefit is determined on a table of high-quarter earnings, at not less than $\frac{1}{23}$ of the earnings in the highest quarter. The waiting period is shortened from 3 weeks to not more than 2 weeks. A person is considered unemployed in any week in which his earnings are less than his weekly benefit amount. Each eligible unemployed person is entitled to his weekly benefit amount less any earnings payable to him for such week. For this purpose "earnings" means only that part of the remuneration

neration payable to him for such week which is in excess of 40 percent of his weekly benefit amount. Benefits are to be computed to the next highest multiple of \$1. Benefits are payable for 19 weeks or until the worker has been paid one-half his base period earnings, whichever is less. The claimant is allowed an additional \$1 per week for each dependent relative, to a total of \$3 extra, except that this provision shall not operate to permit a maximum above \$18 in any case. The eligibility provision has been changed from 13 weeks' employment to earnings 25 times the claimant's weekly benefit amount or \$250 whichever is less. The tax rate for employers is cut from 3 percent to 2.7 percent and the taxable wages are limited to the first \$3,000 a person earns in any calendar year. The variation of tax rates under experience rating is postponed from January 1, 1941, to July 1, 1942. *H. R. 7265 (Public 470)* specifically exempts newsboys under 18 years of age from the D. C. Unemployment Compensation Act.

H. R. 10322 (Public No. 871) is designed to correct an error. In the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act, national banks were brought under coverage of the Federal tax on employers of eight or more. Because the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act did not include national banks as employers subject to the Act, bank employes were not eligible to benefits. *H. R. 10322* straightens this tangle and enables bank employes to draw these benefits.

Retirement for District of Columbia Police and Firemen—H. R. 8846 (Public No. 847) amends the retirement law for members of the Police and Fire Departments of the District of Columbia by including the U. S. Park Police force, the White House Police force, and those members of the U. S. Secret Service Division whose duties in whole or in part are to protect the President of the United States. This Act also permits all coming under its terms, who served 25 or more years, to retire upon reaching the age of 55, with an annuity as carried in present law.

Immigration, Naturalization, Etc.—Committees of Congress have continued to give more than the usual attention to questions of immigration, deportation, naturalization and related subjects. The problem of admitting children from war-torn Europe was before Congress in various bills and resolutions and the bill finally enacted, known as *H. R. 10213 (Public No. 776)*, authorizes the transportation of refugee children under sixteen years of age in American vessels proceeding under safe conduct granted by all the states named in the proclamations issued under the Neutrality Act of 1939. Since the German Government has refused to grant such safe conduct this legislation has for all practical purposes become a dead letter. Senate Joint Res. 64, by Senator Wagner, to permit the entry of 10,000 refugee children during each of the calendar years 1939 and 1940, was not pressed at the 1940 session. Neither were bills (*S. 3577* and *H. R. 8931*) drafted and sponsored by the Department of the Interior to settle European refugees in Alaska.

Alien Registration—H. R. 5138 (Public No. 670)—This bill had a long and checkered career in Congress. Introduced on March 20, 1939, it was reported by the House Judiciary Committee on June 29, 1939. In its early stages

it was known as a bill for the "suppression of subversive activities." As passed by the House the bill materially strengthened the deportation laws but provided only for the fingerprinting of aliens "seeking to enter the United States." This action was taken after the American Federation of Labor, through the legislative committee, made known its general opposition to compulsory fingerprinting. In the meantime the war in Europe had created a tense international situation and there was nationwide apprehension of so-called fifth-column activities. Therefore, as passed by the Senate on June 15, 1940, the bill made mandatory the fingerprinting of all aliens, fourteen years of age or older, who remain in the United States thirty days or longer. The Conference Report on the bill, adopted in the House by a record vote of 382 to 4 and by unanimous vote in the Senate, retained the mandatory provisions for fingerprinting approximately 3,500,000 aliens in the United States. Registration and fingerprinting of aliens shall be made at post offices or such other places as may be designated by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. Change of residence of aliens permanently residing in the United States must be reported within five days. Temporary alien residents must report their residence every three months. The maximum penalty for failure to register is a fine of \$1,000 and one year imprisonment. The penalty for making false statements ranges from fine and imprisonment to deportation.

In addition to the fingerprinting requirements the bill, as enacted, provides a maximum fine of \$10,000 and a maximum prison term of ten years for spoken, written or published words which "advise, counsel, urge or in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States." The term military and naval forces is defined to include the masters, officers and crew of "any merchant vessel commissioned in the Navy or in the service of the Army or the Navy."

Finally, there are various new provisions for the deportation of aliens. For instance, it is provided that aliens who "at any time" after entry into the United States belonged to an organization which advocated overthrow of the Government by force and violence shall be deported. The Attorney General is authorized to suspend deportation in certain cases but is then required to report to Congress the facts and the reasons for each such suspension. If during that session the two Houses pass a concurrent resolution stating that the Congress does not favor the suspension of such deportation, the Attorney General must deport such alien in the manner provided by law.

A later enactment, H. R. 10094 (Public No. 870), requires registration with the Department of Justice, and periodical reports of their activities, by every organization which is (1) engaged in civilian military activities, (2) subject to foreign control and engaged in political activity, and (3) aims to overthrow or control by force the Government of the United States or any political subdivision.

Naturalization Without Declaration of Intention, H. R. 6443 (Public No. 707)—This act permits alien children who came to the United States under sixteen years of age and who would be eligible to naturalization and who have

lived continuously in the United States to become naturalized without filing a declaration of intention. It provides that the petition for naturalization be filed within one year after such alien attains the age of twenty-one years. The Act would also apply to aliens who entered the United States prior to the enactment of the law. There is legislative precedent for this legislation, since the Citizenship Act of 1934 permits the spouses of American citizens to apply for naturalization after a certain period of residence without the necessity of filing a declaration of intention (first papers).

Deportation Bill Vetoed by President—H. R. 6724 as passed by Congress was an expression of resentment against dilatory tactics in the deportation of certain aliens. The bill provided for the prompt deportation of three classes of aliens. The President, in his veto message, took exception to the proposed mandatory deportation of aliens in the third class, namely, of any alien who has at any time "been lawfully committed to a public or private institution as a habitual user of narcotic drugs." Congress made no attempt to override the President's veto.

Nationality Code, H. R. 9980 (Public No. 853)—This code is the product of five years study by the State, Justice and Labor Departments in cooperation with the American Bar Association. It was not designed for the sole purpose of bringing about new restrictions, but also to codify and clarify naturalization laws scattered through some forty statutes, and provide more uniform procedure. The provision to which most importance attaches is that withholding the privilege of naturalization from an alien who advocates the overthrow of the Government by force, or is aligned with any organization fostering subversive doctrines. Aimed at Communists, Bundists and others of that ilk, the proscription covers not only current activities, but would stand also as a barrier to citizenship for those guilty of such conduct or association at any time within the ten-year period preceding their petition for naturalization. This legislation also hits at the illogical principle of dual citizenship, naturalized aliens who return to their homeland or go to some other country and take up permanent residence being subjected to loss of citizenship here instead of retaining these rights. The law governing naturalization of minors whose parents lose their citizenship also is tightened.

Asiatic Exclusion Law Defense—There were continued efforts at the 1940 session of Congress to weaken our immigration laws by special legislation in behalf of Hindus and Filipinos residing in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 provides that aliens ineligible to citizenship shall not be admitted as immigrants to the United States. The Act of 1924 is in harmony with Federal law which since 1790 has made yellow and brown races ineligible to citizenship because of unassimilability. Hindus and Filipinos are in that category. Therefore bills were introduced and hearings were held on such bills to permit the naturalization of Hindus (H. R. 7110) and Filipinos (H. R. 7239) residing in the United States.

In accordance with established policy the Executive Council opposed both bills. It is obvious that Congress cannot discriminate between the various racial units of Asia. If citizenship were to be granted to Hindus and Fili-

pinos, it necessarily must be granted to all other Asiatics as well. There can be no discrimination. Thus the 1924 exclusion law would be nullified immediately, since everyone would then become eligible to citizenship.

As at the 1939 session of Congress the C. I. O. again favored a breach in our immigration barriers by advocating the enactment of H. R. 7239 providing for Filipino naturalization. Both of these bills were kept in committee.

Maritime Legislation—*Marine War Risk Insurance*—H. R. 6572 (Public No. 677)—The prompt consideration of this bill was urged in a special message by the President. The purpose of the legislation is to make sure that American water-borne commerce will be kept moving. The inability—which may arise over night—to secure from the usual sources the necessary protection of insurance against marine perils and marine war risks for American ships, their crews and cargoes would seriously jeopardize that commerce. Under existing war conditions, such inability may arise on short notice without adequate opportunity for necessary readjustments because the American marine insurance market normally relies on support from the world insurance market.

As introduced the bill was objectionable to our affiliated marine unions. Some of these objections were outlined in Resolution No. 82, introduced at the Cincinnati Convention and referred to the Executive Council. However, when amendments suggested by the Federation's representative were adopted in committee the bill became acceptable to all concerned and was promptly enacted into law. Forty million dollars was appropriated by Congress to establish a revolving fund to be available for the payment of losses, settlements, and other authorized liabilities that may be incurred.

Defining "American Fisheries"—H. R. 8475 (Public No. 600)—Resolution No. 100 introduced at the Cincinnati Convention outlined grievances against certain American fishery concerns operating "plants in foreign countries." The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries had extensive hearings upon this subject. During these hearings it became evident that various administrative agencies of the United States have made conflicting rulings and interpretations in defining the term "products of American fisheries." As now defined by this Act it is specifically provided that said term "shall not include fresh or frozen fish," etc., "produced in a foreign country or its territorial waters, in whole or in part with the use of the labor of persons who are not residents of the United States."

Towing Between American Ports—H. R. 8283 (Public No. 599)—American ships have heretofore had a monopoly on towing between American ports but the total penalty which could be collected from foreign ships for towing between American ports was only 50 cents per ton. This small penalty has been wholly inadequate to protect our domestic trade from foreign competition. There was specific testimony to the effect that Canadian tugs on the Great Lakes could pay a penalty of \$500 and still underbid American tugs because the Canadian wage cost of operation was considerably below the American rate. For the reason stated the penalty was increased from 50 cents to \$50 per ton.

Dangerous Cargoes, H. R. 7357 (Public No. 809)—The purpose of this legislation is to prohibit the transportation by water of certain specified explosives which cannot be safely transported stored or used on board vessels, and to permit the transportation of other explosives and dangerous and semi-dangerous articles or substances under such regulations as will permit the safe transportation thereof on vessels. This bill had the approval of the International Longshoremen's Association and at the request of the latter a representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared at the committee hearings and testified for the bill.

Penalties for Stowaways—H. R. 9492 (Public No. 601)—Until the enactment of this bill there was no penalty for stealing a ride on a vessel within the jurisdiction of the United States. Hereafter, stowaways will be subject to a fine up to \$500 or imprisonment up to one year, or both. There are similar penalties for those who "knowingly aid, abet or assist" a stowaway. The Secretary of Labor expressed the opinion that "a criminal penalty" upon the stowaway himself would discourage aliens from stowing away for trips to the United States."

Regulation of Nautical Schools—H. R. 9262 (Public No. 606)—Because of frequent complaints concerning the operation of privately-owned nautical schools, Congress has by this enactment placed all such schools under Federal jurisdiction. The Maritime Commission, the Board of Supervising Inspectors and the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation are given special authority to regulate such schools and all laws governing the inspection of passenger vessels are made applicable to privately-owned ships operating as nautical schools. On July 1, 1940, the Maritime Commission assumed responsibility for cooperating in maintenance and supervision of four state nautical schools. Located in California, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, the schools are state institutions, subject in the first three instances to the state departments of education and in Pennsylvania to the State Navigation Commission for the River Delaware. The transfer of authority from the Navy was effected by Government Reorganization Plan IV. It includes the responsibility for furnishing government vessels and equipment for schoolships and for matching state contributions up to \$25,000 for each school.

S. 4299 and H. R. 10315 (companion bills) authorize an appropriation of \$10,000,000 to enable the Maritime Commission to construct new training ships as replacements for the rather antiquated ships now used by the before-mentioned State Nautical Schools. In addition, the annual Federal appropriation toward the maintenance of each of these schools is increased from \$25,000 to \$50,000. S. 4299 passed the Senate September 30. H. R. 10315 has been favorably reported by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and is pending on the House Calendar.

Motorboat Act of 1940—H. R. 6039 (Public No. 484)—This Act repeals the Motorboat Act of June 9, 1910, and provides for the better protection of life and property by increasing the standards for licensing operators, fire and lifesaving equipment, ventilation, and other safety devices. It was not possible to obtain a favorable report on H. R. 3837, a more drastic bill pro-

viding for the inspection of motor vessels of fifteen tons and up, sponsored by the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots and supported by the American Federation of Labor. On September 30, 1940, there were 310,318 motorboats registered with the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation.

Shipowners' Liability for Sick and Injured Seamen—"Draft Convention" No. 55 was adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva in 1936 and ratified by the United States Senate on June 13, 1938. It provides certain additional rights to sick and injured seamen. It does not take away any rights, remedies, etc., to which seamen were entitled prior to ratification of the treaty. H. R. 6881 was introduced to implement the provisions of the before-mentioned treaty. It passed the House without opposition and was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce, where in turn it was referred to the Sub-Committee on Merchant Marine. Senator Overton, chairman of the sub-committee, sponsored an amendment to the bill to make the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act applicable to seamen. Senator Overton's amendment was opposed by the Seafarers' International Union, an American Federation of Labor affiliate. The Sub-Committee on Merchant Marine voted to table the bill and Senator Overton sponsored a resolution (S. R. 299) providing for an investigation and study of workmen's compensation with a view of determining whether the same, by act of Congress, should be made applicable to seamen, etc. The resolution, which was adopted by the Senate September 12, 1940, provides that a report on the subject must be made to the Senate on or before February 15, 1941.

Minimum Age for Employment on American Vessels—"Draft Convention" No. 58 provides that minors under fifteen years of age shall not be employed on vessels. The only Federal law requiring a minimum age for child labor in the American Merchant Marine was enacted in 1872. It provides that boys who are to be apprenticed to sea service must have obtained the age of twelve. An Act of Congress of June 25, 1936, provides "that no boy shall be shipped unless he meets the physical qualifications contained in regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce." Under these regulations a boy of any age may enter sea service as long as he produces a certificate from a reputable physician "that he is qualified physically." H. R. 7527 was introduced to implement the provisions of this treaty. Hearings were held in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on February 6, 1940, but the committee has not reported the bill.

Unemployment Insurance for the Maritime Industry—H. R. 9798 had a hearing in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on May 21, 22, 23, 1940. Objections were raised to certain features of the bill likely to interfere with the operation of the union hiring halls. As introduced the bill also omitted employment on the Great Lakes, rivers and other inland waters. Amendments satisfactory to American Federation of Labor affiliates have been submitted to the Committee but there has been no report on the bill.

Licensed Officers—S. 3268—This is a measure in the interest of safety of life and property. It provides that a licensed officer, both in deck and engine

departments, must be on duty at all times when a vessel is in service but not under way. Under present law ships when in port are frequently manned by a skeleton crew and without a single person capable of taking command in case of fire or other emergency. The bill was favorably reported by the Senate Commerce Committee and is on the Senate Calendar for action.

Eight-Hour Workday for Great Lakes Tugboat Men—S. 2305—This bill amends the law limiting working hours of crews on Great Lakes tugs by providing that the maximum of eight hours work shall be performed "within a period of time not exceeding nine hours." This bill passed the Senate on May 28, 1940, and is pending in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Construction Loans for Commercial Fishermen—H. R. 10501 and S. 4307 (companion bills) authorizes the Maritime Commission to make loans on more liberal terms for the construction of commercial fishing vessels. The American Federation of Labor supported the bill upon request of the Atlantic Fishermen's Union whose members were faced with increasing unemployment since the Navy Department has acquired, or is planning to acquire, some thirty-one fishing vessels, trawlers and draggers, which have been used in the New England fisheries. H. R. 10501 passed the House on September 30 and is pending in the Senate Commerce Committee with every prospect of early action.

Repeal of Citizenship Certification—S. 4316 (Public No. 816)—Under an Act approved May 28, 1796, American seamen have been supplied with certificates of citizenship upon application and proof of citizenship furnished to Collectors of Customs. Because there has been some carelessness with respect to the issuance of these certificates this 144-year-old law has been repealed.

Attack on Seamen's Act—H. R. 7339—This bill is aimed to modify the La-Follette Seamen's Act of 1915 in the interest of sailing ship owners. Existing law requires that vessels of 100 gross tons, or over, must have 65 percent able seamen in the deck crew. An able seaman, as defined by law, must have had three years experience on deck at sea. H. R. 7339 provided that able seamen on sailing ships need only have six months experience. The plea for this change was the lame old alibi that able seamen for sailing ships were not obtainable. Having obtained the approval of the Department of Commerce the bill passed the House but was laid on the table in the Senate Committee on Commerce upon representation by a representative of the American Federation of Labor that (1) there was no shortage of A. B.s, and (2) that the real purpose of the bill was to permit the employment of inexperienced men at wages lower than the prevailing rates.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND WAGES

In our report of 1939 we noted that after 10 years of industrial stagnation, the United States still had an army of 10,000,000 unemployed. We called attention to the failure of our economy, with its immense producing capacity, so to coordinate its activities that these unemployed could be put to work producing a higher living standard for the American people.

This year the activities of our people are being marshalled in a great program for defense production; the unemployed have begun to go back to work in private employment and many industries are already operating at or near capacity. This has been accomplished, not by coordinated efforts of private industry, labor and agriculture to produce higher living standards, but by a huge program to make munitions directed by the Federal Government.

We have been forced into this program by the cruel and ruthless military advance of fascist powers in Europe, with their intention of subjugating democracies throughout the world. The defense program will unquestionably put men and women to work. While we welcome the opportunity for millions to find work and put our shoulders to the wheel with whole-hearted cooperation for defense of our country, we decry the necessity for diversion of America's economic efforts away from the creation of a better life into instruments for the destruction of life. The huge military programs by which European countries have solved their unemployment problems should be recognized for what they are—a subterfuge leading only to vast destruction and sacrifice of human life. The constructive way to coordinate a complex modern system of production so as to create a universal high living standard has yet to be found. This problem has baffled both democratic and totalitarian governments and is left unsolved.

In May, 1940, before the start of the defense program, unemployment in the United States stood at nearly 10,000,000. By August over 800,000 had already been put to work and unemployment had been reduced to less than 9,300,000. This was due only in part to defense production. In the industries producing directly for defense such as airplanes, shipbuilding, explosives, and in closely related industries such as machine tools, steel, aluminum, woolen goods, electrical machinery, only 200,000 were added to payrolls from May to August. Expansion in industry generally and normal seasonal gains account for the rest of the employment increase. Industrial production in the United States as a whole rose 8 percent in only three months (May to August). This was a substantial rise exceeded only by such exceptional periods of expansion as the first war boom in the fall of 1939.

As defense production gets under way, business forecasters look forward to the highest productive activity in the nation's history. It is believed by government economists that, with 1,500,000 to be absorbed into the army, this industrial expansion will so reduce unemployment that by the fall of 1941 only 6,000,000 to 4,000,000 will be out of work, and by the end of 1942 between 3,000,000 and 1,500,000. These estimates picture what Administration economists believe this country could achieve if it does not participate in the war.

This table shows the large reserves of man power our country can throw into defense production. With the normal increase in labor force, our present employment could be expanded by about 7,500,000 by the winter of 1942-43, in addition to the 1,500,000 employable men to be taken for the army. If women are drawn into the labor force in large numbers, this figure could be greatly increased.

Employment and Unemployment in the United States

	<i>Unemployment</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Total Labor Force</i>
1929	1,864,000	46,192,000	48,056,000
1937	8,282,000	44,025,000	52,307,000
1939	10,220,000	43,235,000	53,454,000
1940: May	9,977,000	43,979,000	53,956,000
August	9,283,000	44,815,000	54,098,000
Forecast			
Fall	6,000,000 to	47,500,000 to	54,600,000
1941	4,000,000	49,100,000*	
Winter	3,000,000 to	51,700,000 to	55,200,000
1942-43	1,500,000	52,200,000*	

* Counting on 1,500,000 in the army.

Source: American Federation of Labor Unemployment Estimate.

Defense Production and Living Standards—The above noted large reserve of man-power is of vital importance as we face the heaviest production requirements our nation has ever known. It will be our task as a nation, in the months and years ahead, to produce not only for the normal living necessities of our people—food, clothing, shelter and other essentials—but to build up also a vast military machine and train men to operate it.

In Europe, nations building up great military forces and equipment have done so at the cost of drastic reduction in their living standards. Their productive facilities were not equal to the task of producing both normal civilian requirements and the munitions for a powerful war machine. This has meant an additional strain on the populations of the warring countries, for they must withstand the terrors and nerve exhaustion of bombardment with a greatly reduced living standard. Modern warfare is a trial of endurance. Victory will depend on the ability of civilian populations to endure and continue work for months, probably even years, under the most exhausting conditions. Physical strength and stamina will be deciding factors.

In America, we can avoid reduction of living standards because of our superior productivity. As we prepare for defense, maintenance of the living standard which will give us endurance is a basic factor. It is significant that even in 1935 the United States was producing an income of \$432 per capita of the population, while England produced only \$401, and Germany \$345 per capita; and that we produced this larger income with a work week 8 hours shorter than that of Germany and 11 hours shorter than that of England. This is striking evidence of our superior productivity.

Since 1935 production per man-hour in American factories has increased 25 percent (to June 1940). Our present huge reserve of man-power is further evidence of our productivity, for in 1940 American mines and factories are producing 6 percent more than they produced in 1929, with a work week 10 hours shorter, and 800,000 fewer persons at work.

As we look ahead to a vast productive expansion, we may expect productivity to increase even more rapidly than in the past. An unprecedented high level of productivity, plus our present idle man-power, will make it possible,

Administration economists believe, to build up our armed forces and equipment without reducing living standards, and without losing the gains in high wages and short hours we have won in recent years. Thus we can equip our population for great endurance.

Reliable economists estimate that it is entirely possible to raise our national production to \$90,000,000,000 a year, in contrast to \$70,000,000,000 in 1939. This additional \$20,000,000,000 of production would meet the necessary requirements for defense, which it is estimated may reach \$15,000,000,000 a year, to maintain and equip our enlarged military forces and build the new plants necessary. It would also permit a \$5,000,000,000 increase in our production of consumers' goods, and thus raise the national living standard by that amount.

Such an increase by the winter of 1942-43 is not unlikely. On the basis of 1939 productivity, re-employment of 7,000,000 unemployed could add \$11,500,000,000 to the national production, and a productivity increase of 10 to 15 percent could create another \$8,500,000,000 worth of production, making a total increase of \$20,000,000,000. Such a productivity increase is believed to be fully possible by government agencies in touch with current trends.

These or similar figures are the basis for recent government claims that the United States can produce all the defense equipment planned in present appropriations without losing our recent gains in living standards; and that we can even improve the general living standard by putting the unemployed to work and producing additional consumers goods for them.

To see that recent gains actually are preserved, however, will require constant vigilance on the part of Labor. The experience of foreign countries is a warning to us. In all the warring nations, because of inadequate producing capacity, consumer goods production was cut down to make way for munitions as soon as nations began large scale armament output. This created a shortage of consumer goods, leading to drastic price increases. The high cost of living, plus heavy sales taxes, reduced workers living standards to the barest minimum. In England, for instance, cost of living this summer was 20 percent above last year and sales taxes on practically everything except food have taken an additional 12 to 24 percent of the workers income. Thus workers in England are enduring the fearful strains of constant bombardment, on a living standard at least one-third below the prewar level.

In America, with our high productivity, there is no necessity whatever at present for any shortage in consumer goods production. We do not need to weaken our people by reducing living standards or lengthening hours. Again, however, we emphasize the need for constant vigilance on the part of Labor. We must make sure that consumer goods industries are expanded as expanding payrolls create a growing demand for consumer goods. We must see that machinery for plant expansion is available to consumer industries when needed, in spite of heavy demands on our machine tool plants for defense production. This is a task requiring careful guidance through the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. We must also see that wages continue to rise and that prices are not increased.

The mechanism set up by the Defense Commission to prevent runaway prices can assist organized labor in achieving these ends. We urge all central labor unions to watch for unjustified price increases or price profiteering and report them immediately to the consumers' division of the American Federation of Labor. This division can then bring pressure to bear on price profiteers to check this destructive development.

Productivity and the Shorter Work Week—New information, just made available by the Federal Reserve Board in its revised production index, has served to give us a more accurate record of productivity than has ever before been available. Previous figures gave only a partial picture of the displacement of man-power by machines which Labor knew was occurring with devastating rapidity. The following table, based on the new Federal Reserve Board production index, shows in percentages the change since 1929 in output per man-hour in American factories, work time required per unit produced and shortening of the work week.

Productivity and Hours of Work in American Factories

	<i>Output per man-hour</i>	<i>Man-hours per unit of output</i>	<i>Length of work week</i>
1929.....	100	100	100
1937.....	125.5	79.7	79.9
1938.....	127.2	78.6	73.5*
1939.....	138.3	72.3	77.7
1940.....	152.3	65.6	77.6

*Short time due to business recession.

Source: National Industrial Conference Board.

In June 1940 the average factory worker produced 52 percent more per hour of work than he had in 1929. In other words, it took only two hours in June 1940 to turn out work which required three hours in 1929.

The table shows also that shortening of the work week has not kept pace with increasing productivity. In June 1940, man-hours required per unit of product (column two) were 34.4 percent less than in 1929, but the length of the work week (column three) had been reduced by only 22.4 percent. This failure to cut the work week in proportion to economies in work time explains why, in June 1940, American industries were able to maintain a level of productive activity 6 percent above the 1929 average with 1,600,000 fewer persons at work in non-agricultural industries as a whole.

Today, as never before, Labor is called upon to stand firmly for the shorter work week. Even a 10-hour shortening of the work week in the last decade has not been enough to offset increasing productivity. In 1929, the work week in American factories averaged 49 hours. Today, with actual work time averaging 39 hours and our factories producing more goods, there are fewer jobs than in 1929 when men worked 10 hours longer. Yet there is persistent pressure from manufacturers to go back to the longer work week. They want relaxation of the 40-hour standard effective October 24, 1940, under the Fair Labor Standards Act,

Only constant vigilance and united action on the part of Labor can prevent this pernicious drive of reactionary employers. We must keep the facts before the public. We must insist on maintaining the 40-hour week because it makes for greater production. It has taken fourteen years of persistent effort, since we first made our declaration for the 5-day, 40-hour week in 1926, to win this standard for the United States. We cannot now relax our efforts and see our gains for human conservation swept away. We can not sit idly by and see our years of progress go for naught at a time when the standards we have established are essential to preserve the strength of the nation. America is entering upon a long struggle and can not afford needlessly and uselessly to waste our labor reserves. We want to defend a type of civilization that values human beings. The 40-hour week standard is one of the strongest bulwarks of American defense. Countries which have lengthened work hours to increase armament production have found that longer hours defeat the very purpose they are intended to accomplish. Increasing accidents, poor quality of work, and decreased production are the result of lengthening the work week. In Germany the decree of September 3, 1939, lowered wages and increased hours of work, with the following result: "Production began to fall off rapidly, accompanied by such an alarming increase of industrial accidents and stoppages as to attract the serious attention of the government authorities" (*Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1940, p. 1374). The government was forced to "lighten somewhat the hard labor conditions."

In the last war American army officers recognized the danger of lengthening the work week and destroying labor standards. General Order No. 13, issued by the Chief of Ordnance and by the Quartermaster General of the United States Army, November 15, 1917, states:

Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production. The pressing argument for maintaining industrial safeguards in the present emergency is that they actually contribute to efficiency. To waive them would be a short-sighted policy, leading gradually but inevitably toward lowered production.

It might be expected that an individual working 10 hours a day, instead of 8, would turn out more goods. He can—for the first few days. But experience shows us that in a few weeks, or a few months, the output will be the same, or even less, than it was during the shorter day.

In England, Emergency Report No. 1, "Industrial Health in War," issued March, 1940, by the Industrial Health Research Board, calls attention to the fact that "excessive hours of work do not pay—even when considered solely on the basis of output." It emphasizes the effect of fatigue on production and shows that production may actually be reduced when hours are lengthened. Man cannot be treated like a machine. A study of 56 men sizing fuse bodies showed that when the work week was lengthened by 7 hours, hourly production was actually reduced by 28 percent and total production by 18 percent. Too long hours are listed as one of the chief causes of labor wastage, and the statement is made: "The country cannot afford the extra-

gance of paying for work done during incapacity from fatigue, just because so many hours are spent on it."

In America, where our productivity involves the use of complex, high-speed machinery, where noise often adds to the strain of high mechanical speed, and where a maximum degree of care and accuracy is required in handling machines, hours must be shorter than in work done under less highly mechanized conditions.

The short work week is an essential element in American efficiency. If hours were lengthened we could not hope to maintain our high productivity. The American Federation of Labor calls public attention to the fact that since the start of the defense program productivity is increasing at three times the pace of the last 10 years. From August, 1939, to June, 1940, output per man-hour rose 14 percent, compared to the average rise of less than 4 percent per year since 1929. In the last year, manufacturers have hastened to equip their plants with new labor-saving machinery to be ready for the rising production they foresaw.

This rapid increase in productivity is something of a forecast of what we may expect as the defense program proceeds. With large new plants being constructed, to be equipped with the most modern labor-saving machinery, we may be sure that the advance in productivity will exceed previous rates.

Today there is no excuse for a work week longer than 40 hours. Actual average hours worked in industry generally in 1940 (first half) were 39 per week, and in manufacturing 37½ per week, by calculations based on Labor Department figures. Industry is not even working a 40-hour week today. Compared with our previous production peak in 1937, the United States today is turning out 4 percent more product with one hour less work per week and 300,000 fewer employed. As the defense program progresses, American industry will continue to increase productivity to meet new production loads.

We call on American Labor to use their united strength to combat destruction of our work standards. Only by preserving these work standards can we do our utmost for the defense of our country. We call on all union members to give themselves wholeheartedly to achieve the greatest possible volume of defense production under fair working conditions. The united effort of American Labor, under conditions releasing the maximum physical energy, is the nation's greatest resource in this time of emergency.

Productivity and Earnings—Increasing productivity has also made possible a steady advance in wages, accompanied by a steady decline in labor costs. Average hourly earnings in American industry in 1940 have reached an all-time peak, slightly above the previous peak of 1937. Labor Department figures show for the first half of 1940 an average of 65 cents per hour in industry generally and 66.6 cents in manufacturing. This compares with 64.9 cents and 66.2 cents, respectively, at the previous peak, in the last half of 1937. For this new peak, organized labor is mainly responsible, for we maintained wages with very little reduction in the face of serious threats of wage cuts in the business recession of 1938. We have also secured wage increases affecting thousands of workers since the summer of 1939. In

June, 1940, average hourly earnings in American factories were 4.6 percent above June last year. The Fair Labor Standards Act has also been influential in raising minimum wages.

Average weekly earnings this year are also above 1937; the figure for manufacturing industries in the first half of 1940 is \$25.45 per week, compared to \$25.14 in the full year of 1937. In terms of buying power, this represents the highest wage American workers have ever received. Real weekly wages today are 14.5 percent above the 1929 level.

While American factory workers receive the highest wage in history, manufacturers' labor cost is substantially below the levels of 10 years ago.

The following table is of particular interest. It shows a fact which has been characteristic of American industry—while wages have risen steadily, the manufacturers' labor costs have declined:

Wages and Labor Cost*

	<i>Average hourly earnings</i>	<i>Labor cost per unit of output</i>	<i>Labor cost per \$100 of output</i>
1929.....	100	100	100
1937.....	113.4	90.4	97.9
1939.....	115.8	83.8	98.5
1940, June.....	121.8	80.0	94.3

* Source: National Industrial Conference Board.

Average hourly earnings in June, 1940, were almost 22 percent above 1929, but labor cost per unit of product was below 1929 by 20 percent. This table proves conclusively that high wages do not mean high labor costs.

A large part of the saving from reduced labor costs has been passed on to the consumer, for wholesale prices in June, 1940, were nearly 15 percent below 1929, and cost of living was 14 percent lower. In the table, column three shows that, because of the price decline, labor cost per \$100 of product is only slightly below 1929. It is significant, however, that by steadily increasing productivity, American industry can pay an hourly wage 22 percent above 1929, charge a price 15 percent below 1929, and still reduce labor cost per \$100 of product by 5.7 percent.

It is this steady increase in productivity which makes possible a continual rise in wages and shortening of hours.

An Adequate Living Standard—In Spite of recent wage gains, the majority of American wage earners cannot earn enough to support a family at an adequate living standard. According to authoritative budget studies, it takes a wage of about 70 cents per hour, received regularly for a 40-hour week throughout the year, to support a family of four at a bare subsistence level in most American communities. A health and efficiency living standard for a family of five cost approximately \$1 per hour, received for 40 hours every week.

Probably not over one-third of all American wage earners can support a family of four at a bare subsistence living level on their present wages. The National Resources Committee in 1935-6 estimated that less than half

of all wage-earner families received as much as \$1,250 per year, and we know that very many families depend on more than one wage earner for their income. The bare subsistence budget for four persons called for \$1,347 in the average American community in June, 1940.

Only 15 percent of all wage-earner families in 1935-6 received enough to support five persons in health and efficiency, and an even smaller number of breadwinners were able to earn this amount without help from other members of the family.

Weekly wages have increased about 12 percent since this study was made. Such an increase is not enough to make a significant change in the situation. Thousands of workers are still receiving no more than the 30-cent minimum established by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Wage Increases Commensurate With Productivity—Many American businesses are earning exceptional profits due to high productivity and look forward to even higher profits as business expands and defense production increases. Many of these firms could well afford to pay the health and efficiency wage of \$1 an hour to all their employees; others could afford from 70 cents to 95 cents an hour for every worker.

Frequently, however, companies refuse to pay the high wages they can afford because they would greatly exceed others in the industry or locality. Such failure to pay employees in accordance with their productivity has meant the loss of millions of dollars to workers, and the failure of buying power in the United States to keep pace with producing capacity.

We maintain that workers should share equitably in the increasing wealth they help to create; that where a company is operating at a high profit due to high productivity, wages should be in proportion to capacity to pay and should not be arbitrarily held down because of rates paid by other companies. We urge unions employed by profit-making companies to study the financial reports of their companies and to work out measures whereby their members may receive a just part of the increased income resulting from the greater productivity per man-hour worked.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 will begin its third year of operation on October 24, 1940. On that date the basic work week of 40 hours will be required by law in all industries subject to the Act throughout the nation.

When the Wage and Hour Law went into effect two years ago, it was estimated that its provisions would affect approximately 11,000,000 workers engaged in operations related to interstate commerce. By the end of the first two years of the operation of the Act more than 2,000,000 workers will have had their work week reduced from as high as 60 and 50 hours to a maximum of 40 hours on straight time, with time and one-half for overtime work done in excess of 40 hours. During these two years the statutory minimum wage provisions of the Act have brought the wages of about 900,000 workers to at least 30 cents per hour, and by the action of the Industry Committees the wage rates of more than 500,000 workers have been brought to minimum rates ranging from 32½ to 40 cents per hour.

The extent of benefits secured by the workers of the country as the result of the operation of the Act can be measured by the fact that before the Act went into effect, more than 300,000 workers in industries engaged in interstate commerce had been receiving less than 25 cents per hour, the initial minimum wage required, and that more than 1,300,000 workers in these industries had been working in excess of the 44-hour maximum the Act established in the first year of its operation.

Minimum Wages—When the Wage and Hour Law first went into effect on October 24, 1938, it called for a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour, which was automatically raised to 30 cents per hour at the end of the first year. This minimum rate under the present provisions of the Act will remain unchanged until October, 1945, when it will automatically advance to 40 cents per hour. The increase in the minimum rate from 25 to 30 cents per hour served to raise the wages of approximately 3,000,000 workers employed in low-wage industries. This advance, by eradicating the low-wage areas in each industry affected, not only afforded the workers directly concerned a measure of protection from exploitation but also relieved the entire wage structure in each industry from the competitive pressure of establishments paying sub-standard wages. The universal application of the 30 cents minimum wage requirement to the industries covered placed no inequitable burden upon the firms affected and was accepted as desirable by the vast majority of employers.

The gradual introduction of the minimum standards and flexibility of their application also characterized the industry committee procedure under which specific minimum wages of not less than 30 cents and not more than 40 cents are set for individual industries. It is the function of each industry committee convened by the Administrator to consider all available evidence and recommend to the Administrator a minimum wage agreed upon by the majority for the industry under consideration. The Administrator has the right to accept or reject the recommendation of the committee, and when he proposes to accept a committee recommendation he is required to hold additional public hearings to establish on record that the proposed wage is supported by evidence. Through September, 1940, minimum wage rates were fixed in 11 industry groups on the basis of industry committee recommendations. In only three instances were the committee wage recommendations rejected by the Administrator. All three rejections were of the recommendations of the Apparel Committee and involved the recommendations of a 40-cent minimum in the embroidery division; of a 32½-cent minimum for the hand embroidery, schiffli embroidery and laces branch; and the proposed application of the apparel recommendations to Puerto Rico.

Industries in which minimum wages based on committee recommendations have been put into effect, as well as their minimum wage recommendations, are summarized in the accompanying table. The minimum wages recommended by the various industry committees have ranged between 32½ cents and 40 cents per hour.

Four additional industry committees have made wage recommendations to

the Administrator but these have not as yet been promulgated by him. Committee No. 9 for the railroad industry has recommended a minimum wage of 36 cents per hour on Class I railroads and of 33 cents on short-lines railroads. Committee No. 12 for the carpet and rug industry has recommended a minimum wage of 40 cents per hour for woolen carpets and 35 cents per hour for carpets made from other materials. Committee No. 13 for the luggage and leather goods manufacturing industry has recommended a 35-cent minimum; and Committee No. 15 for the embroidery industry a 37½-cent minimum.

An industry committee has been appointed to recommend a minimum wage for the converted paper products industry and is scheduled to hold hearings in October. A special industry committee for the needle trades industry in Puerto Rico met in San Juan on September 23 to recommend a special minimum wage determination for the island. By an amendment to the Act the Administrator has been authorized by Congress to appoint such industry committees for Puerto Rico to establish minimum wage rates for the island which are lower than those in the continental United States but not so low as to constitute a competitive advantage over industries on the continent. The committee's recommendations made on October 2 proposed that all factory operations performed by home workers be paid at factory rates. While the industry on the island was demanding a minimum of 5 cents per hour for home work and 15 cents for factory work and the unions were urging a minimum of 20 cents and 28 cents, respectively, the committee agreed on a compromise recommendation of 12½ cents per hour for home work and 20 cents per hour for factory work on household articles, handkerchiefs, needlepoint, tufted rugs and infants' dresses; and a uniform home and factory rate of 20 cents for apparel. Silk underwear was given 15 cents for home work and 22½ cents for factory work; and gloves, 16 cents for home work and 20 cents for factory work.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have served on all industry committees appointed to date and presentation of evidence and argument has been made at all hearings with the assistance of the Research and Information Service of the A. F. of L. In every case the quality of wage data presented has proved to be decisive in securing an equitable determination of minimum wages and in offsetting organized pressure by employers for the lowering of minimum standards.

Maximum Hours—The inauguration of the basic 40-hour week which goes into effect automatically on October 24, 1940, will mark a notable step in Labor's progress toward the shorter work week. The reduction in the basic weekly hours of work under the Fair Labor Standards Act has been achieved gradually and has caused no appreciable dislocation in the operation of industry. The 44-hour week applied in October, 1938, served to eliminate excessive hours in a large number of establishments in which excessive and exhaustive work schedules had been maintained since the invalidation of the NRA in 1935. The transition to a 42-hour week was accomplished in October, 1939, without any serious problems created by the change. It is expected

that the transition to the 40-hour work week in a situation in which the average work week in the industry is still below 40 hours will meet with ready acceptance by the portion of the industry still operating longer hours.

Although no real difficulty has been experienced in practical situations in the application of the basic work week required under the Act, strong organized pressure has developed in certain portions of industry, seeking to escape the statutory curtailment of work hours. Because the Act does not limit the number of hours that may be worked in any one week, but merely requires the payment of overtime rates for work done in excess of the basic hours, the pressure of opposition to the regulation of hours has been really directed at the question of whether workers are entitled to overtime pay for overtime work. An important development in this connection was an organized move by employer associations in the canning, packing and processing of fresh fruits and vegetables to circumvent the requirements of the Act.

Closely allied to the drive launched by employers' organizations to exempt all workers engaged in canning and similar industrial operations from the safeguards of all protective labor legislation on the ground that such operations were part of agriculture was a successful request for a broad exemption of canneries, packing houses and warehouses from all maximum hour requirements.

Another and broader thrust against maximum hour regulations was timed to the launching of the national defense production program. In pleadings before congressional committees and in numerous public statements, it was widely urged that the basic 40-hour work week must be promptly repealed, as interfering with defense production. Urging either outright repeal or at least a moratorium on maximum hours, spokesmen of industry went so far as to plead that the maintenance of a 40-hour week is "a criminal betrayal of the nation's safety." Arguments in support of such action were flatly refuted, not only by the basic evidence brought to light by the American Federation of Labor but also by the Wage and Hour Administrator.

In a letter addressed to President Roosevelt on July 11, Administrator Fleming pointed out that the experience of European nations and of the United States during the last war showed conclusively that limitation of hours had served to increase, rather than impair, industrial efficiency. In his letter Colonel Fleming said: "Were there any defense need in certain industries for abrogation of the time and one-half rule, nothing could keep me from so reporting. In my contacts with industry no such need has yet been demonstrated to me." In a radio address delivered on July 12, the Wage and Hour Administrator made his views known to the nation. He said:

No relaxation of the Wage and Hour Law is necessary at this time, nor is it desirable. Legitimate business men themselves are not asking for it, because they know perfectly well that it does not handicap them.

The law is fair, because if upon labor is laid the burden of long hours, a corresponding burden is laid upon the employer who must pay for that overtime. The Wage and Hour Law represents a part of that fair, equitable,

democratic order of which we are so proud and which we are resolved to defend at any cost.

Certainly no sane man defends his most priceless possessions by throwing them away as he gets ready to fight for them.

Administrative Interpretations of the Act—As enacted by Congress, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is an extremely flexible statute. Numerous qualifications, exceptions and exemptions are written into the Act to make the application of the basic wage and hour standards as acceptable to the industry as possible. In many instances the Division has been called upon by a large number of employers affected to resolve their doubts as to the exact meaning of a number of provisions of the Act. These interpretations and rulings, although having no binding validity until sustained by the courts, serve to provide a tentative but nonetheless effective basis for action to be followed by employers on such questions.

In dealing with some of the practices attempted by employers to evade the minimum wage provisions of the Act, the Division has made a number of such informal rulings. It has held that an employer may not retain a part of the earnings of pieceworkers in a high wage week in order to apply it to the low earnings of a low wage week and thus bring the average wage to the required 30-cent minimum. It was also ruled that an employer may not deduct from employees' wages in order to help him pay for the factory in which they are employed. This device has been attempted in cases of run-away shops by employers endeavoring to establish a strong competitive advantage by operating in a low-wage non-industrial area. The Division has held that while there is nothing in the Act to prevent an employer from requiring his employees to sign receipts stating that they have been paid in full, such action does not prevent employees from bringing wage suits for wages due to them under the provisions of the Act.

Several interpretations dealing with the maximum hours have also been issued. One of these provides that in computing the total number of hours worked employers must include rest periods up to 20 minutes in length. In the application of seasonal exemptions the Division has ruled that the 14-week exemption for maximum hours must be made applicable to all employees simultaneously without singling out successive groups of employees for exemption.

Among several interpretations made by the Wage and Hour Division which Labor found highly objectionable was one giving sanction and approval of the Administrator to the so-called "constant wage plan." This plan, devised by certain employers in the wholesale trade, applies to salaried workers normally employed on a regular weekly schedule of hours and paid on a weekly basis. Under this plan such workers may be required to take time off in slack weeks so that the wages which applied to the time not worked in a slack week can be applied to the payment of overtime in a busy week in the same month. Thus through compulsory leisure in one week a salaried worker is in effect forced to pay out of his own pocket part of the overtime in a busy week in the same month. Labor considers it doubtful that such a

circumvention of the simple overtime provisions of the Act was intended by Congress and finds no merit in a decision which gives such a device public sanction by the very agency created to maintain and safeguard the basic standards contained in the law.

Exemptions—Among the many exemptive provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the provision of Section 14, which permits the employment of learners at sub-minimum rates "to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment," is of special importance in the light of attempts to effect dilution of skills on the defense program.

On August 16, 1940, Administrator Fleming issued new rules under which employment of learners at less than the minimum rates will be permitted. In these rules provision is made for the issuance of learner certificates in industries in which there has been no general determination of the conditions under which learners may be employed. Under the new procedure, when an employer makes a *prima facie* showing that experienced workers are not available, a learner certificate will be issued immediately. These rules, by failing to provide for study of the industry-wide employment situation, open the way for the employment of a large number of workers at sub-minimum rates on the plea that they are learners. With no specific notification or consultation procedure established under this method of granting learner certificates, Labor regards the new procedure as a serious threat of widespread dilution of skills and wage standards throughout industry.

The Act also authorizes the Administrator to issue certificates for the employment of handicapped persons at sub-minimum rates. While the granting of such special certificates was originally handled by the Wage and Hour Division in Washington and thus readily accessible for check and protest by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of all organizations concerned, a recent order of the Administrator relegated the authority to the Regional Directors of the Division to decide on the merits of each petition for such exemption. This action, in line with the policy of decentralization of the work of the Division pursued by Administrator Fleming, makes it necessary for all unions concerned to keep in closer touch with each regional office of the Division in order to afford full protection of the interests of their members.

Another possible way for circumventing the standards of the Act is provided in Section 13 (a) (1), which exempts employees engaged in bona fide executive, administrative or professional work, as well as those employed as outside salesmen. What types and classes of employees are to fall in the category of executive, administrative or professional is left to the Administrator to define. The extremely difficult task of developing a definition which would fit all types of industries in all situations was carried out with notable success by the first Administrator, Elmer F. Andrews, in 1938, just before the wage and hour provisions of the Act went into operation. In this definition a number of tests were laid down for the exemption of executive or administrative workers. In addition the regulation required that in order to be eligible for exemption, employees must do "no substantial amount of work of a non-exempted nature."

This latter provision made it difficult for employers to widen the application of the exemption and to extend its application to the types of workers the Act was designed to protect. As the result a number of groups of employers petitioned Administrator Fleming for revision of the definition and regulations governing the exemption. Hearings on these petitions were conducted by the Wage and Hour Division to consider the proposals for revision. Although the original definition was not necessarily perfect, representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared at the hearings and proved that, in the case of the executive, administrative and professional classifications, employers utterly failed to show that any hardship had been sustained by them as the result of the application of the original definition and urged that no changes be made until and unless petitioners are able to substantiate by evidence the necessity and desirability of such changes. Since the definitions proposed by employers would have the effect of depriving large numbers of the so-called "white-collar workers" from the protection of the minimum wage and maximum hour standards, the outcome of the hearings was awaited by Labor with much concern. The decision of the Administrator on this question was expected to be made some time in October.

The most important setback received by Labor during the past year of wage and hour administration was Administrator Fleming's ruling on August 24 on the application of overtime standards to workers employed in packing and canning of fresh fruits and vegetables. As indicated in our report a year ago, a concerted drive was launched in 1939 to suspend the application of the minimum standards of the Act to workers employed in industries processing agricultural products. The Barden amendments, designed to carry this out, were then strongly opposed by the American Federation of Labor and their passage was prevented. Having failed in Congress, the employer groups seeking to suspend the Act in industries notorious for their low wages and long hours, turned to administrative procedures in order to accomplish their purpose.

During a series of lengthy hearings held in May and June, 1940, employer associations in canning, packing and storing of fresh fruits and vegetables vigorously sought escape from overtime pay. A possible way out was indicated by the use of the 14-week exemption provided for seasonal industries in Section 7 (b) (3) and a 14-week exemption allowed for perishable commodities under Section 7 (c). Although the congressional intent was clearly to apply these exemptions concurrently and not consecutively, Administrator Fleming's ruling permitted the successive use of both exemptions by the same employers and also made possible the application of these exemptions to each type of commodity handled at the same plant. This ruling, legally unjustifiable and factually untenable, made available to the employer a year-round exemption, completely knocking down the ceiling for hours over some 320,000 workers most in need of maximum hour protection, and opened a way for similar weakening of the Act in other industries.

Enforcement—With the substantial increase of the inspection force, the pace and handling of complaints during the past year was quickened markedly

and Labor can soon hope to see the Division catch up and act upon all the complaints received. Until very recently the extremely inadequate inspection force of the Division made it impossible to keep abreast with the incoming volume of complaints against violations. This proved a source of bitter discouragement to workers deprived of restitutions due to them under the terms of the Act through long delays and often complete lack of action. This situation was being remedied in August and September, 1940. During 1940 new complaints of violations were averaging 2,400 per month. The peak was reached in July, when 2,772 complaints were filed and 2,039 inspections were made. Preliminary reports for August indicated a number of inspections, at least equal to the number of new complaints received.

Reorganization of enforcement machinery also contributed much toward the tightening of the enforcement of the wage and hour standards of the Act. In June, 1940, six nation-wide enforcement drives were launched in one industry after another. These drives were carried on in the lumber, furniture, hosiery, luggage and leather goods, shoes, and woolen textile industries. Another nation-wide drive to establish compliance in the apparel industry was scheduled to begin the last week in October.

With the advent of the 40-hour week and increasing pressure of rising production, organized labor will have added responsibility in policing the observance of the standards of the Act. Wage and hour committees of central labor unions and state federations of labor should carry out their respective share of this responsibility with vigilance and renewed vigor.

Litigation—The litigation record of the Wage and Hour Division to date has been notably successful. All but one of the cases involving the constitutionality of the Act have been decided favorably. No provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, however, have yet been given a final test in the Supreme Court. As the Supreme Court met for its fall term at the beginning of October, three cases involving the Fair Labor Standards Act were before it.

From the standpoint of the administration of the Act, the most important of these was an appeal taken by the Opp Cotton Mills, Inc., of Alabama, contesting the constitutional power of the Administrator to put into effect a minimum wage for the textile industry. This minimum, 32½ cents per hour, became effective on October 24, 1939, and carried an increase in wages for an estimated 175,000 of the 600,000 employes in the textile industry.

Next in importance was the appeal of Montgomery Ward and Company from a decision of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago, sustaining the power of subpoena of the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the records of wages paid and hours worked of employes engaged in interstate commerce. In its original appeal to the United States District Court in Chicago, and later to the Circuit Court, the company contended: "that passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act was not a valid exercise of the power of Congress to regulate commerce between the states; that the subpoena violated their rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution in that it did not constitute due process of law; and that the subpoena also violated the fourth amendment to the Constitution in that it constituted unreasonable search and

seizure prohibited in that amendment." Both the District Court and the Circuit Court denied the contentions of the company, and on September 9 a petition was filed with the Supreme Court in its behalf, asking for a review of the decision of the lower courts.

In the third case, which was appealed by the Wage and Hour Division, Judge William H. Barrett, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Georgia, held that the Division, in seeking criminal indictment of Darby Lumber Company, exceeded the provisions of the law and that there was no proof that lumber produced in Georgia was destined for interstate commerce.

The Future of Wage and Hour Administration—In reviewing the operation of the Fair Labor Standards Act since its enactment two years ago, we note particularly the flexibility of its provisions and gradual application of its standards which make possible wide acceptance of its principles by the overwhelming majority of employers. These very characteristics of the fair labor standards prescribed in the Act served to refute the argument that the continued operation of its provisions would in any way restrict or hamper defense production activity. Today we have irrefutable evidence that the contribution toward social betterment and industrial welfare made by the maintenance of fair labor standards in industry is essential if we are to achieve a long-range increase in the volume of production and improvement in productive efficiency throughout our economy. Oppressive labor conditions brought about by unrestrained play of competitive forces would only serve to impair the productivity of labor in defense production, undermine the morale of workers and place the entire defense program in serious jeopardy. High production can be achieved and sustained only as long as reasonable hours and fair working conditions remain in full effect. To this end Labor must vigorously seek the assurance of full and unmitigated application of the basic provisions and requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

It is important to note a recent development in which a number of employers have sought to evade the law by segregating employees in the same plant on the basis of whether or not particular employees work on products intended for interstate commerce. We recommend that this practice be given careful study and that an amendment be prepared for submission to Congress to provide an effective remedy against this grave threat to the future operation of the law.

Of special concern to Labor is the application of the basic minimum wage and maximum hour standards to large groups of workers exempted from their protection at the present time by means of statutory provisions as well as administrative action. We urge that appropriate steps be taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to insure to this large and important group of workers the full measure of benefits of national wage and hour standards to which they are justly entitled.

We also recommend that central labor unions, state federations of labor and national and international unions be urged to maintain active wage and hour committees to afford to the membership of the American Federation of

Labor the maximum of representation and protection in the operation of the Wage and Hour Law.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

The American Federation of Labor, following the instructions of the Cincinnati Convention, continued its efforts to secure amendments to the National Labor Relations Act.

Our reports to the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Annual Conventions fully discussed and analyzed the need for amendments and the nature and purpose of the American Federation of Labor proposals. We need not, therefore, set forth in detail the amendments at this time.

Briefly, our amendments sought one fundamental objective—the effective removal for all time of the prejudicial bias, harmful inefficiency and flagrant distortion of basic principles that have characterized the administration of the Act.

To accomplish this end, the American Federation of Labor proposed the following primary amendments:

1. The creation of a new five-man Board.
2. A change in the unit rule to permit skilled employees and recognized classifications of workers to retain their separate unity if they so desire, similar to the Railway Labor Act.
3. A direct court appeal by labor organizations in representation cases, so as to preclude a recurrence of the Longshoremen's decision, which wiped out all American Federation of Labor Longshoremen's bargaining units on the West Coast.
4. Amendments preserving the integrity of collective bargaining agreements lawfully entered into by bona fide labor organizations.
5. Procedural amendments to eliminate the outrageous delays that jeopardize the organizational gains made by many labor unions.

In our last report, we deplored the unaccountable delay on the part of the Labor Committee of the House and Senate to begin and conclude hearings on the amendments which were introduced by Senator Walsh as early as January 25, 1939, and we observed that "dilatatory tactics eventuated in the adoption of a resolution to investigate the National Labor Relations Board by a committee of the House."

This committee, whose chairman was Representative Smith, was charged, among other things, with the duty of investigating whether the Board "has been fair and impartial in its conduct, . . . and in its dealings between different labor organizations . . .", and to make recommendations to Congress.

In carrying out this duty, the committee performed a valuable service. Equipped with the power to subpoena the Board's files, the committee was able to present detailed and irrefutable proof, corroborating and supplementing the charges and evidence theretofore submitted by the American Federation of Labor's witnesses before the regular Labor Committees of Congress. The hearings of the committee, which began on December 11, 1939, and are still continuing, disclosed the sharp dissension among members of the National Labor Relations Board regarding basic policy and regarding personnel. Dr. William Leiserson, most recent appointee to the Board, testified at length

respecting his criticism of the inefficiency and bias of "key" employes of the Board, to whom he attributed, among other things, the unconscionable and unnecessary delays and obstructionist activities. The committee did effective work in bringing to light the palpable bias on the part of many employes of the Board against the American Federation of Labor.

After some months of investigation, the committee introduced in the House a bill which constituted a substantial revision and amendment of the existing law. Some of the provisions of that bill substantially weakened the basic principles of the Act—principles which the American Federation of Labor has always been alert to preserve and safeguard. Accordingly, President Green publicly announced the Federation's opposition to those provisions which invaded the basic principles of the Act.

Thereafter, the House Labor Committee submitted a bill, known as the Norton Bill, which incorporated some of the more important amendments proposed by the American Federation of Labor. We naturally expected that this bill, bearing the committee's approval, would be fostered by that committee and passed with due dispatch. Instead, however, there came to our attention a letter, published in the *Daily Worker* over the signature of the chairman of the House Labor Committee, in which she virtually repudiated the bill, stating that she would not vote for it or for any amendments to the National Labor Relations Act.

Faced with this attempt further to delay and "pigeon-hole" our efforts to secure amendments to the Act, the Federation took steps to transfer the entire subject to the Senate, where it looked for fair and impartial consideration.

Accordingly, the Federation, after securing four important changes in the original Smith Bill and reserving its right to object to other provisions in the bill when it came before the Senate, was successful in getting action by the House on the amended form of the Smith Bill.

The following changes in the original Smith Bill were accomplished through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor:

1. The original bill changed the language of the existing law which declared the national policy of Congress with respect to collective bargaining. Specifically, the bill sought to delete the expressed congressional policy "to encourage collective bargaining."

At the insistence of the American Federation of Labor, that valuable language was reinserted.

2. The original Smith Bill so defined "collective bargaining" as to relieve the employer from the duty of making counter-proposals.

Pointing out that this definition would, in many cases, destroy "collective bargaining," the American Federation of Labor was successful in procuring the elimination of this provision from the bill.

3. The original bill limited back pay to employes discriminatorily discharged to a period of six months.

This period was increased to 12 months. Although the Federation is strongly opposed to any time limitation on back pay, the increase to 12 months represented a substantial improvement.

4. The original bill contained the so-called Garrison amendment, which would have barred any certification by the Board whenever two competing unions failed to agree as to the appropriate unit.

The Federation was successful in eliminating this rigid rule and in securing a "unit" provision which conformed with the purposes sought by the Federation in its original proposal on the unit.

The bill is now before the Senate. On August 13, 1940, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in executive session, reopened the hearings to consider the Smith Bill.

President Green appeared before the committee and gave detailed testimony respecting each and every change sought by the Smith Bill, indicating which changes the Federation approved and which it disapproved. Because they conformed with the original proposal submitted by the American Federation of Labor, President Green voiced the Federation's approval on the following amendments:

1. The creation of a new Board.
2. The unit amendment.
3. Direct appeals in representation cases, provided such appeals are limited to bona fide labor organizations.
4. Compulsory investigation of petitions for certification filed by bona fide labor organizations, provided that the Board shall have no jurisdiction to determine a representation controversy between affiliates of the same parent organization.
5. Certifications to last for a period of a year.
6. Expression of mere opinions, with proper safeguards, so that the same are not accompanied by acts of coercion, intimidation, discrimination, or threats thereof; thereby preventing the Board from invalidating lawful A. F. of L. contracts because of mere expressions of opinion.
7. Employer petition in representation cases, when presented in good faith, and with the safeguards such as now exist in the New York Act.

There are a number of provisions which invade the basic principles of the existing law and to which the American Federation of Labor is strenuously opposed.

We cannot agree that the Act should be amended so that employees who have committed minor acts of violence shall thereby lose the benefits of the Act, because often such acts of violence are encouraged by persons in the employ, and at the instance, of the employer. Nor can the American Federation of Labor subscribe to an amendment to the Act which would so define "agricultural employees" as to remove the protection of the Act from some three or four hundred thousands of workers who are not directly engaged in agriculture.

A limitation of six months for the filing of charges is improper, since in many cases the unfair acts complained of are not discovered within that period of time nor should recovery of back pay by employees who suffer a wage loss because of unfair labor practices of employers be limited to one year.

The Federation is opposed to strict formal rules of evidence, as it would require unions to hire lawyers in every case.

The Federation does not approve of the elimination of an Economics Division. To do so would lessen the effectiveness of the Board's work in the presentation of cases requiring intensive study by economists.

We do not approve of the Garrison amendment, even in modified form. This amendment relieves the employer of the duty to bargain whenever two

unions make conflicting claims over a unit. This would encourage employers to foster dual unionism.

Important, too, is the subject of dividing the judicial and administrative functions of the Board. This is a revolutionary experiment which ought not to be adopted without thorough study as to its applicability in general to other departments and boards.

In all of the foregoing, the American Federation of Labor has made its position definite and clear, so that the Senate committee, in reporting on the Smith Bill, may take due cognizance of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green informed the Senate committee that the American Federation of Labor would await the report of that committee as to its recommendations before committing itself on any final bill in its entirety.

The American Federation of Labor reiterates its condemnation of the delay that has characterized the consideration of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. It firmly believes that Congress should have long since adopted the amendments proposed by the American Federation of Labor.

We urge Congress, as we did a year ago, to remove this subject from the political arena, by passing the American Federation of Labor proposals. Failure to heed our previous admonitions has already caused great harm to Labor. It should not be continued.

With respect to the Board itself, we report that the term of Chairman Madden expired on August 26, 1940. At the time of this writing, the Board is now without a chairman. Whether the President will reappoint Mr. Madden or appoint a new member is not presently known. The American Federation of Labor, however, is satisfied that because of Mr. Madden's close association with the past, unsatisfactory experience and policies of the Board, and because of the manifest dissension between Mr. Madden and the Board's newest member, Dr. Leiserson, and Mr. Madden's cooperation with Mr. Edwin Smith, an avowed opponent of the principles on which the American Federation of Labor is founded, it would not be to the best interests of the American Federation of Labor to retain Mr. Madden on the Board. The American Federation of Labor, has, therefore, opposed Mr. Madden's reappointment.

SOCIAL SECURITY

On August 14, 1940, the Social Security Act was five years old. The accomplishments of that five years are considerable. Whereas in 1935 there was no Federal insurance program for retired persons, except that covering some Federal employes, there is now an extensive old-age and survivors insurance program under which accounts have been established for over 50,000,000 workers. More than \$38,000,000 has been paid in benefits to retired workers and their surviving dependents. In 1935 only one state had enacted an unemployment compensation law and it had not yet begun benefit payments. Now every state is paying benefits under the Federal-state unemployment compensation program. Since the beginning of the program more than \$1,000,000,000 had been paid out in benefits through June, 1940. Over

28,000,000 wage earners are insured under the state laws. In 1935 only half the states were affiliated with the employment service system set up by the Wagner-Peyser Act, and the services of the employment offices were used so little as to be largely ineffective. Today the public employment offices are operating in every state and have found jobs for more than 5,000,000 workers since January 1, 1939. Federal grants to states for aid to needy aged persons, dependent children, and needy blind have made possible assistance to more than four and one-half times as many people as were receiving such aid before the Social Security Act became effective.

Important as these advances are, we cannot stop here. In the face of the present world crisis it is even more necessary that we raise the standards of living and the degree of security enjoyed by the people of this country. Democracy can resist any attack if it successfully establishes the way of life its people prefer to any other. Opportunity for employment at fair wages, and social protection for those who are unable to work or are unemployed through no personal fault, are essentials of such a way of life. We must expand and improve the whole program of social security to deal fairly with all wage earners. In his statement reviewing the first five years, Social Security Board Chairman Arthur J. Altmeyer said: "There will be no retreat for Social Security as the result of the defense program." Labor endorses this statement and goes beyond it. As a part of the defense program there must be advance in the security of family standards which will reinforce and strengthen our nation in its complete defense against military and economic attacks on the American way of life.

To carry out the Social Security program in the fiscal year 1939-40, the Federal Government appropriated for administrative expenses and grants to states \$383,844,000, as compared with \$364,855,000 for the fiscal year 1938-39. The appropriations for transfer to the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund were \$550,000,000 in 1939-40, as compared with \$390,000,000 in 1938-39.

The report of the Executive Council on the subject of Social Security falls into five sub-divisions:

- Old Age Provisions
- Employment Security
- Disability Problems
- Defense Production and Social Security Rights
- Committee on Social Security

Old-Age Provisions

I. Old-Age Assistance

In 1939 the Social Security Act was amended to permit the Federal Government to pay one-half the total amount spent in the state for old-age assistance with the exception of that part of the expenditure for any individual above \$40.00 instead of \$30.00, as in the original law. In spite of this change, the average payment for old-age assistance did not increase materially in the country as a whole. The average payment in May, 1939, was \$19.20. In

May, 1940, it was \$19.96. This situation was to be expected since no state other than California was paying more than \$30.00 per aged person aided in 1939. It was the limitation of state funds, rather than the \$30.00 maximum, which kept the assistance at a low figure. In 1940, California was still the only state whose old-age assistance grants averaged more than \$30.00. It had raised the average from \$32.47 to \$37.99 between May, 1939, and May, 1940.

However, more money was spent for old-age assistance in 1940. The number of persons receiving such aid was 6.8 percent larger in May, 1940, than in May, 1939, and the amount being spent had increased 10 percent. It was estimated that 247 out of each 1,000 persons 65 years of age or over were receiving old-age assistance in May, 1940. Nearly two million persons in the country were receiving old-age assistance. The average monthly payment ranged from the high of \$37.99 in California to \$6.05 in Arkansas.

Proposed amendments—In 1939 when the amendment raised the limit of the Federal matching grant from \$15.00 to \$20.00, the American Federation of Labor supported an alternate proposal to change from a flat to a variable basis of making grants. Were this adopted, the aged persons in those states which now are able to pay only meager amounts would receive more nearly a subsistence grant at least. The American Federation of Labor is now supporting S. 4269 and H. R. 10384, introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives by Senator Wagner and Representative McCormack, respectively. This bill would establish variable grants, not to exceed 75 percent of the total amount spent in the state for old-age assistance. The ratio of the Federal grant to the state's own appropriation would be the same as the ratio of the per capita income of the United States to the per capita income of the state, provided the state's per capita income were lower than that of the country. If the state's per capita income is the same as, or larger than that for the United States, the state would receive a matching grant as at present. Under this bill if the per capita income of the United States were in the ratio of 2.5:1 for a given state, and if that state appropriated \$84,000 for assistance to 21,000 persons, the Federal grant would be \$210,000, making a total sum of \$294,000 or an average of \$14 per person aided. At present the Federal grant could be only \$84,000, equal to the state fund, making a total of \$168,000 or \$8 per person aided.

Under the Federal-State system of old-age assistance there is wide variation in the standards of eligibility for relief grants. Much of the criticism and dissatisfaction with old-age assistance, aside from its inadequacy of amount in many states, arises from a few of these eligibility provisions. Perhaps the most onerous of them is the requirement that the relief recipient must give the state a lien on all real or personal property he may possess. While it is reasonable and necessary for the state to avoid payments to persons who do not need assistance and who may transfer property to relatives in order to qualify fraudulently for relief, we believe this end should be achieved without stripping the person aided of every shred of property during his lifetime. The provision of S. 4269 which would prevent the requirement that a person

transfer his property to the state or its political subdivisions in order to get old-age assistance would eliminate one serious criticism of the system of aid for aged persons. This provision would allow the governmental unit to prevent the transfer of the property to any other person during the client's lifetime, or to establish a prior claim on such property at the death of the relief client and so reimburse itself, so far as the value of the property permitted, for any aid given. The Government could adequately protect taxpayers' interests in this way without taking a lien while the owner was living. Two further provisions of S. 4269 would improve our old-age assistance system materially. They are the standard that relatives other than the spouse may not be required by law to contribute to the support of an aged person before assistance is given, and the limitation of the residence requirement to one year of the two immediately preceding the application for old-age assistance.

Extravagant Pension Plans—Our present program for aged persons is based on two approaches: (1) insurance to which wage earners contribute during their working years, which provides monthly payments to the aged worker when he retires or to certain dependents if he should die prematurely; and (2) public assistance, non-contributory, granted to needy aged persons upon proof of need. There are many groups in the country who urge that the Social Security program be abandoned and replaced by non-contributory pensions for all aged persons or for all whose incomes fall below some specified amount. Several bills to this effect have been introduced in Congress, but so far none have been acted on. Several states have also had proposals before them.

If uniform pensions were paid, with no inquiry into the need of the recipient, they would have to be large enough to make supplementary relief unnecessary or they would fail to give the security aimed at. Pensions of a size to give security to those without other income would give unnecessary incomes to many persons. We can more easily finance reasonable security for those who need it if our funds are not used to contribute equally to those whose individual resources are sufficient without public grants. It is clear that in our present economic state no such sums as would be needed could be raised by additional taxes levied only on wealth or the top incomes. The greatest part of the tax burden would fall on the moderate and low-income families. The hope is frequently held out by advocates of such pension plans and taxes that the increased circulation of money would vastly increase the national income and lead the country to prosperity. If, as would be the case, a large share of the taxes fall on low-income families, there would be no new demand for goods. It would only mean a shift of money from the family which needed it to an aged person who needed it. It would mean inflationary price increases damaging to the worker's budget. Until the needs of wage earners and their families are more adequately supplied, until health insurance, more adequate workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation systems, and temporary and permanent disability programs provide security throughout the worker's lifetime, we cannot endorse the use of a dis-

proportionate share of the national income for that part of the population over 60 years of age, and we cannot approve tax systems which would bankrupt the nation and lay unwarranted burdens on the working population.

We urge, therefore, that the Social Security Act be not discarded, but amended to improve both the old-age assistance and the old-age and survivors insurance programs. The former should be amended immediately along the lines suggested above. The old-age and survivors insurance program needs to be broadened so that millions of persons now excluded may, during their working years, build up rights to monthly benefits in their old age or protection for their surviving dependents. We believe firmly that the Social Security Act can be built into a comprehensive and sound system of protection for old and young, employed, unemployed and handicapped persons—a system which fits into and enhances our democratic way of life.

II. Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

The old-age and survivors insurance system as set up under the Social Security Act amendments of August, 1939, is now in full operation. More than 50,000,000 workers have social security account numbers. Monthly payments were being made to 159,000 people at the end of August, 1940. From January 1, 1940, through August, 1940, the following claims were approved:

	No. of Persons
Primary benefits (age 65).....	88,000
Wife's benefits (age 65).....	21,000
Child's benefits (under 18).....	35,000
Widow's benefits (age 65).....	2,000
Widow's current benefits (with dependent children).....	13,000
Parents' benefits (age 65).....	500

In addition, in the same period, 40,000 lump sum payments had been made under the provisions of the amended Act, and 32,000 lump sum payments under the provisions of the Act prior to its amendments.

The monthly benefits during the first four months of operation of the amended Act averaged:

Primary	\$22.00
Wife's	12.00
Child's	12.00
Widow's	21.00
Widow's current	20.00

No parents' benefits were paid during this period. Lump sum death benefits averaged \$146.

The benefits being paid under this Act are not dependent on proof of need. They are related to the insured person's average monthly wage and the length of time he has been in insured employment. Millions of wage earners and their families have more security against loss of earnings from old age or death than they had prior to the inauguration of this program. The benefits are maintaining purchasing power in many communities all over the country. Through the first six months of 1940, total payments of \$38,000,000 had been made.

Coverage—In spite of the obvious gain in protection, the Social Security Act is still open to grave criticism because of the limitation of its coverage. The limited coverage is injurious in two ways: (1) it leaves millions of workers whose incomes are too low to permit adequate savings exposed to loss of income in their old age and without insurance protection for their families; and (2) it reduces the average monthly wage, and hence the retirement benefit amount, of all workers who shift from covered to non-covered employment during their working years. For example, if a man who was 45 when the Social Security Act went into effect worked 20 years at a monthly wage of \$100, he would be entitled to a monthly benefit of \$30 at age 65 if all his employment was covered by the Act. If, however, he had worked ten years in covered employment and ten years as a "farm laborer" or in other non-covered work, even though his total earnings were exactly the same (\$24,000 for 20 years at \$100 a month), only half of it would be credited to his account. Thus his "average monthly wage" would be figured at \$50 for covered employment, and his monthly benefit would be only \$22. If, still working at the same wage, he had worked 9 years in covered employment and 11 years in non-covered employment, he would not be entitled to any retirement benefit.

To rid the system of the obvious injustice of this limited coverage, the American Federation of Labor is supporting legislation which would bring about 10,000,000 more workers under coverage. We wish to see agricultural and domestic workers and employes of non-profit institutions receive the same protection now extended to industrial employes. The problems involved in providing retirement benefits for public employes, a part of whom are already under other government pension plans, are being studied by our Social Security Committee and representatives of the wage earners concerned. We want to find some satisfactory method of protecting all wage earners in their old age without diminishing the protection some groups have secured.

The American Federation of Labor believes that studies should also be made looking toward some method of coordinating other retirement plans with old-age and survivors insurance in such a way that each plan would retain its individual existence and its special advantages, but that employes who pass from one type of employment to the other should be continuously protected and not be unable to meet the requirements for retirement benefits under either system.

If old-age and survivors insurance and other government retirement systems are coordinated, and together cover practically every type of employment, monthly retirement benefits would be larger on the average and there would be fewer aged persons left without an income and forced to rely on the relief program of old-age assistance. We should move toward complete coverage of the contributory insurance program as rapidly as possible.

Receipts—This is the first year in which the employer has been required by law to give his employes a receipt showing the amounts deducted from their wages for the old-age and survivors insurance tax. Such a receipt must be given at least once for the year. If the employer prefers, he may give

separate receipts for each pay period. Wage earners are urged to compare their receipts with the record which the Social Security Board has of each employee's earnings in covered employment. This record will be sent to the wage earner at his request. The Board has sent out more than 400,500 such records to account holders. Of the wage reports requested on 1938 wages, 93 percent agreed with the wage earner's own record. A large part of the error in the 7 percent which were protested arose from the failure of the employer to file a complete return or any return at all of wages earned by his employees. The major part of these errors have been corrected for wage earners who protested the record they received. It is obviously a matter of real importance to the wage earner to receive a receipt from his employer and to check with the Social Security Board each year to be sure that his earnings are being accurately recorded. This will insure his getting the full amount of retirement benefits to which he is entitled.

Employment Security

Under the President's Reorganization Order the administration of the United States Employment Service was transferred to the Federal Security Agency. The Bureau of Employment Security, under the Social Security Board, now handles both the employment service and unemployment compensation. The chief interest of Labor is in finding a solution to the problem of unemployment. It is important that every measure possible be taken to place wage earners in jobs. Recognizing, however, that there is a large amount of unemployment even in the best times, we believe the system of unemployment compensation should be so organized as to eliminate in large part the financial hardships resulting from periods of unemployment.

I. Employment Service

The confusion attendant upon the shift from the Department of Labor to the Federal Security Agency, together with several changes in administrative personnel have kept the employment service from functioning as efficiently as is desirable. It is important that this confusion be reduced and that the next year see more effective organization of the central offices of this service which is of such immediate concern to Labor. It is particularly important that all offices of the employment service be managed by persons who understand and are sympathetic toward organized labor in order that the placement work and training programs necessary for defense work shall not depress union standards.

Rulings—The Social Security Board in August, 1940, adopted several rules governing the operation of the employment offices. Two of these are of especial interest to organized labor. The first requires employment offices to refrain from referring for employment, either at the request of the employer or on its own initiative, persons selected because of their non-affiliation with a labor organization. To do so would constitute a violation of laws governing labor relations. However, the employment offices may honor the request of an employer that it refer to him only union members when he has

an agreement with such union to employ its members. Information which the employment office has of union affiliation may be used only in the advantageous placement of an applicant, not for any other purpose.

The second rule requires employment offices to refrain from referring any person to a position left vacant because of a labor dispute at that place of employment by a person engaged in the dispute or by anyone who is in the grade or class of workers who are in the dispute. This is of primary importance to keep public employment offices from supplying strike breakers. Our unions can insure the protection of their interests in this matter by notifying the state employment security agency promptly of any labor disputes in which they are involved. We commend the Social Security Board for these rulings so necessary to prevent the misuse of legislation designed for Labor's benefit.

Placements—During the first half of 1940 nearly one and a half million placements were made in private employment. This is a larger number than in the same period in any previous year. It is a gain of nearly 28 percent over the first half of 1939. At the close of June, 1940, the public employment offices had an active file of nearly 6,000,000 job applicants. The special service for veterans had placed more than 46,000 workers in the first half of 1940, an increase of 13 percent over the previous year. Their active file was 240,000.

II. Unemployment Compensation

Our Federal-State system of unemployment compensation is showing its deficiencies and inequities with increasing clearness. The meager benefits and excessive disqualification provisions of most states together with a period of rising employment have resulted in the accumulation of unnecessarily large reserves. Some employers' organizations, hopeful of large tax reductions, have opposed reasonable measures of benefit liberalization. The various proposals for amendments to the benefit structure, administrative procedures, and taxes are so diverse that a thorough study of the whole unemployment compensation program is badly needed. The American Federation of Labor is supporting a resolution (S. Con. Res. 34) introduced by Senator Wagner which calls for the appointment of a representative advisory council to make the necessary study and recommend amendments to the Social Security Act. The work of a similar council in studying the old-age insurance program has been praised by everyone who knew the part it played in securing the major amendments in 1939. We call on all friends of Labor in Congress to create such an advisory council without further delay.

State Amendments—The majority of state legislatures were not in session in 1940. Those which were in session for the most part confined the amendments of their unemployment compensation laws to changes in definitions of "wages" and "agricultural labor" and in the list of employment exclusions, to bring the state coverage into agreement with that of the Federal tax act. These amendments generally reduced somewhat the tax paid and increased the number of persons excluded from coverage. Among those excluded by the broader definition of "agricultural labor" are many workers who work in towns in processes identical with those which are covered when performed in

other industries or factories. A number of bookkeepers, accountants, carpenters, engineers, etc., are excluded from protection by these changes.

A few states reduced their waiting periods to two weeks or even one week. The trend is definitely toward shorter waiting periods. The American Federation of Labor believes a one-week period is adequate, both to provide for administrative determination of the worker's rights and to discourage unnecessary claims. Longer periods inflict undue hardships on unemployed persons and frequently make relief payments necessary before compensation begins.

A year ago four states (Maine, North Carolina, South Dakota, West Virginia), adopted an annual wage formula over the protests of all Labor's representatives that that formula would affect benefits unfavorably. The evidence is clear beyond challenge. In each of the four states there was a decided shift toward smaller benefit amounts. The average weekly benefit amount decreased materially in each of those states and not in the other states without annual wage formulas. In those states the requirements to qualify for a given benefit amount were raised from three to six and one-half times those under the former laws. In spite of this clear proof of the disadvantage of the annual wage formula, one additional state (Kentucky) adopted it in 1940. Vigilance to prevent complete collapse of reasonable benefit standards is vital.

A few states deferred the operation of merit or experience rating to a later date. Several others, however, adopted new plans of experience rating intended to cut the tax rates sharply. Defense preparations in the next few years will make new employment in some lines and probably sharply curtail others. The emergency will interfere with the usual employment patterns. It will be impossible to predict the future experience of any employer from his experience in the previous year. The reduction in unemployment will be the result of national defense efforts, not of the individual employer's success in "stabilizing" employment. The whole concept of experience rating will thus become meaningless. The tax differentials may affect adversely employers in such important defense work as construction. Defense is a national problem. The companies engaging in defense production should not be subject to different unemployment compensation taxes in various states. Their workers should be protected by good benefit schedules in every state. An interstate competition to lower tax rates under experience rating would do injury both to many employers and to the benefit standards. We reaffirm our opposition to any devices which defeat the construction of a system of unemployment compensation which will pay reasonable benefits promptly and for periods long enough to provide for the needs of workers in periods of their involuntary unemployment.

Several states made administrative changes in their laws designed to simplify operation. Simplification is a laudable goal but should not be achieved at the sacrifice of the real purpose of unemployment compensation. Some of the methods of "simplification" reduce benefits. These should be discarded.

Some tendencies toward more adequate compensation systems may be noticed in shorter waiting periods, in higher maximum and minimum pay-

ments, and in the use of a larger percent of quarterly earnings to determine benefit amounts. These tendencies should be fostered in the next year.

In some states the disqualifications were increased in severity. State administrators have noticed that some employers make a practice of opposing benefit payments to their former workers no matter what the circumstances. This practice may bring denial of benefits and a better "experience rate" in a few cases, but it slows up benefit payments, so preventing the compensation system from operating to prevent distress when the worker becomes unemployed. It also increases the proportion of the compensation funds which are spent for administrative expense.

The Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor has supplied a number of state federations of labor with information on the developments in unemployment compensation legislation and helped them advance their interests in their own states. It will be glad at any time to furnish such information as it can, or to aid the state federations or affiliated unions by analyzing specific proposals for amending the unemployment compensation laws in their states.

Appeals—During the year 1939, appeals were taken in 62,324 cases involving unemployment compensation. Eighty-six percent of these were decided in the lower appeal tribunals, only 14 percent being carried to higher ones. As employers become conscious of charges against their accounts affecting their "experience rates," we can expect more frequent protests of benefit payments. A tendency in this direction is already obvious in some states. It is all the more necessary that Labor watch carefully the precedents being established by appeal decision and promptly appeal unfavorable decisions from local tribunals which are out of line with more reasonable decisions from the final appeal board.

Program—For the fiscal year 1939-40, through June, 1940, \$853,955,000 was collected for unemployment compensation purposes. This amount includes employe contributions in several states. Only \$482,467,000 was paid out in benefits in that time. The funds available for benefits as of June 30, 1940, were \$1,707,046,000, nearly 50 percent above the funds available on June 30, 1939. Nevada is the only state whose reserve fund was smaller this year than it was in June, 1939. Six states have paid out more than they have collected since they began benefit payments, but none has exhausted its original reserve accumulated before benefits were payable. For each dollar collected the highest amount any state has paid out is \$0.72. The lowest is \$0.18 and the average, \$0.39. Since benefits became payable, the highest amount paid out for each dollar collected is \$1.16; the lowest is \$0.25; and the average, \$0.65.

Such large reserves were not anticipated when the laws were originally framed. There are a number of circumstances which account for the excess. In most states the benefits, both in amount and duration, depend on a worker's previous earnings. Because the system began operation after a severe depression period, many unemployed workers had small base-year earnings and could receive little aid from unemployment compensation. This serious flaw in the system indicates that an amendment seriously needed is one which

would provide a reasonable duration of benefit payments, adjusted to the expected periods of unemployment, rather than to past earnings. If our unemployment compensation system is to provide for the bulk of temporary unemployment, as it should, duration should be not less than 16 weeks for any eligible worker. A 20-week period would be far more satisfactory.

The fact that several large industrial states did not provide for partial unemployment benefits and some of them still make no such payments has also kept benefit outgo low. When an employer can reduce the work he gives employees to negligible amounts and avoid benefit payments to any worker, thus getting a better "experience rate," unemployment compensation becomes a farce. Partial benefits limit to some degree this form of exploiting workers.

In every state the benefit payments have been smaller than is consistent with the intention of making reasonable provision for unemployed workers. So-called "simplification" has cheated workers of receiving even 50 percent of their normal full-time weekly wages.

Although all states now arrange by interstate agreements to pay benefits to a person who applies for them in some state other than the one in which he earned enough to qualify, a large number of migratory workers fail to meet the requirements of any state and are left unprotected. Only a Federal program could meet their needs satisfactorily.

Interstate competition will create increasing pressure for tax reductions in every state as experience rating reductions take effect. Against the pressure for tax reductions it will be hard for many states to establish and maintain satisfactory benefit standards. It is essential, therefore, that we adopt Federal standards to create a floor below which benefits may not be pushed. Just as the uniform Federal tax encouraged states which would not have ventured without it to establish unemployment compensation, uniform benefit standards will keep competition from ruining the compensation systems. The American Federation of Labor is supporting the McCormack Bill, H. R. 7762, which provides Federal standards for unemployment compensation and changes the Federal tax system so that it would be possible for a state which established benefits above the Federal minimum standards to lower the tax rate charged to employers when the state reserves were larger than necessary for reasonable safety. Thus states in which unemployment was small could have lower tax rates for all employers, and the attempt to get lower taxes would promote, not prevent, the adoption of reasonable benefit standards. Because some states may, at certain periods, have difficulty in paying the benefits established in conformity with the Federal standards, H. R. 7762 provides for the establishment of a Federal reinsurance fund which would assure regular payment of the minimum benefits. We believe the establishment of Federal standards supported by a reinsurance fund to be essential to a sound system of unemployment compensation throughout the country.

As an immediate program for state legislation, the American Federation of Labor proposes:

1. A flat duration of at least 16 weeks in every state. In those states which can afford a better program, 20 weeks should be adopted.

2. A waiting period not longer than one week.
3. A reasonable minimum benefit—not less than \$5 in any state and higher in industrial states.
4. A benefit rate calculated in a manner which will pay at least 50 percent of the worker's normal full-time wage. If quarterly-earnings formulas are used, the normal full-time wage should be deemed to be not less than one-tenth the earnings in the highest quarter. In no case should an annual-earnings formula be accepted.
5. A maximum of more than \$15 in industrial states in order not to depress so seriously the standards of the average worker.
6. The limitation of penalty disqualifications to an increase in the waiting period to a total of not more than 6 weeks. In no case should disqualifications cancel wage credits previously earned or charge off benefits as if they had been paid during the weeks of disqualification.
7. Benefits for partial unemployment in those states which still have no provision for such payments.
8. An elimination of experience rating.

On the Federal level we urge the adoption of reasonable minimum standards and the creation of a Federal reinsurance fund to assure the payment of those minimum benefits without increasing the tax load in any state.

Coverage—The Federal tax on employers in respect to the unemployment compensation system is levied only on persons who employ 8 or more workers on at least one day in each of 20 weeks during the year. The present status of the coverage laws is highly unsatisfactory. The American Federation of Labor endorses the amendment in S. 4269 which would levy the tax on employers of one or more persons for unemployment compensation purposes as is now done for old-age and survivors insurance.

Disability Problems

I. Health Insurance and Hospitalization

No action has been taken in Congress in the past year on S. 1620 which the American Federation of Labor endorsed, with reservations, in 1939. The difficulty of putting into operation so extensive a program led to the introduction of a more modest bill, S. 3230, to promote the national health and welfare through the construction of needed hospitals to serve rural communities and economically distressed areas. The appropriation proposed in the bill was \$10,000,000 for the first fiscal year, and thereafter such sums as were necessary. This bill passed in the Senate and is before a committee in the House of Representatives. The American Federation of Labor approves the extension of hospital facilities available to persons of low incomes, although it believes the bill introduced must be regarded as only a beginning and not permitted to crowd out consideration of a more adequate program to meet the health needs of low-income workers and their families.

We believe that in any hospital building program for which Federal funds are used, a provision should be made that all workmen, laborers and me-

chanics employed in the construction must be paid not less than the prevailing wage rates in the locality concerned. The Executive Council endorsed S. 3269 which contained this provision in regard to construction of health facilities under an authorized appropriation.

In May, 1940, the American Federation of Labor was represented before the Senate Committee on Labor considering S. 3461, which would increase the appropriation for industrial hygiene work and place supervision or administration of such work under state and Federal departments of labor. The American Federation of Labor strongly believes that any service especially affecting the interests of Labor should be administered by persons trained and experienced in labor relations and problems. Industrial hygiene is only in part a medical question. It is less closely associated with general health problems than with particular labor interests. It is largely a problem of inspection and enforcement and is closely connected with the whole field of labor standards and the administration of workmen's compensation laws. The supervisors should be persons who are skilled in the techniques of inspection and detection of industrial hazards.

Disability, permanent and temporary—With payments being made under old-age and survivors insurance, it is becoming increasingly clear that some provision for disability payments is necessary. Many persons become disabled so that they are incapable of work before they are 65. They need income during the years of their disability as much or more than after they are 65. A number of persons who have paid taxes toward old-age insurance for a long period may receive no benefits because they become disabled before they have worked long enough to become fully insured. Lowering the age at which old-age insurance is payable would be an expensive and incomplete method of attacking this problem. Many persons are well and fully capable of continuing in employment until they are 65, while others, totally disabled at 45 or 50, need the insurance payments. The American Federation of Labor believes that the extension of our social security protection to embrace disability payments is so essential that it should be acted on in the next year.

Temporary disability insurance is also important to a satisfactory program of social security. Often it is impossible to determine in the early stages whether disability will be permanent or temporary. Our unemployment compensation system does not cover unemployment due to disability and the workmen's compensation laws leave many kinds of disability uncompensated. Disability insurance should provide a cash income to compensate in part for the loss of wage income whether the worker was temporarily or permanently unemployed.

At present there is no coordination between various social insurance systems. The widows and children of some workers killed in a mine accident received payments under both workmen's compensation and old-age and survivors insurance, while other workers disabled outside the course of their employment or by non-compensable industrial diseases may be forced onto relief because of the lack of insurance payments. We believe our social insurance system should be examined as a whole and the gaps between its com-

ponent parts filled in so that wage earners and their families may be protected in part, at least, from the financial loss unemployment causes, whether it arises because of disability, lack of work or old age. They should be further protected from the crushing expense of serious illness of the wage earner or some member of his family by health insurance and a program of medical and hospital care which puts these facilities within the reach of the worker's pocketbook. We urge early action on a Federal program directed to this end, financed in ways which avoid too heavy reliance on payroll taxes.

Voluntary cooperation for medical service—More than four and one-half million persons in some sixty communities in the United States are members of non-profit hospital service plans designed to prepay the necessary costs of hospitalization. Mutual benefit associations sometimes include hospitalization coverage among their benefits. They seldom protect any member of the family other than the wage earner himself. The American Hospital Association has approved a group of non-profit free choice plans under which a member may have his choice among the hospitals in which his physician has staff privileges. Many local unions have recommended some such plan to their members. While the plans vary in charges and benefits offered, they are alike in principle, providing for group payments with lower costs per person for families than for single persons, and enabling the family to receive necessary hospital care without accepting free services available only to persons who qualify under relief means tests. It is clear that while these non-profit plans serve a valuable purpose for many families of moderate incomes, they are still too expensive for many others who could not, therefore, join a voluntary plan and would be left unprotected when serious illness occurred. Voluntary plans, though valuable, cannot take the place of a sound program of social insurance financed, at least in part, from general funds so that hospital and medical care may be placed within the reach of low-income families.

The hospital service plans do not include payment of attending physicians. It is necessary also to plan for lowering the cost of medical care, both within and outside of hospitals. There are in operation many group health plans which pay doctors' fees and other medical expenses for their members. These, too, are on a voluntary basis. Unions have recommended group membership in some of these plans to their members. These, like hospital service plans, furnish a valuable service to their members when organized on sound principles. Their limitation, again, is that millions of workers and their families have incomes so low that they cannot spare the money for fees and so do not join voluntarily. They can be protected only under a comprehensive social plan which would reduce the costs within reach of incomes. We approve of voluntary cooperation in the medical service field to the limits of its effectiveness, but we believe a comprehensive national health program is essential for our Nation. We urge that steps be taken to establish such a program on a basis which will provide the necessary care at costs which can reasonably be borne by those who do not ask the free service given to persons on relief, but who cannot afford adequate medical care under a private fee system. The

health of our Nation is the concern of all citizens. We should act promptly toward a sound program to preserve and improve it.

II. Workmen's Compensation

Stock and mutual insurance companies are continuing their efforts to prevent the spread of state funds, especially the establishment of such funds as the exclusive insurers for workmen's compensation. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that a much larger percent of the premium paid goes to compensate injured workers under the single government fund than under private insurance agencies.

There is a growing tendency for private insurance companies to fight the payment of benefits and for courts to give technical rulings preventing the payment of benefits which in all equity should be paid. The employer pays the premiums to protect his workers when they suffer industrial injuries. Neither the employer nor the worker is benefited by too narrow and technical interpretation of the laws. Only the insurance company profits by the worker's misfortune. We recommend that legislatures take action to amend the laws to achieve the true intention of workmen's compensation. We urge especially the replacement of private insurers by single state funds which will not have a selfish interest in preventing fair treatment of injured workers.

Defense Production and Social Security Rights

There is general agreement that some measures must be taken to protect workers who go into military service against a more serious disruption of their economic life than is inevitable. To this end, the draft law and that authorizing the call of the National Guard for active service contained provisions designed to protect the worker's right to return to his former job after military service, and certain safeguards against loss of property because of his inability to continue payments while in service. These measures do not go far enough. Some workers would have had employment covered by the Social Security Act or the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts prior to their military service. For them the loss of a year's employment and wages would mean serious interruption of retirement rights and unemployment protection. Others would enter without having had previous industrial experience but they might have secured jobs covered by the Social Security or Railroad Acts had they not been called for defense. Every year spent away from covered employment reduces the amount of retirement pay these workers will ultimately receive and makes it more difficult for them to qualify for it. They, also, may suffer unemployment when they are discharged from service. They should not be discriminated against in preparing to extend social insurance rights to persons in defense service.

Equally important are the establishment and preservation of social security rights for workers who take industrial jobs under the Government in civilian defense work. The Federal Government has not been liable for social security taxes for its employes or those of its instrumentalities. For workers not covered by civil service retirement, there should be old-age protection. Since

the defense workers will be drawn chiefly from private industry and expect to return to it at the end of the emergency, it is desirable that they should be under the social security program, which will assure the continuity of their rights without any lessening of benefits because of their government jobs. They should also be covered by the unemployment compensation system, with the Government as their employer contributing to the fund from which they would receive benefits if they failed to find other jobs promptly when laid off. We must anticipate a serious period of unemployment when government defense industries and military service do not absorb so many persons. It is the part of wisdom to prepare now, with sound financial measures, to meet the drain on the funds when the war emergency ends. In this way our unemployment compensation system may protect us from so severe a depression and will avoid the chaos which temporarily eclipsed the British system at the end of the last war when demobilized men, uninsured under the unemployment compensation system, were paid benefits from it.

We believe that the measures taken to provide social insurance protection for persons engaged both in civilian and in military defense work should cover all such workers, not just those who had previous coverage. It would not be just nor conducive of good feeling to protect some such workers and not others similarly occupied. The rights established should be so coordinated with other government insurance programs already existing that the beneficiary would suffer no insurance disadvantage from the change of occupation. The American Federation of Labor believes it is unsound policy for some persons to be eligible for benefits from several different Federal programs simultaneously while others, equally worthy and needy have no protection. We strongly recommend that the problem be examined as a whole and that plans of coordinating the benefit programs be worked out so that all workers on defense jobs, civil or military, will have fair protection without unnecessarily duplicating benefit payments. The defense program is pointing up the need for further extension of coverage of our social insurance programs and greater coordination of the separate parts of it to the advantage of all workers. Reasonable social insurance safeguarding all workers is itself a measure of defense. It helps to establish a way of living under a democracy which the entire nation will combine to preserve.

Committee on Social Security

(Matthew Woll, Chairman; G. M. Bugniazet, John P. Frey, George Meany)

In 1939 the American Federation of Labor convention recommended that the Committee on Social Security include in its duties aid to unions in helping workers keep wage data and such records as would constitute evidence of benefits to which they are eligible. In accordance with this mandate, the committee prepared a pocket-size booklet containing space for entering a worker's wage and employment record for one year, a place for keeping his wage receipts as furnished by employers subject to the law, and a summary of workers' rights under old-age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation. These booklets were offered to all affiliated unions at cost

price for distribution to their membership. To date, 135,000 copies have been ordered.

The Committee on Social Security has studied the problem of extending coverage of the Social Security Act.

The Executive Council expects the Committee on Social Security to continue its study of the operation of the Act and to recommend additional amendments to broaden coverage and improve it in other ways as rapidly as it appears feasible to make the changes. We particularly recommend that the Committee on Social Security continue its study on problems of health and disability insurance, and methods of coordinating the various parts of our social insurance program into a system which functions efficiently to furnish a reasonable minimum of protection against all types of hazards which cut off earnings for individuals and families whose incomes are insufficient to permit them to achieve security individually. We expect our Social Security Committee to study the development of national defense plans and make such recommendations as are necessary to prevent any backward steps in the social program achieved and in prospect. The morale of the nation depends on fair treatment of the wage earners and their families. It must not be weakened by short-sighted neglect of a sound program of social insurance to supplement the even more important drive to provide jobs at reasonable wages for all persons who are seeking and able to work.

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

When in the summer of 1940 the nation plunged into feverish defense activity and its defense production plan began to strain under the load of defense production, the problem of unemployment and relief was still casting the longest and darkest shadow across the American continent. In June, 1940, 5,700,000 households numbering 16,070,000 persons were still compelled to rely on public assistance, relief, or relief employment made available with the help of the Federal Government as a means of livelihood. While in this month 800,000 fewer households and 3,400,000 fewer individuals were receiving public assistance than in June, 1939, it was clear that a vast portion of the problem of the economic welfare of our people was still left unsolved. In the entire program of public assistance there were still 1,373,000 cases receiving general relief, a decline of only 200,000 cases since June, 1939. In June, 1940, relief employment still provided the major source of livelihood to the unemployed workers and their families. More than 1,700,000 workers were still employed on WPA, as compared with 2,570,000 employed in June, 1939. The number of workers employed under federal works programs in June, 1940, were distributed as follows:

Work Projects Administration.....	1,734,000
Civilian Conservation Corps	240,000
National Youth Administration Student Work Program.....	313,000
National Youth Administration Out of School Work Program....	269,000
Other federal work and construction projects.....	393,000
Total.....	2,949,000

WPA work, which provided the largest single source of public employment, was being gradually curtailed since the fall of 1939. In the fall of 1940, however, the number of workers employed on WPA jobs was still comparable to that of 1939 and the rise in employment in connection with the defense program was not making possible reductions in WPA rolls proportionate to the volume of expansion in defense industries.

One of the significant factors in connection with the volume of WPA employment was that the last three years failed to repeat the experience of the preceding years, and registered no substantial decrease in the volume of employment in the summer. This failure to follow the usual seasonal trend was due to the unprecedented expansion of relief work into the construction field since the summer of 1938. Since the summer of 1939 more than 7 out of 10 WPA workers were engaged in the construction of public projects. By 1940 the transfer of public construction from PWA projects, on which private contract system and fair labor standards were maintained, to straight WPA work was in large measure accomplished. This expansion of work relief employment into the construction field, in the face of drastic curtailment of the PWA program which is carried out through the private normal industrial channels, was an extremely short-sighted policy which severely aggravated the economic dislocation of the construction industry on whose healthy revival the future stability of American economy largely depends.

By January 1, 1940, the WPA workers had built or improved 458,000 miles of highways, roads and streets. They had built 56,000 bridges and viaducts and rebuilt or improved 37,000; 12,000 miles of sidewalks had been paved and 14,000 miles of curbs had been set. A total of 23,000 public buildings had been constructed and 62,000 rebuilt and improved, including libraries, schools, auditoriums, gymnasiums, hospitals, prisons, fire houses, garages, warehouses, armories and other public buildings. A total of 1,500 utility plants had been built, including electric power plants, incinerator plants, pumping stations, sewage treatment plants, etc., and nearly 10,000 miles of water mains, aqueducts and distribution lines had been laid. Nearly 6,000 miles of electric lines had been installed, including telephone and telegraph lines, electric power lines, and police, fire alarm and traffic signal systems. The construction had included new building or improvement of 500 airports, 470 landing fields and over 2,000,000 feet of runways. This work had also included 629 new tunnels 268,000 feet in length as well as construction work on docks, wharves, piers, and many other buildings.

The competitive pressure of WPA construction work against the workers in private building and construction employment was enhanced by the lowering of the wage standard on WPA projects in 1939. This was the result of abandonment of the prevailing wage requirement under Section 15(a) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939, in accordance with the recommendations made to Congress by the Commissioner of Work Projects.

When the works relief appropriation for the fiscal year 1941 was considered by Congress in the spring of the current year, there was inserted in the appropriation bill a provision known as Section 11, which placed a statutory

limitation on WPA construction projects, permitting the allotment of not more than \$52,000 per project. Section 11, whose adoption was strongly urged by the American Federation of Labor, if adopted and properly administered, would have assured the union building tradesmen employment under private contract at prevailing wages on large-scale projects which would have been excluded from the WPA authorization and treated as PWA projects instead. Strong opposition from the WPA administration to this project caused the elimination of this section from the bill as it was finally passed by Congress.

Another development adversely affecting the interests of the building trades unions was the new policy adopted by the WPA Administrator and embodied in a general letter, No. 311, addressed by him to all State Work Projects Administrators on April 1, 1940. Under this policy, on all contract work in building construction to be undertaken by sponsors, labor employed on the project was to be supplied from the relief rolls of WPA. Only in the event any of the labor expected to be furnished by the WPA could not be made available, would it be possible for the sponsor or the contractor to employ the necessary workers privately. Contractors responsible for such work were required to submit bids for the entire job, making an allowance for the labor and material to be furnished by the WPA. That serious problems would arise in connection with the use of labor on the same project and on the same kind of work, which is not all paid on the same basis, was recognized but not effectively dealt with.

Despite the assurances made by the Administrator that in the administration of the policy under the general letter No. 311, union labor would be given all possible latitude of employment at prevailing labor standards, no substantial employment opportunities for union workers on such projects materialized in the months immediately following the adoption of this policy. In its general effect, WPA continued to give relief employment to relief workers in the building and construction field under sub-standard labor provisions. With the continued growth of such activity in the construction field, these WPA projects were in effect taking away potential employment opportunities at union standards from building workers and diminishing the scope of private construction activity for the building trades in the future.

By training handymen and laborers to perform skilled operations on WPA projects, it became the accepted policy of the program to undermine the skill qualifications and the standards of the trade built up in the industry over a period of years and accepted on private construction. Improperly and inadequately trained workers given skilled classification but able to show only inferior quality of performance have developed into a serious threat not only to the established standards of skill and experience but also to the future employment of our skilled mechanics in all branches of the trade.

This problem assumes special importance in connection with the development of the defense program. It has been the policy of the Administration during the past two years to allocate as much work connected with defense preparations as possible to WPA. Thus many hundreds of WPA projects on military reservations and army posts were set up by state WPA adminis-

trators. WPA alone constructed more than 50 military airports throughout the nation. It is also significant that at Sand Point, near Seattle, for example, WPA labor erected nearly all of the existing 35 buildings, including 5 hangars, an administration building, a new wing to the barracks, and new officers' quarters. WPA projects constructed or reconditioned more than 15,000 bridges of steel or masonry construction. Over 200 new armories have been built by WPA and hundreds more reconditioned and enlarged. About \$38,000,000 worth of WPA projects was allocated for construction work for the National Guard. Kitchens, warehouses, rifle ranges, bath-houses, water and sewer systems, electrical distribution systems, as well as other construction work in camps and armories, has been done by WPA workers.

We believe that in the development and expansion of the defense program it is vitally important that a clear-cut separation be made between public works and work relief. There is no practical reason and little justification for the transfer of basic construction projects from the normal channels of private building under contract to work relief activity at sub-standard wages. The transfer of a large portion of defense construction work to relief employment will serve to perpetuate the WPA as a permanent institution by eliminating the private sources of employment normally provided by contract work.

We reiterate our recommendation of previous years in favor of a long-range permanent public works program designed to meet the immediate public works needs of the nation and yet provide the necessary means of expansion and curtailment of public works projects in harmony with general economic conditions. The large-scale program of military construction called for by national defense should provide a convenient starting point for the organization of a permanent public works administration.

We also recommend that full provision be made for the welfare of the unemployed wage earners and their families, administered through federal and local public assistance channels. Relief work should be continued to the extent to which it is truly needed. But the administration of this work should be considered an inseparable part of the general public assistance program, relying upon the network of public employment offices for fitting the most appropriate relief employment to the needy unemployed, and for relating the entire program to the other phases of unemployment relief and public assistance.

HOUSING FOR WORKERS

The low rent housing and slum clearance program initiated by the American Federation of Labor and enacted in 1937 with its support and backing, established a challenging record of progress during the past year. Having surmounted the initial obstacles incidental to the organization of this pioneer program and laid a firm groundwork of experience and practical cooperation with local public housing agencies, the USHA fell into full production stride by the summer of 1940. By September 30, 1940, the operating program of the USHA had 286 projects containing 104,107 dwelling units in 147 communities

under construction contracts. Under the working schedules of the USHA it was estimated that by January 1, 1941, 399 projects with 135,000 dwelling units will be in construction.

The significance of this program to Labor lies not only in the extent of provision made for rehousing of workers from the slums to well-designed, well-built dwellings at rentals which they can afford, but also in the amount of employment for building mechanics and laborers at the site and for workers in building materials and other related industries employed in the production of materials and equipment required by the program. In this connection, of crucial importance is the fact that the economies achieved through careful administration and painstaking planning have made possible employment of building labor on the USHA construction at prevailing wages and under fair labor conditions and at the same time provided construction which is most acutely needed and which is most fundamental to the future welfare of the American people. Such combined effectiveness in terms of social and economic benefits and at such a low cost to the public has not been achieved by any other program undertaken with Federal aid.

In the light of the problems of national defense arising out of war conditions abroad, the American Federation of Labor was the first to emphasize the need for rapid expansion of this program along two lines. On the basis of extensive studies made by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor headed by Vice-President Bates, the Executive Council at its meeting held in Washington on May 20, 1940, in a public declaration urged that the program be continued and expanded in order to (1) increase our national strength by making available decent housing and improved standards of living to families now living in slums, and (2) make possible the maximum use of the USHA program in the construction of sound housing in connection with defense production with the view to full utilization of such housing for normal needs of each community when the emergency is ended.

In urging the first approach, the Executive Council pointed out that the adoption of amendments proposed by us would not only help meet the housing needs of the nation, but also provide employment for more than half a million building trades workers. "Labor's concern in the future of this program is intensified by current developments," the Executive Council declared in this connection. "In the present world-wide crisis the permanent security of America lies in action directed toward domestic betterment. The USHA program goes straight to the heart of our most urgent economic problem. The splendid beginning made by the United States Housing Authority toward meeting the workers need for decent homes has proved this program to be one of the most effective defense weapons of our national welfare. To discard this tested weapon now is to surrender a strategic line of defense of economic security of our people."

On the basis of the recommendation of the Housing Committee, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor also made a strong declara-

tion in support of the USHA participation in defense housing construction. The Council said:

War abroad is already creating new conditions in our economy, most important of which is the syphoning of wage earners into communities dominated by specialized production. The national defense program will also involve a rapid increase in specialized industrial facilities and their shift to the central cities of the nation. These developments will create emergency housing situations which must be remedied. Good housing must be provided for the workers who will flock to these industrial centers.

The experience of the USHA in the construction of workers housing will enable it to provide such industrial housing with extreme speed and with thorough knowledge of each local problem. The USHA, with its nation-wide network of contacts with local housing needs and with its staff trained and experienced in dealing with local housing problems, is the only agency equipped to plan and administer such a program.

If properly planned this emergency will not be a total economic loss at the conclusion of the emergency, but will become a permanent asset available to low income families in the future. Termination of the USHA program at this time would not only aggravate the already acute shortage of low rent housing, but also deprive us of the tested machinery, in full working order, well fitted to deal efficiently with the emergency we are facing.

Not only does Labor consider it in the public interest to make full use of the machinery, personnel, and experience of the USHA for defense housing under the present emergency as a matter of efficiency and economy, but Labor also urges the utilization of procedures and techniques developed and tested by the USHA because these will make possible quickly but soundly constructed housing for defense workers, as well as the maximum participation of private enterprise in the construction of defense housing projects. All of USHA construction carried out under private contracts affords full participation to private industry in the defense program, yet safeguards to the utmost the maintenance of basic construction, occupancy, and labor standards and eliminates the possibility of speculation and profiteering.

This was amply demonstrated in practice on the 21 defense projects for 6,408 dwelling units for which the USHA had awarded construction contracts by September 30. Not only were the USHA defense projects the first to be put into production, but they were also the projects the USHA had shown it possible to bring to completion on the shortest production schedule yet attained. There has been no practical demonstration of any tested operating technique that would match the 120-day schedule attained by the USHA in this defense housing construction.

The fact that maximum cooperation of organized labor can be achieved on the USHA work is a further important consideration in favor of utilization of the USHA for defense housing construction.

Labor standards applicable to projects constructed under the USHA program assure the building trades mechanics and laborers the payment of prevailing wages. These standards also require full compliance with the workmen's compensation laws, the anti-kick-back statute, and other laws designed to safeguard the interests and labor standards of building workers.

Building trades councils and local building trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have given the United States Housing Authority the maximum of cooperation throughout the nation in order to achieve the greatest possible speed and economy in the construction of the USHA projects. By voluntary action the majority of building trades councils and local unions have adopted resolutions which obviate the possibility of delays or stoppages of work on low rent housing projects.

Under the terms of these resolutions our unions have agreed that in case jurisdictional disputes arise on a USHA project the work on the project is to continue until such time as the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, the local housing authority concerned, and the USHA have had full opportunity to adjust the differences between the trades. These agreements also provide that wage rates in effect at the time work is begun on a USHA project shall remain in effect until the project is completed. It is the first time in history that such a far reaching cooperative understanding has been achieved by any public agency with organized labor. As the result of the operation of this agreement and of the equitable administration of the labor provisions of the United States Housing Act, Labor has enjoyed the most harmonious and satisfactory relations with all agencies operating under the USHA, which has established a notable record in the annals of labor relations in the construction industry.

In the light of this record and these basic considerations, the American Federation of Labor was among the first to call the attention of Congress to the defense housing needs and to the necessity of utilizing the available facilities of the USHA and the local housing authorities in the development of a defense housing program. As the result, Title II was added to the Naval Appropriation Bill (H. R. 9822), and enacted into law (Public 671) on June 28, 1940. This law authorized utilization of the USHA in the national defense housing program and provided full machinery for coordination of this program with the defense activities of the War and Navy Departments.

At the time of the enactment of this legislation, strong pressure developed from real estate and business interests in favor of placing the responsibility for the program in the hands of private builders and in favor of using the defense program as a springboard for pre-fabrication on a mass production basis. This pressure was largely responsible for the failure of Congress to appropriate the funds necessary for the development of a defense housing program authorized by Public 671.

In the meantime, H. R. 10200 was introduced in the House, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of defense public works, including housing projects, needed under the naval defense program. This bill contained strong provision for the utilization of the public housing program for defense, supported by the unanimously favorable report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, made to the House on June 25. This bill was pigeonholed, however, and, in its place, provision for housing was made in H. R. 10263, approved by the President on September 9. This act (Public 781)

made available \$100,000,000 to the Army and Navy for housing construction.

Shortly after the appointment of a housing coordinator on the National Defense Advisory Commission, a Defense Housing Bill was transmitted to the House, providing for a \$150,000,000 program. The bill placed the administration of the defense housing program in the hands of the Public Buildings Administration and contemplated the accommodation of defense workers in cheap temporary shelter, built with pre-fabricated materials. This proposal was referred by the Speaker to Congressman Lanham, chairman of the House Committee on Public Buildings, who introduced it as H. R. 10412.

Although when the Lanham bill passed the House, the prevailing wage amendment urged by the American Federation of Labor was incorporated in its provisions, other basic modifications urged by the American Federation of Labor had not been acted upon. When the bill came before the Senate committee, the Defense Commission recommended the adoption of the most important of the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor proposals. In response to a strong plea made by the American Federation of Labor representatives, the Senate approved the major amendments proposed by Labor and they were retained in the bill as finally enacted into law. Among these amendments was the embodiment of the basic labor standards in the development of the defense housing program, and a modification which placed the administration of the program in the hands of the Federal Works Administrator, authorizing him to utilize other public agencies to carry out the provisions of the Act. There were indications, however, that in the administration of this defense housing program extensive use of temporary pre-fabricated dwellings was contemplated and that much of the administration of the program was to be done through Public Buildings Administration.

The American Federation of Labor is vitally interested in the development of an integrated and sound program of defense housing which would not only make adequate housing facilities available to industrial workers but also assure the fullest possible utilization of these facilities to fill the need for workers housing after the emergency. To allot the bulk of the program to the construction of temporary pre-fabricated housing would be a makeshift and wasteful effort. This course would only lead us to the provision of sub-standard housing for defense workers and ultimately leave us without facilities for the re-housing of workers to meet the normal post-emergency needs.

We recommend that, in the interests of defense workers in need of good housing, and of building trades, mechanics and laborers, who take part in the construction of that housing, the American Federation of Labor undertake a study of the defense housing situation at the earliest possible moment and widely disseminate the results of such study. Special attention should be given to provisions necessary to safeguard labor interests from speculation and profiteering incidental to the development of a large-scale defense housing program. The soundness of the various defense housing plans should be tested in the light of continued widespread unemployment among building workers and of their adaptability to the impending critical needs of post-emergency readjustment.

In the meantime, it is of paramount importance that the long-range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing be continued. This fundamental long-term program must not be swept aside or neglected in the rush of armament activities. This program initiated by the American Federation of Labor is in need of additional authorization of loan funds and appropriation of funds for annual contributions if its continuity is to be assured. Amendments providing for this, contained in S. 591, were passed by the Senate on June 8, 1939, were subjected to extensive committee hearings in the House, but no action on them was taken by the House when Congress adjourned in August, 1939. When the 76th Congress met in its third session in 1940, the American Federation of Labor again urged the adoption of these important amendments. A substitute bill containing minimum provisions absolutely essential for the continuation of the program was considered in the Banking and Currency Committee of the House in June, 1940, but S. 591 was held up in the Rules Committee, which refused to bring it before the House for consideration.

We strongly recommend that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed, in cooperation with the Housing Committee, to do everything within their power to secure legislation necessary for the continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program which has proved to be so vital to the wage earners and their families, and so effective in providing employment at fair labor standards to the building trades workers.

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

When a problem of employer-employee relations requires uniform state or nation-wide treatment, or when it is necessary to establish minimum standards which prevent competition from interfering too seriously with the better standards established by union agreements for certain plants or areas, legislation may be the only satisfactory method of dealing with the problem. We must not, however, permit the enlarged field of labor legislation to crowd out collective bargaining or to dominate the activities of organized labor. Labor legislation, though intended to be used for the benefit of labor, has often been distorted, through bad or incompetent administration, to be used against us. We have watched with disillusioned eyes the adverse uses to which the antitrust law was put in spite of the labor sections of the Clayton Act. We are currently struggling against administrative misinterpretation of the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act. Labor demands that government agencies charged with the administration of labor legislation be so organized and staffed that they may serve, not dictate or pervert, Labor's interests.

Administration is a technical problem. Legislative bodies enact into law certain policies found through democratic processes to be in the public interest. Those charged with administration of the laws should draw up the necessary regulations to give effect to these policies. They should not be propagandizing agencies to create or alter the policy. They should serve policy-making by gathering the necessary technical data, and by contributing the results of their practical experience in dealing with the problem. Their aid

should be available to the groups whose interests are affected by the law and its administration. But the basic policies should be implemented, not created, by administrators.

Since organized labor is active in securing beneficial labor legislation, it should be represented on advisory councils which are really effective as advisors to those administering this legislation. Such advisory councils should be composed of bona fide representatives of the interests concerned—Labor, Employers, or the Public. True representation demands that the representative be appointed by the group for whom he speaks, not by the administrative agency or an executive officer of the Government. The American Federation of Labor condemns the practice of having nominal advisory councils, whose labor members are not appointed by organized labor and are not responsible to it for their actions, yet who speak in the name of Labor and make commitments for Labor in matters on which they are competent to speak only as individuals, not as true representatives. We demand that in every case in which an advisory council is formed, labor representatives be officially designated by our national or state federations, as may fit the circumstances, and that these representatives report to and consult with the appropriate union committees or executives before making any commitments in the name of Labor.

We believe that sound administration can come only from persons who have technical knowledge and experience in the fields under their jurisdiction. Whether the job requires management of a nation-wide organization or fact finding on such a question as the industrial hazards in a specific occupation, the person in that job should be a technical expert in his field. Administrative control can be justified only when it rests on a solid basis of scientific investigation and experience. Practical experience in work and in labor organization is essential to many kinds of positions. We urge that the civil service examination system be reorganized to give due recognition to such practical experience possessed by many wage earners who have not met the academic standards frequently established. We urge, also, that persons in civil service positions be given on-the-job training of a technical character under proper apprenticeship standards. We urge such training especially for factory inspection work for enforcement of labor laws.

LABOR STANDARDS ON PUBLIC CONTRACTS

Labor standards on work done in the manufacture of goods to be supplied to the Federal Government under contract have assumed foremost importance to Labor with the launching of the vast defense production program in the summer of 1940.

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which provides for the maintenance of maximum hours and minimum wages on work done on materials and equipment contracted for by the Federal Government, has been in effect since June 30, 1936. The added experience of the past year in the administration of the basic standards required by the Act has served to strengthen and

improve the machinery which translates the objectives embodied in this law by Congress into practical operating requirements in industry.

The requirements of the Walsh-Healey Act are simple. They call for a basic work-week of 40 hours and a basic work-day of 8 hours and for payment of overtime at the rate of time and one-half for all work done in excess of these hours. In addition, the most important provision of the Act requires payment in each industry of not less than the wage determined by the Secretary of Labor to be prevailing in that industry. The Act also prohibits employment of boys under 16, girls under 18, and of all convict labor. Conditions of safety, sanitation and health are also prescribed by the Act.

The Walsh-Healey Act calls for the observance of these requirements in the performance of government contracts for the manufacture or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles or equipment amounting to more than \$10,000. The requirements of the Act apply, in addition, to *contracts for the construction or equipping of naval vessels contracted for after June 30, 1938.*

The standards of the Act are stated in, and made a part of, each government contract covered by its provisions. When a government contract covered by the Act is awarded, the contractor agrees to observe these standards in the same way as he agrees to observe the standards of the contract regarding the quality, quantity and character of the product furnished. Failure on the part of a contractor to maintain the labor standards is a breach of his contract in the same way as his failure to meet the manufacturing specifications laid down by the Government.

The most vital provision of the Act is the one which calls for the payment of "not less than the minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality" in which the materials or equipment are to be manufactured under contract. The requirement to pay a minimum wage does not apply to an industry until a determination has been made by the Secretary of Labor of what constitutes the prevailing minimum wage. The process of determination of what the prevailing minimum wage is for a given industry is, therefore, all important. The necessary fact-finding and study of evidence, on the basis of which a prevailing minimum wage is recommended to the Secretary for determination, is done by the Public Contracts Board which conducts public hearings in each industry in which a determination is pending.

During the year ending June 30, 1940, the Public Contracts Board held eight regular hearings and one rehearing for the purpose of recommending prevailing minimum wages in specific industries. Between July 1, 1939, and June 30, 1940, final determinations of prevailing minimum wages were made in four industries, cement, paper and pulp, small arms ammunition and explosives, and fertilizer manufacturing.

Since the beginning of operation of the Act, prevailing minimum wages have been determined for 31 industries. It is estimated that these industries employ a total of nearly 1,500,000 workers. A complete summary of prevailing minimum wage determinations will be found in the table on page 106.

The prevailing minimum wages fixed by the Secretary of Labor under the terms of the Act have ranged from a low of 25 cents per hour for workers employed in the southernmost region of the fertilizer industry to a high of 70 cents per hour for workers employed in the cement industry in the state of Washington.

Three of the four wage determinations made during the past year provide for regional differentials, whereas only six of the twenty-seven previous determinations allowed for a differential on a regional basis. In all appearances before the Public Contracts Board representatives of the American Federation of Labor have sought to establish a single determination for each industry under consideration. We are of the opinion that labor representatives should continue to urge upon the Public Contracts Board a broad interpretation of the requirements of the Act in order to prevent the undermining of the wage structure by setting up geographical wage differentials.

None of the wage determinations made during the past year permitted any sub-minimum rates for learners or handicapped workers. In six of the previous determinations employment of learners and handicapped persons was permitted at less than the minimum rates.

Since the Act went into effect on June 30, 1936, the Federal Government has awarded subject to its terms 27,258 contracts in an amount totalling \$2,157,324,159. Of this total 9,065 contracts valued at \$761,434,486 were awarded during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. During July and August, 1940, 3,517 contracts amounting to \$400,066,776 were awarded under the terms of the Act.

During the four years in which the Act has been in operation the Division of Public Contracts of the U. S. Department of Labor, which has supervised the enforcement of its minimum wage and maximum hour provisions, was able to effect the collection and recovery of a total of \$345,046 in the form of restitutions to workers receiving less than the specified minimum wages. The wages so recovered as the result of enforcement procedure were distributed among 41,082 workers.

In addition the Division of Public Contracts has rendered formal decisions finding breaches of contract and violations of the Act. These decisions called for the payment of \$103,093 in liquidated damages as well as for the payment of an additional \$86,000 on the basis of investigations conducted by the Division.

Despite substantial improvement in the enforcement procedure under the Act, there is still an urgent need for a more rapid procedure in the handling of complaints and a stricter policy of enforcement. The broader coverage of the Act resulting from the operation of the national defense program calls for an increase in the inspection and enforcement staff of the Division and an improvement in the administrative procedures to insure unimpaired maintenance of the standards set up under the Act.

It is important to note that the Public Contracts Act makes available to the Federal Government a significant measure of protection under the national defense program in that it requires that the contract be let only to

manufacturers of the commodities needed or to regular dealers in these commodities. This safeguards the Government as well as Labor from awards of contracts for materials and equipment to irresponsible bidders who do not maintain a regular establishment for the production or sale of the materials required by the Government. Thus bid-brokers, fly-by-night traders and other irresponsible bidders purchasing materials from unscrupulous or unfair employers are barred from participation in defense contracts. This safeguard also affords protection to fair-minded employers, whose cost and wage standards cannot be undermined by competition of employers paying sub-standard wages and engaging in unfair competitive practices.

Repeated attempts have been made to rescind the application of the Act to contracts for defense materials on the ground that the application of maximum hours and the operation of enforcement procedures serves to hamper and delay the defense program. Since the provisions of the Act do not place a rigid maximum restriction upon the hours of work permitted but merely call for the payment of the overtime rate of time and one-half for excessive hours, the argument of the opponents of the Act is without validity. The experience of the past four years has shown, moreover, that while the enforcement of the basic standards of the Act has in no instance served to delay production schedules, the application of these standards has given the Federal Government much needed assurance of improved quality in production and increased efficiency resulting from the application of these standards.

We strongly recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue their unremitting effort to secure full and unimpaired application of the standards laid down in the Walsh-Healey Act to all phases of defense production.

**Prevailing Minimum Wage Determination Made by the Secretary of Labor
Under the Walsh-Healey Act to October 1, 1939**

Industry	Minimum Wage (cents per hour)	Differentials Provided	Estimated Number of Employees
Aircraft, including engines, accessories and parts	50	No differential	35,000
Ammunition (small arms), explosives and Related products ..	42½-47½		
Bobbinets	57½	By industrial divisions	10,600
Carpets and rugs....	37½	No differential	500
Cement	40	No differential	31,000
	40-47-50-55		
China, vitreous and vitrified	57-62½-63½-70	By 11 regions	26,400
Cotton garment and allied industries...	42¾	No differential	4,400
Jackets, wool and wool-lined	37½	No differential	200,000
Men's work clothing	37½	No differential
Barrack bags and bandoleers	37½	No differential
Drugs and medicine..	37½	No differential	24,000
Envelopes	42½	No differential	9,500
Fertilizer	25-30-40-50	By regions	21,000
Fireworks	37½-31¼	By product	1,800
Flint glass.....	42½	No differential	24,000
Furniture			144,000
Metal office furni- ture	45	No differential
Wood furniture....	50-35-30	By regions
Public seating....	37½	No differential
Granite, dimensional.	57½-42½-32½	By regions	11,000
Handkerchiefs	35	No differential	5,000
Hat and cap, men's..	67½	No differential	19,000
Iron and steel.....	62½-60-58½-45	By regions	500,000
Jackets, leather and sheep-lined	42½	No differential	3,200
Luggage and saddlery	40-37½	By regions	6,600
Neckwear, men's....	50	No differential	4,400
Paper and pulp.....	50-39-35	By regions	111,000
Photographic supplies	40	32-cent rate for learners during learning period of not more than 60 days	18,400
Raincoat, men's....	40	No differential	2,600
Seamless hosiery....	35	No differential	56,000
Soap	40	No differential	14,000
Specialty			
Accounting supplies	40	No differential	5,000
Tags	33	No differential	2,100
Tobacco	32½	No differential	36,000
Underwear, men's...	35-32½	By regions	22,000
Welt shoes, men's...	40	No differential	34,000
Work gloves.....	35	No differential	5,400

Total..... 1,387,900

**Research and Information Service
American Federation of Labor**

LABOR AND THE ANTITRUST DRIVE

One of the unpleasant but most necessary tasks facing us is to report fully to organized labor concerning the stubborn, capricious and irresponsible drive against Labor and unionism now being conducted by an agency of the Federal Government.

Professor Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice since 1938, has begun to wage the most complete and concentrated legal warfare against Labor ever attempted by a government agency in America. Unless adequate measures are taken to cope with this eccentric display of dangerous power, we may stand to lose the precious gains of sixty years of struggle for industrial democracy at a time when we could believe that government had accepted the active organization of labor as a vital and necessary component of our industrial life.

This attack upon organized labor is being conducted under an administration which has sought to implement and make inviolate Labor's basic right to collective action for mutual aid and protection. Yet Mr. Arnold and the Antitrust Division, the creatures of the same administration, have been authorized and equipped to make deadly war against those very rights. The weapon Mr. Arnold has taken up to cut his way to fame and glory is pointed at the very heart of the right of self-organization and collective action for mutual aid and protection.

This weapon is the Sherman Antitrust Law. In order to appraise the full significance of Mr. Arnold's campaign it is necessary to review briefly the law under which he is proceeding, in the light of the major judicial and legislative developments since the time of its enactment.

The Sherman Act—The Sherman Antitrust Law was enacted in 1890. The Civil War had ended only a quarter century before. In the years of reconstruction, industrial America was growing at a feverish pace. Unchecked and untrammelled, the power of giant corporate capital over every phase of life was becoming more oppressive to free enterprise with every year. The malignant growth of monopolistic control of capital was eating into the healthy tissues of our body economic. To prevent a transition from human slavery to economic slavery, to limit corporate control and minimize its threat to political democracy, the Sherman Antitrust Law was enacted by Congress.

The passage of the Sherman Act was the result of a fierce legislative battle in which no parliamentary weapon was spared to obstruct its enactment. The familiar provisions of the Act as finally adopted were brief, broad and general. The Act declared to be *illegal, every contract, combination and conspiracy*, in the form of a trust or otherwise, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states. The act made each violation of this provision a misdemeanor punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both, and provided that each person participating in the acts forbidden by the statute is equally guilty. In addition to criminal penalties, the government was given power to institute civil proceedings, without penalty. The Act also made it possible for any person damaged by a violation of its provisions to sue for restitution

in a district court and receive three times the damage sustained, plus costs and attorney's fees.

The law, designed to curb monopolies, was certainly not intended to apply to labor organizations or to their activities. When the question of its applicability to Labor arose in the congressional debate, Senator Sherman, author of the Act, denied such intent and offered an amendment specifically excluding "any arrangements, agreements, or combinations between laborers, made with the view of lessening the number of hours of their labor or of increasing their wages," and also excluding farmers. An additional amendment offered by Senator Aldrich and, like the Sherman amendment, adopted without a roll call, specifically excluded "combinations or associations made with a view or which tend to increase the earnings of persons engaged in any useful employment."

These amendments having been approved by the Senate, the only device available to the opposition was that of adding what is known as "encumbering amendments." Amid laughter and joking the Senate also passed amendments to prevent gambling in stocks, cotton prints, steel rails, salt, boots and shoes, lead, woolen goods, and liquor. When all this was done it was admitted by Senator Gorman and others that the bill had been so amended as to make it inoperative—"worse than a sham and a delusion." Senator Sherman said that the clear purpose of these amendments was to bring the whole bill into contempt and to defeat it. All of the amendments, therefore, including the labor amendments, were subsequently stricken out and the Sherman Act was passed without them.

The Antitrust Law and the Courts—Even in the midst of the tangled legislative history of the law one finds no specific evidence of congressional intent to apply it to unions. However, some of the earliest prosecutions under the Act were of labor organizations. The question of the application of the Act to organized labor came before the Supreme Court in *Loewe v. Lawlor*, the famous Danbury Hatters case. The United Hatters Union of the American Federation of Labor was engaged in a strike and a boycott against a factory in Danbury, Connecticut, which was one of the twelve not yet unionized. The employer brought action under the Sherman Act for an injunction and for triple damages. In its memorable decision, the Supreme Court held that although the Sherman Act "had its origin in the violations of massed capital," since it covered any combination in restraint of interstate commerce, it applied to labor organizations as well. Triple damages were assessed against the union and the workers were threatened with dispossession and ruin. This decision galvanized the entire labor movement which, as one man, came to the support of the Hatters Union.

The fight was on in the courts and Labor's Bill of Grievances was taking shape. Application of the Sherman Act to the use of "unfair lists" in the *Buck Stove* cases made the need for legislative remedy all the more urgent. Under the leadership of President Gompers Labor demanded amendment of the Sherman Act.

In October 1914 the Clayton Act was passed. Section 6 of the Act stated

in clear and definite language that *nothing* contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor and agricultural organizations "instituted for the purposes of mutual help." Section 20 of the Act laid down the first statutory prohibition against the use of injunction in labor disputes, and asserted Labor's right to strike and to picket peacefully.

With the passage of the Clayton Act the intent of Congress to exclude unions from the application of antitrust laws was now clearly spelled out. But the new law was barely entered upon the statute books when prosecution of organized labor under the antitrust laws was resumed. The procedure was usually to sue a labor union for triple damages or to enjoin a labor organization from engaging in normal activities.

In the *Hitchman Coal* case, decided in 1917, the Supreme Court held the Sherman Act to be applicable to a union operating intrastate and the union to be an unlawful conspiracy. This case, in which Justices Brandeis, Holmes and Clarke strongly dissented, would have dealt a death blow to unions were it not for the Clayton Act. In 1921, in the case of *Duplex Printing Company v. Deering*, the Machinists struck at the Duplex plant and called upon other unions for support and for a boycott of Duplex presses. The unions engaged in a sympathetic strike were held by the Supreme Court to be strangers to the controversy and in refusing to handle "scab" material to be violating the Sherman Act.

The majority of the Supreme Court overruled the prohibition of Section 20 of the Clayton Act against issuance of an injunction in any case involving a labor dispute between an employer and employes by holding that workers involved in the boycott had no relation of employment to the firm. Justice Brandeis, dissenting with Justices Holmes and Clarke, supported the view that those engaged in the boycott had a common interest and therefore could rightfully refuse "to expend their labor upon articles whose very production constitutes an attack upon their standard of living and the institution they are convinced supports it." This decision, the most important since the *Danbury Hatters* case, made it clear that the legal status of the union activities under the Sherman Act as interpreted by the judiciary had not been changed by the Clayton Act amendments.

Next in importance were the *Coronado* cases which constituted the most extensive litigation in a labor case under the Sherman Act. In these cases the court, relying upon the terminology of the Sherman Act, reached the conclusion that a trade union, an unincorporated association, may be sued for damages and that interference with production within a state was a violation of the Sherman Act if the intent was to restrain commerce. This principle was far reaching significance to Labor, for any strike which prevented the competition of non-union goods with union products in the interstate market would, under this rule, be a violation of the Sherman Act.

As late as 1927 in the *Bedford Cut Stone* case the Supreme Court reiterated its stand taken in the *Duplex* case. In a powerful dissent by Justice Brandeis, again joined by Justices Holmes and Clarke, the minority of the

Supreme Court proclaimed to the nation that to deny workers the right "to cooperate in simply refraining from work, when that course is the only means of self-protection against a combination of powerful employers," is to impose upon free labor "involuntary servitude."

These restrictive and reactionary decisions raised a tide of public protest which not only suspended the application of antitrust laws to Labor for a long time, but also gave support to further legislative remedies. The Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 was the first in a series of basic congressional enactments which flatly rejected the narrow and tenuous interpretations of a reactionary judiciary curtailing Labor's basic rights. The public policy of the Norris-LaGuardia Act stated it to be necessary that the worker have full freedom of association, self-organization, and choice of representatives and "that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor * * * in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." The Act prohibited the use of the injunction against specific acts normally incidental to labor disputes, or against urging or inducing such acts, short of fraud or violence. The "yellow-dog" contract, enshrined and sanctified by the coal cases, was outlawed by the Act. In addition the Norris-LaGuardia Act declared that injunctions may not be based on any alleged conspiracy or unlawful agreement by reason of concerted action to gain the ends or to do the acts it specifically legalized. Thus the law laid down by the Supreme Court in the *Danbury Hatters* case and in the *Duplex* case was conclusively repudiated by Congress.

The full validity of this enactment was finally accepted by the Supreme Court in the case of *Senn v. Tile Layers Union*, a key case ably presented to the Court by the American Federation of Labor's General Counsel. In this case the court not only denied injunction against picketing to compel an employer to enter into a contract with a union, even though none of the employees was a member of such a union, but also stated that "There is nothing in the Federal Constitution which forbids unions from competing with non-union concerns for customers by means of picketing as freely as one merchant competes with another by means of advertisements in the press, by circulars, or by his window display. * * * One has no constitutional right to a 'remedy' against the lawful conduct of another."

In addition to the Norris-LaGuardia Act now tested in the courts, the National Labor Relations Act which reaffirmed the right "to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection" has established a final bulwark against the possibility of a resurrection of the provisions of the Sherman Act in application to Labor even by the Supreme Court. Numerous decisions of the Supreme Court fully sustaining its policy and provisions are simply not compatible with the letter and the spirit of the *Danbury Hatters*, the *Duplex*, or the *Bedford Cut Stone* cases, yet it is to these cases that Thurman Arnold still appeals in seeking justification for his program.

In the most recent and the most conclusive ruling of the Supreme Court,

in the *Apex* case, the Supreme Court specifically addressed itself to the question of the application of the Sherman Antitrust Act to Labor. Briefly, the court held that only such union activities as come within the old common law doctrine of restraint of trade are made illegal by the Sherman Act. Very few, if any, union activities come within this common law doctrine. To come within the scope of this doctrine of restraint of trade it is necessary that unions themselves engage in some form of competitive business enterprise, pursuant to which the union seeks to obtain market control of a commodity. Labor is not a commodity. It is clear, therefore, that under this restricted application of the Sherman Antitrust Act the ordinary and basic activities of labor unions cannot be held unlawful. In the *Apex* decision the Supreme Court established an obstacle which Thurman Arnold will find it difficult to overcome in his campaign against unions.

But the campaign still goes on with the full ammunition of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice still firing ceaselessly at Labor's basic right of self-organization for mutual aid and protection.

The Arnold Drive—Thus far no irreparable harm has been done to unions as the result of the Arnold drive. In spite of vast arrays of legal talent, ingenious briefs and enormous sums of taxpayers' money all directed at effectively reducing the status and rights of union members, Mr. Arnold has achieved less success in his persecution of unions than he has in personal notoriety. A major portion of Mr. Arnold's time and effort, as well as of public funds at his disposal, has been devoted to a lavish publicity campaign designed to damage the prestige of organized labor and to bring odium upon labor unions. Speeches, releases, interviews, newspaper and magazine articles have been pouring in a steady stream from the desks of Mr. Arnold's Antitrust Division to bring the labor cause into disrepute if not by persuasion, at least by the sheer force of repetition.

By August 1, 1940, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice listed 116 actions it initiated under the antitrust laws between March 1938 and August 1940. These actions take the form of indictments, complaints, motions for injunctions, etc. Some have been settled by consent decrees; three have gone through trial; others are awaiting further disposition or further action. Of the 116 cases, 53 involve unions or union members or both. Twenty-one of the these actions have been disposed of. In 13, consent decrees were entered. Three defendant parties pleaded *nolo contendere*. One pleaded guilty. In one case there was a verdict in favor of the Government; and in another a resounding victory for Labor. In one case the Government withdrew the indictment, subsequently presenting a new one. One case is awaiting Supreme Court action. The remaining 32 have not been disposed of: 8 are awaiting trial; pleadings are in process in the remaining 24, some for injunctions, some for various technical motions, and in a large number demurrers have been entered by the defendant parties.

Only three out of the 53 cases had reached the verdict stage by August 1. One of these, as has been noted, is before the Supreme Court. This is the case of *U. S. v. William L. Hutcheson et al.*, in which the defendant union

moved for dismissal, the contention of the defendant union was upheld and the indictment was dismissed by the U. S. District Court. This case may turn out to be a test for Mr. Arnold in his willingness to fly in the face of protection granted Labor by the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

In one case a decision was entered against a local union. The third is the famous Washington, D. C., case in which Mr. Arnold attempted to eradicate a jurisdictional problem through the agency of the antitrust laws. On May 6, 1940, the court directed a verdict in favor of the Teamsters' Union.

In his drive Thurman Arnold has chosen to challenge the entire legislative and judicial development of recent years. To be sure he had indicated that he will not question Labor's right to collective bargaining as long as that right is strictly limited to the determination of wages and hours. But it is very evident indeed that he does not choose to accept broader and equally important aspects of mutual aid and protection for workers indispensable to effective collective bargaining.

The criterion relied upon for action by Mr. Arnold is that he will prosecute unions only when they are engaged in "unreasonable restraints." Not the Congress, not even the courts, *but Mr. Arnold himself is the sole judge* of what constitutes an unreasonable restraint. The judgment he has rendered to date is summed up in his letter of November 20, 1939, to the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis:

The types of unreasonable restraint against which we have recently proceeded or are now proceeding illustrate concretely the practices which in our opinion are unquestionable violations of the Sherman Act, supported by no responsible judicial authority whatever.

Briefly these are:

1. *Unreasonable restraints designed to prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment, or more efficient methods.*
2. *Unreasonable restraints designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor.*
3. *Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce systems of graft and extortion.*
4. *Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce illegally fixed prices.*
5. *Unreasonable restraints resulting from jurisdictional strikes.*

These, then, are the actions for which unions are to be prosecuted by Mr. Arnold. What constitutes an "unreasonable restraint" in each case Mr. Arnold leaves it to Mr. Arnold to determine. In doing so he reserves to himself an enormous area of unrestricted power—sufficient to shape the future of the whole economic growth of our nation. Let us consider briefly what the wielding of this power by Mr. Arnold or his successor would mean to organized labor.

The first type of concerted effort subject to prosecution under the Sherman Act is that aimed "to prevent the use of cheaper materials, improved equipments, or more efficient methods." It is hardly necessary to state that organized labor stands for any improvement in equipment and methods when such improvement is safe and genuine and not mere fiction to disguise speedup

and exploitation and when industry and the country can be protected against the sheer shock of mass technological unemployment.

These are the problems of industrial evaluation. "They are not," as Brandeis said in the *Duplex* dissent, "for judges to determine and certainly not for prosecutors to decide." They are properly the subject for negotiation and collective bargaining where both sides have the opportunity to present the facts and work out policies to mitigate whatever harm may exist in industrial change. But to Mr. Arnold it is clear that such negotiation, such concerted effort for mutual aid and protection, constitutes a conspiracy in restraint of trade and, the Congress and the courts to the contrary notwithstanding, a flagrant violation of the antitrust laws. Mr. Arnold's example of the use of cheaper material and improved equipment is "factory-glazed windows" or "factory-painted kitchen cabinets." We can ask with Henry Epstein, Solicitor General of New York: "Is it the purpose of the law or the courts to determine from what method best results will accrue to society? Is this not the very field of economic combat into which, with the absence of violence, deceit or misrepresentation, the courts should not tread without legislative or constitutional mandate?" And again: "Is this within the omniscience of an administrative official? Will prosecutor now supplant the courts and become a new legislative authority? Having had judicial legislation, are we now to have administrative legislation?"

In Mr. Arnold's second type of union action subject to prosecution, one which is "designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor," Mr. Arnold is again fully prepared to determine what constitutes useless and unnecessary labor. This means that one of the most complex problems, and the most crucial to our economy, a problem which must be dealt with in a setting of vast unemployment afflicting a major portion of our entire population, is no longer a proper matter for negotiation between labor and management. This also means that when such bargaining occurs between labor and employers and even when it takes the form of written contracts, such bargaining is to be dealt with by the Government as a plain conspiracy in restraint of trade, subject to criminal prosecution under the Sherman Act. Labor's struggle to supply greater spread of employment, the struggle which, in the classic dictum of the New York Court of Appeals, barring "violence, deceit or misrepresentation," the courts must leave to the field of economic conflict, has now been outlawed.

The question Mr. Arnold attempts to deal with is not whether a conflict or agreement between groups should afford to the public protection against egregious injustice. Under the frame of our laws any damaged persons are entitled to and have full recourse to remedies. But Mr. Arnold is determined to remain blind to the fact that not only the Congress but also the Supreme Court (in the *Apex* case) pointed out what such remedies are and clearly showed that these remedies cannot properly be sought through the application of the antitrust statutes to collective bargaining for mutual protection.

Mr. Arnold's confusion is so vast that, while he sanctions collective bargaining for the limitation of hours and at the same time reserves to himself

the right to determine the usefulness and the necessity of labor to be employed, he fails to perceive that such determination can properly be made only by the process of collective bargaining itself. Thus when Mr. Arnold assumes responsibility for determining usefulness of labor, he does so in contradiction of even his own restricted interpretation of what the collective bargaining process must embrace.

In his third category Mr. Arnold makes punishable under the Sherman Act the labor organizations which are parties to enforcing graft and extortion. As Solicitor General Epstein has pointed out: "It is a sad day when prosecution cannot stop this by means of criminal and penal statutes. Is the prosecution of *Capone* on income tax violation to excuse the failure of enforcement of criminal laws more directly applicable? Or of *Fritz Kuhn* for petty larceny to cover the failure to prosecute a multitude of offenses against civil rights?"

We in the American Federation of Labor are over four million strong. In any such vast aggregation of individuals—and our organization will compare favorably with any organization of the same size—there will be a small percentage of lawbreakers and wrongdoers. Within or outside our ranks lawbreakers and wrongdoers should be strictly and relentlessly prosecuted without regard to class or economic group to which they may belong. This is the way Labor understands the equality of justice under the laws; this is the way the Constitution defines and determines justice; this is the way the American people understand justice, and the way in which they want it to be dealt.

The need for remedy is adequately met by the criminal statutes dealing with extortion and criminal conspiracy. Is the Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice making a public assertion that our criminal statutes are unenforceable? If he is not, then let him refrain from pleading that the Sherman Act is the sole means of dealing with these unlawful acts.

All this is also true of Mr. Arnold's fourth category, that of price-fixing agreements. The evil can be reached and full remedy found without applying the Sherman Act to Labor. Labor clearly recognizes that the antitrust laws are directly aimed at conspiracies to raise or fix prices, and that individuals found to be so conspiring are guilty of violating these laws. It is a wholly different matter, however, to charge that *labor unions acting as unions in the pursuit of their basic purpose of collective bargaining for mutual aid and protection* are engaged in such conspiracies. Labor stands just as firmly against violations within the true and established scope of the law as we stand against the misuse of these statutes to limit and curtail collective bargaining.

Arnold's final category concerning jurisdictional disputes is probably the most absurd of all. "The antitrust laws should not be used as an instrument to police strikes or adjudicate labor controversies," Mr. Edward H. Miller of Arnold's staff wrote. Mr. Justice Brandeis had tenaciously held to this point of view over the years of the anti-Labor decisions. The Supreme Court now agrees with Mr. Miller and Mr. Justice Brandeis. A Federal judge who or-

dered a directed verdict in favor of the Teamsters' Union in the *Washington, D. C.*, case agreed with Mr. Justice Brandeis, the present Supreme Court and Mr. Miller. Mr. Arnold, however, does not seem to agree with this doctrine. Even after the District case, Mr. Arnold keeps on repeating that he will continue his efforts in this field. We must redouble our efforts to see that he shall not succeed in this perversion of the statutes with its enormous danger to Labor.

In Arnold's short span of months he has instituted more labor proceedings than had come before the Supreme Court in the fifty years of the life of the Sherman Act. We now have a Supreme Court that has seen more clearly than any of its predecessors the place of the laboring man and the labor movement and their just setting in the American scheme. We must bear in mind that the Norris-LaGuardia Act quite specifically undid much of the harm of prior decisions. This Act has now been firmly fortified by the Supreme Court. The present court has upheld, and undoubtedly will continue to uphold, reasonableness of collective bargaining over conditions of employment in spite of Mr. Arnold, and will continue to uphold reasonableness of Labor's means and acts of mutual aid and protection to the laboring man, his family and his unions.

Under the force of recent Supreme Court decisions and precedents such as that set by the outcome of the Teamsters' controversy in the District, Mr. Arnold's anti-union drive has bogged down considerably. But the pending cases must still be fought in the courts, and the work of clarification of the issues and protest must continue unremitted.

It is the firm purpose of the American Federation of Labor to meet the trend to government control of the collective bargaining process through the use of antitrust litigation, and to build a strong and lasting foundation for a free and uninterrupted exercise of the rights gained by organized labor through generations of struggle, the rights without which economic democracy in America cannot survive.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION, 1940

Among the achievements of the 1940 sessions are a new child labor law in New Jersey, setting the 16-year basic minimum age in this important industrial state, and also attempting regulation of child labor in agriculture, which in this state takes a highly industrialized form; 12 is to be the minimum age for paid farm work. An accompanying law requires school attendance up to age 16.

Kentucky enacted a prevailing wage, an 8-hour day, 40-hour week law for public works undertaken by the state, a county, city or agency thereof; and a law which authorizes the Department of Industrial Relations to sponsor a state-wide apprenticeship program; to cooperate with Federal authorities in the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act; to mediate in labor disputes; to make rules and regulations with regard to industrial health and safety; and to inspect and enforce such standards, although the latter seems needlessly restricted by a cumbersome and unusual legal procedure. The

same measure enacted a one-day's-rest-in-seven and a declaration of public policy on Labor's right to organize, and prohibited wage kick-backs.

Workmen's compensation benefits were increased or extended this year in: Kentucky (maximum benefits in death cases), Alabama (coverage of law changed from employers of 16 or more to employers of 8 or more), and New York (silicosis benefits increased). No new occupational disease laws were passed, although only 3 of the 8 states meeting this year pay compensation for occupational diseases, and only 1 law of the 3 laws—that of New York—is of the blanket coverage type.

Although a dozen or more state federations of labor have gone on record specifically for state wage and hour laws to supplement the Federal Act, not one state has yet enacted such a law. Bills were introduced in three states this year, and in 30 states last year.

Mississippi is still without a workmen's compensation law and a state labor department.

Virginia failed to secure the numerous labor measures recommended to the legislature by the Governor and the Commissioner of Labor, including such elementary and basic provisions as health and safety regulations lodged in the department of labor, a 16-year minimum age for child employment, wage collection by the labor department and coverage of occupational diseases under the workmen's compensation law.

Nineteen forty has not yielded a brilliant crop of state labor legislation, and this not only because few legislatures were in session. The record of labor bills that failed in passage is more striking than the record of successful enactments. Some of those that did pass were rendered ineffective because of faulty draftsmanship.

In preparing for the sessions of the 43 states whose legislatures will meet in 1941, attention should be directed as much to the defeat of hostile legislation as to the enactment of positive laws. During the past year bills that would tend to restrict union activities were introduced in Kentucky, Louisiana, Rhode Island and New Jersey, and a new initiative petition is being circulated by *Labor Peace, Inc.*, California. The bills mentioned made no progress in the 1940 legislatures but will undoubtedly reappear and in greater number in 1941.

Furthermore, it is to be anticipated that there will be renewed efforts to limit the usefulness of labor laws by exempting workers in industries that are only remotely connected with agricultural processes, on the specious plea of aiding the farmers, as has already been done in connection with the Federal Social Security Act. The 1939 amendments to that Act, so the chairman of the Social Security Board has said, were so broad as to exclude between 600,000 and 700,000 individuals formerly protected, many of them not being engaged in agricultural labor in the usual sense of the word. In fact, many of them work in towns and cities and are engaged in processes identical or similar to those engaged in by workers in factories and industries now covered; others work in the packing of fruits and vegetables which is a fac-

tory process, and has been so classified by a number of court decisions as well as administrative decisions.

Eight state legislatures in 1939 and 1940 have copied Congress in introducing corresponding changes in the coverage of their unemployment compensation acts. When such amendments are introduced, it would be well to recall that in the words of Chairman Altmeyer: "These groups are essentially industrial wage workers, and their re-inclusion (in the Federal Act) is both administratively possible and socially desirable." The Social Security Board has repeatedly urged that, far from exempting union workers, more should be covered, and that even strictly-speaking agricultural workers might well be brought into the system.

Even before the Federal Social Security Act was amended, certain states had exempted workers handling agricultural products. In 14 states commercial trucks hauling agricultural produce are exempted from the laws regulating hours of service of bus and truck drivers. The effort to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to exclude specifically workers in agricultural processing industries, while it failed in 1940, is further evidence of a concerted drive.

EDUCATION

Public Schools—A democratic government places upon its citizens responsibility for deciding many issues of fundamental importance to them. Such responsibility necessitates ability to make these decisions, hence the need for keeping educational opportunities constantly available for citizens of all ages; for children, preparatory training; for youth, vocational education in addition to general education; and for adults, vocational retraining and opportunity to study the problems of life and work. Equal access to educational opportunities is the key to equality of opportunity under democratic institutions. Equal access is possible for all only in the case of tax-supported institutions. Support of educational institutions is something that cannot be neglected in any eventuality. Whatever the stress for other needs, insurance against future decline lies in maintaining educational opportunities.

The American Federation of Labor has in its six decades of service supported extension and enrichment of public educational institutions that we and our children should not be at a disadvantage due to unequal educational opportunities. We now serve notice that emergency and defense needs must not be allowed to interfere with adequate appropriations for that which is the bulwark of free institutions. Furthermore, our standards of adequate appropriations will not be satisfied by sums foolishly allocated for maintenance of educational equipment and teaching staffs that do not help students to get ready for the problems of life. We do not want our schools to develop into bureaucratic or political agencies, but to serve their function in our democratic life. This emergency period of preparation for national defense, which will sooner or later give place to a period of active defense, is the time for strengthening and revivifying our faith in democracy and human freedom. This is the ultimate goal which our educational institutions are to serve, and hence becomes the ultimate test by which all educational proposals are judged.

The scope of our educational opportunities, the planning of curricula, the selection of teachers, must be with reference to the advancement of the democratic way of life. Teachers who do not believe in democracy but are committed to an alien philosophy have no place in our tax-supported schools and have no right to befog the issue under pleas of academic freedom of thought or research. The fundamental purpose of our educational institutions is to educate future citizens for life in a democracy. Teachers who do not subscribe to this objective are not qualified for positions in our schools and should not be permitted to have positions. Teachers have an important service to perform affecting the lives of future citizens. The community has a right to expect from them leadership concerned to preserve principles of freedom. Freedom of thought and discussion is the privilege of adult minds, who have sufficient information and experience to consider and evaluate any challenge to existing institutions. The adult mind is better able to detect propaganda and to protect itself against it, but to subject immature minds to propaganda promoting unsound philosophies and standards is to invite the destruction of progress in civilization and in ethical standards for personal relations.

The two great nations that set up revolutionary organizations of society since the World War have bulwarked the new system by perverting their educational institutions and rewriting their textbooks in support of the new philosophy and the new way of life. No society can live without ideals, and the new education of Russia and Germany has sought to inculcate faith in the revolution and to create the ideals that are to guide the new life. These revolutions have been destructive to our ideals of freedom, honesty of contract and all that has given content and meaning to our democratic way of life. They have prepared the way for destruction of the old way of life by the development of youth movements that destroy family ties, and set youth apart from other age groups of society, and regiment them in the teachings and the ideals of the revolutionary way of life.

To safeguard our institutions and guarantees of freedom, we should guard tendencies to treat youth as a group separate from the rest of the family as well as against propagandists who would use responsibility in schools and youth organizations as a vantage point for their mission of promoting alien or destructive philosophy, ideals and methods.

If we would preserve our heritage of freedom we must be ever alert to challenge invasions and to detect the propaganda. Our liberties are in greater danger from perversion in the normal channels of living than from attack by armed forces. Our greatest victories for liberty will come from our insistence upon its application in all of the commonplaces of life.

Let no one think we are not confronted with real dangers, for the spirit of smugness and inability to recognize danger have been the undoing of other countries. We must be prepared and able to defend our heritage of freedom and our free educational institutions are a major responsibility. We cannot safely entrust them to aliens or to alien philosophies.

Are Educational Opportunities Adequate and Timely?—The time has passed when we can continue endorsement of any institution or proposal

without re-examination of records or inquiry into changes due to the menace of a revolution of destruction. Because we need educational opportunities as the key to continued progress, we cannot afford to endorse customary appropriations without reconsidering their appropriateness and adequacy for present needs. We want educational opportunities fitting boys and girls in a democratic society with machines to do the physical labor, and in an age that must meet the challenge of totalitarian powers which deny individual liberty and pursuit of happiness and repudiates the commandment "do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

The neglected field in our educational planning is our high school curriculum. School attendance laws and social and economic conditions have so changed that fully 90 percent of the boys and girls of school age are now attending high school, but the curriculum remains what it was when the small percentage in high schools were preparing for further study in colleges and universities as requirement for professional careers. The preponderance of those now in high schools are preparing for industrial and commercial employment, but the studies have little relation to life as the pupils will find it. Unless educators assume responsibility for the necessary reorganization of the high school curriculum, Labor questions whether present liberal appropriations would be continued. Ought we not rather to turn our minds to more practical auspices for the development of the proper opportunities which educators have so long ignored. Institutions frequently become flexible when entrenched. It may be that educators are too academic to see the possibilities for education and culture in the problems of work and every-day life, so that we cannot look to them for the schools of the future. Labor hopes not, but we cannot take this for granted. We suggest again these subjects—reorganization of high school curriculum to meet the needs of citizens in an industrial democracy, practical vocational training, and discipline for the responsibilities of our democratic way of life, be taken up with educators for satisfactory solution, and if that cannot be had that we consider other ways and means.

Vocational Education—During the years since the Smith-Hughes Act went into effect in 1917, the American Federation of Labor has found vocational training under the public school system the source of innumerable difficulties and problems. The schools had undertaken a task requiring careful coordination of the education of future workers, the protection of the interests of workers already employed, the necessity on the part of management to get production. If any one or more of these interests gets out of balance, the education of the future workers falls that much short of ideal standards. Obviously the machinery to assure balanced coordination is representation—to bring the experience of each group to meetings advisory to the educators responsible for educational plans and their administration. Each advisory group must feel the responsibility for knowing experience in the group and giving advice accordingly. Educators must feel the responsibility for weighing advice and for making decisions. If the educator feels he cannot follow advice, a written opinion should be filed with the decision on policy explaining the basis of the decision. Advisory groups should report regularly and fully

to the organization which they represent and which they can represent only when designated by the organization concerned. Instructions should be secured in advance of committing their organizations when new situations and problems develop.

In apprentice-training where the training is done on the job in industry, it has been easier to maintain union participation in decisions upon plans and their administration. When training is done in trade schools whose remoteness from union and industry make labor interests less obvious, unions have been less consulted. However, it is obvious that training in school and off the job is pre-vocational and provides no work training.

However, the field of vocational education is one in which unions must be active to direct developments so that workers are assured thorough training for work and such related education as will provide a balanced development with the resourcefulness needed for further progress and adjustments. As unions have dealt with apprentice training through union agreements covering certain standards and cooperation with employers and school authorities in the administration of programs, so unions must assume their responsibility for the full program of vocational education. For example, one union has dealt with training for advancement of its members by these clauses in its contract:

Exceptional employees may be retained or rehired irrespective of seniority. Exceptional employees are employees whose work requires special knowledge or training. The number of exceptional employees shall not exceed ten percent (10%) of the seniority list of a department or division. These employees shall not take the place of any employee with greater seniority rights where special knowledge or training is not required. The company agrees to make every effort to train additional employees for occupations requiring exceptional knowledge and training.

Seniority rights shall prevail in the releasing, hiring, transferring and the loaning of employees to other departments. Seniority rights shall also prevail in the training of men for exceptional jobs. Priority of shifts, whenever possible and practical, will be worked out by the management and committees of the unions involved.

The parties to this agreement shall name an apprenticeship committee of equal representation. This committee shall cooperate with the supervisor of apprenticeship of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin in the conduct of apprenticeship according to the terms of the apprenticeship law, Chapter 106 of the statutes.

Every apprentice shall be indentured pursuant to Chapter 106, and the employer shall provide every opportunity possible to enable the apprentice to become a skilled craftsman.

The apprenticeship committee shall be appointed by the respective parties to this agreement within five (5) days of its execution.

Employees participating in special training programs shall be paid a training rate mutually agreed upon by the union committee and the management.

NOTE: The training of employees for higher-paying jobs and for their improvement in skill will be done outside of the regular working hours and all employees participating in this training program will be

paid for each hour of training at a rate mutually agreed upon by the management and the union committee.

Unions should appreciate the importance of representatives who serve in connection with any education and training program and select well equipped responsible members for this type of service. The union should also hold such representatives responsible for giving time and attention to the duties for which they are designated, as well as for making regular and special reports, so as to make sure they are conforming to union policy and are getting approval in advance when decisions are to be made on new policy. Representatives should be present when meetings are called or should arrange for substitutes, so that unions will not be committed to programs by default.

The problems in the field of vocational education to which the Federation has repeatedly called attention have become increasingly serious as defense needs call for skilled and experienced workers. Low production during the depression decade has slowed down apprenticeship training programs. Vocational training programs have never been developed for the greater number of persons employed in industrial production or service industries. Responsibility for labor standards involved in apprentice training for the crafts is definitely located and standards well established. In sharp contrast, responsibility for labor standards in training for other occupations has not been lodged in one agency.

In addition to normal agencies, there are emergency educational projects under the Federal Works Agency and the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. To these have been added training for defense production under the National Defense Advisory Commission. Our problem would be essentially simple if labor standards had been formulated, and the purposes and control procedure of vocational education had been defined. We have schools, vocational educators, and cooperative committees but no definition of their duties or regulations for setting them up. This emergency situation could be wisely used to help us forward in a fundamental program.

Vocational training must be directed toward preparing persons for jobs and must grow out of knowledge of those jobs. Work training should be on the job. The vocational teachers should be practical workers. In addition to work training, there must be related education and educational courses fitted for citizenship in a democratic society. Committees consisting of equal representatives chosen by workers and employers' organizations should advise on all vocational undertakings, keeping in touch with all developments. Labor is not without blame for the failure to insist on representative committees that really function. By our failure to function definitely and persistently, we have not forced sustained attention on a practical program to educate boys and girls as future workers and citizens.

NYA Resident Work-Training Projects—The National Youth Administration has been developing resident projects for out-of-school youth to provide opportunity for work experience. About six hundred projects were reported in operation in late August, intended "to provide youth with work experience

and related training in mechanical work, agriculture, health and hospital work, home making, construction, and similar operations."

Enlarged National Youth Administration projects have recently been approved for Florida, Virginia and Kentucky, and applications for similar projects in a number of other states are now awaiting approval.

The National Youth Administration has developed plans for a new and improved resident center which is being forwarded to state offices. The new center is of modern functional design and is planned to accommodate about two hundred youth. Each standard unit for two hundred youth has five workshops and five dormitories. The number of buildings and enrollment may vary from the standard unit somewhat to fit local needs and conditions.

Under the expansion of resident project employment contemplated by the National Youth Administration at least one of these new and improved centers is to be set up in each state within the next few months. The National Youth Administration has been given \$135,000,000 for this fiscal year.

These young people spend part of their day doing work of various kinds, such as sheet metal, radio, aircraft mechanics, construction and woodworking.

Part of each day young people spend in related training classes where they study subjects having a direct bearing on the job at hand, such as blue-print reading, shop mathematics, theory of internal-combustion engines, properties of metals, etc.

In the summer there are approximately 30,000 young people in National Youth Administration resident projects who are getting the opportunities for work and related training in this manner.

Obviously the resident projects will overlap with the apprentice training field. As yet they are without the safeguards which have been found necessary to apprentice training standards of workmanship and wise direction for human welfare. Projects for defense have more recently been considered. This program, which began under relief auspices, now has some aspects of permanency, and it is high time for organized labor to evaluate the entire program and to consider all possible and probable consequences.

Civilian Conservation Corps—The Civilian Conservation Corps was initially a provision for unemployed youth—in this case limited to boys. Conservation work was provided for them, for which they were paid, and in addition educational opportunities were made available. The director of the Civilian Conservation Corps is a civilian, while management and discipline have been under the War Department. Within the past year, the restriction limiting the personnel to relief workers has been removed, so that the Civilian Conservation Corps becomes an established Government agency providing work training that may lead to permanent employment.

Defense Training—From the first the need for skilled tradesmen for defense production was an obvious bottleneck. Training proposals have been numerous. Various governmental agencies launched ambitious programs of "refresher" courses, retraining and trade and job training, while the National Defense Advisory Commission has set up a joint committee to serve as a coordinating agency. The committee consists of representatives from the

National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Office of Education, the Federal Works Agency, the Social Security Board, Division of Apprentice Training, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. To carry out plans locally there should be committees of representatives chosen by employers and labor organizations, with the director of the local employment office to advise the school authorities on plans and their administration.

Within each plant in which work training is done two functional groups know how to map out the fundamentals of a training program—management and workers. Management's approach is from that of getting production within time limits, in accord with quality and quantity standards, and within estimated costs. Labor's approach is based on handling materials, using tools, following work orders for the purpose of getting the product by specified standards within time limits. The experience of the two groups is mutually supplementary. These two groups can best stipulate what trainees must learn in order to do work and under what conditions they should be employed. Supplementary education needed to understand the job and to work and live effectively is the responsibility of vocational education.

The joint plant committee should help school authorities plan needed supplementary education and should advise on the coordination of work training with supplementary education.

Such a program would be practical, beneficial to industry and labor, at the minimum of expense.

Since the defense program has been under way in this country, in several places efforts have been made to prevent the development of bottlenecks due to shortage of skilled craftsmen. The methods followed in Connecticut and the Frankfort Arsenal are based on dividing craft training into parts and training new groups adequately for production of fractional parts. This is a short-time answer and throws an additional burden on management for supervision, for the sum total of fractional craftsmen does not equal skilled craftsmen. Craftsmen know that skill in their field can not be had by mass-production methods, but they realize that in an emergency, methods must be found. However, they declare emphatically that since their lives, their skills, their equities are involved, they should have a voice in finding the methods and observing their operation. Any method of dividing the craftsman's work is dilution which may be necessary but requires a major sacrifice on the part of present and future craftsmen, and hence everything possible should be done to protect those making the sacrifice which entails a life-long risk.

We are fully mindful that one of the elements in building up Nazi control over employment was compulsion on employers to train a prescribed number of apprentices. This regulation was later modified by shortening the term of training and breaking the craft into work to be done by "specialists." The result is skill on a particular operation for an individual employer and not education and craftsmanship. His limited training tends to keep him tied to his job by limiting his ability to adjust.

To meet this emergency need for production, the training plan should be

developed by management and labor jointly, either through the joint committee on apprenticeship training or a special committee set up for this special purpose. An agreement should be drawn to protect the fractional craftsmen by providing for their advancement through opportunity to learn all parts of the craft by arrangement to transfer learners progressively through all machines and operations.

Committee on Education—This committee, under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll, held one meeting in which they reviewed the problems in the field of vocational education and legislative remedies. The committee considered carefully two fundamental phases of the situation: The need for a single agency responsible for determining labor standards concerned in vocational education, and need for reorganization of the high school curriculum. With the increasing importance of defense production and problems, with major emphasis on training of defense workers, these special problems took precedence over general legislation. The committee prepared for the use of central labor unions a schedule so that the local committees on education might survey vocational training projects and machinery in their own localities. The committee also prepared and distributed to secretaries of state federations and city central bodies a letter urging enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws, adequate school buildings, together with their proper maintenance; professional and social security for teachers, together with adequate pay; and Labor locally was urged to protect its schools, pupils and teachers.

The permanent Committee on Education consists of Matthew Woll, chairman; Thomas E. Burke, E. E. Milliman, John P. Frye and Irvin Kuenzli.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

It has been the policy of the Building and Construction Trades Department to submit to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor a brief account of the Department's activities for the year. In accordance with this practice, we wish to report that the past year has been one of great importance to this Department.

With the inauguration of the national defense program, the Department extended its full cooperation to the Labor Advisory Committee of the National Defense Council to obtain the adoption of a labor policy by the Council which would provide for the maintenance of labor standards on work performed in connection with this program. On September 2, 1940, the Council issued its formal statement on labor policy to apply to all national defense projects. This policy recognizes the 8-hour day and 40-hour week with the payment of overtime rates for work in excess of these hours. We consider this a major accomplishment which will facilitate the completion of all national defense projects with the speed and efficiency which the present crisis necessitates.

The plan for settling jurisdictional disputes nationally and locally, adopted by the Building and Construction Trades Department at its Thirty-third Annual Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, has materially reduced the number of strikes and stoppages of work due to jurisdictional disputes. However,

there is still room for improvement in this phase of the activities of the Department.

Another field of activity on which we should like to report is that of legislation. During the sessions of the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States, the officers of the Department and of the affiliated national and international unions have lent their support to the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and to the officers of other departments to secure the passage of legislation in which Labor was interested, and have at all times received from them unstinted cooperation and assistance in our endeavors to secure enactment of measures of particular interest to the trades affiliated with this Department.

In regard to the routine operations of the Department, it is with pleasure that we report a satisfactory financial condition and that all of the affiliated national and international unions are in good standing with the Department and will be represented at the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention in 1940. The membership of the local unions whose national or international unions are affiliated with this Department has increased considerably, and charters for several new building and construction trades councils have been issued during the fiscal year.

While the year now closing has been outstanding for several reasons, it has also taken from us through death two presidents of international unions affiliated with the Department, who were also former vice-presidents of the Department—John Coefield, of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters, and John Possehl, of the International Union of Operating Engineers. The passing of these great leaders occasioned profound sorrow and deep regret to the officers and members of the Department, and their loss is keenly felt by all who for years have benefited by their wise counsel.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Since the report to the American Federation of Labor, September, 1939, the Metal Trades Department has made steady and substantial progress. All of the affiliated national and international unions indicate a healthful increase in membership, in some instances membership has been very greatly increased.

Local metal trades councils have been unusually successful in negotiating agreements with local employers. In a few important instances the Metal Trades Department, acting jointly with the Building and Construction Trades Department, negotiated agreements covering all of the employes of large corporations.

This form of agreement, in which both Departments participate, was first carried into effect in 1934, when an agreement was entered into covering the members of thirty-three local unions employed by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the agreement applying to the corporation's copper operations in Great Falls, Anaconda and Butte, Montana.

Among other things, such agreements provide a method for adjusting grievances which permits each local union full latitude until such time as the agreement is not adjusted locally. It is then referred to the local Metal

Trades Council Committee, and should they fail to bring about an adjustment, it is referred to the presidents of the two Departments, and the president of the corporation.

This type of agreement was entered into on a few occasions on the Pacific Coast during the fiscal year.

The basic policy of the Metal Trades Department has been to have all of the trades employed in a plant covered by one agreement, in the negotiation of which representatives of all of the trades participate. This form of agreement, when applied locally, gives the employer one agreement covering all of the employees regardless of their trades and occupations, while at the same time giving all of the trades and occupations the benefit derived from joint action and joint responsibility.

During the fiscal year the C. I. O. has endeavored to supplant the local metal trades and their form of joint agreement, but with little, if any, success; today the C. I. O. being less of a disturbing factor than it has been at any time since it was organized.

As one result of local Metal Trades Council activity, all of the shipbuilding on the Pacific Coast is now carried on under agreement with local Metal Trades Councils. In addition, these Metal Trades Councils are federated into a District Council covering the Pacific Coast from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Los Angeles and Long Beach, California. As a result of this federation, there is a uniformity of wages, working rules and regulations which otherwise could not be established.

Reports received from the affiliated national and international unions indicate that in addition to their largely increased membership, their financial condition is stronger than ever before.

The fiscal year is an encouraging record of steady progress.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

While the general policy of the Union Label Trades Department remains constantly fixed on the promotion of and publicity for union labels, shop cards and service buttons, from time to time we develop new plans for campaigns and new formulas for union label action.

For the past few years we have constantly centered our activities on all of the official emblems of the labor unions affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department. We have not only emphasized the union label but we have encouraged the use of union services, which are designated by the shop card and service button. We have also urged all members of labor unions, their families and friends to demand the services of union workers, whether or not the union is directly affiliated with our Department. For example, we ask all the friends of the union label trades to patronize all services that are union and to buy all products that are union made. In this manner we hope to develop a greater consumer demand for union label products and union services. We are confident that by increasing the demand for all things that are union, those labor organizations which have not adopted a union label or some emblem to designate their services will adopt an official

emblem and become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

This report will show that during the past five years several new labor unions have adopted symbols to designate that their products or services are union. Also, several national and international unions which previously were a part of the Union Label Trades Department have renewed their affiliations. The Union Label Trades Department wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the splendid cooperation it has received from the national and international officials of all labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We also desire to express our deep gratitude to several railway labor unions which, while not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have given splendid support and cooperation in every campaign. In addition, we have received unusual support from various cooperative and business organizations, which, of course, are not in any way associated with the American labor movement.

Among the most ardent advocates of buying union label goods and using union services are the members of the Union Label Leagues, directly affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department, and the members of the international, national, and local women's auxiliaries. These organizations add great impetus to the efforts made by officials of state federations of labor, central labor unions and local labor unions throughout America. The growing demand made by these members and their friends is placing the union labels, shop cards and service buttons on the great map of the United States and Canada.

We have also received intelligent cooperation from several large business firms and major industries that have come to realize the effectiveness of exploiting the fact that their products are made by members of labor unions with whom they have collective-bargaining agreements. The printing of these large concerns bears the union label and the services used by them are invariably union. Thus, although the Union Label Trades Department was primarily organized for the chief purpose of publicizing and promoting the products and services of labor unions that are directly affiliated with the Department, we have extended our field to cover all services and all products that are performed or manufactured under union labor conditions. Realizing the great benefits that have indirectly come to these national and international labor unions that are not affiliated with this Department, we have received a moral support that can not be estimated in monetary value. It really is a spirit—the union label spirit—that has impregnated our members of labor unions throughout America, and we can safely predict that if the demand for the union label, shop card and service button increases in the next five years at the same rate that it has developed in the past five years, we shall pass through one of the most prolific union label eras that has ever been witnessed in the history of the American Federation of Labor.

No report of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor would be complete without acknowledging the cooperation that our Department receives from the officials of the American Federation of Labor, and the three other departments of the American Federation of Labor; i. e.,

Building and Construction Trades Department, Metal Trades Department, and the Railroad Employes' Department.

President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany have continued the policy of offering all the services of the American Federation of Labor headquarters to our Department. The American Federation of Labor organizers have been instructed by the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to assist in union label campaigns in every locality.

The columns of the *American Federationist*, *The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service*, and the *International Labor News Service* have carried all announcements, editorials and cartoons in reference to union label campaigns. In September and October a large union label display advertisement has appeared on the back cover of the *Federationist*.

Thousands of manufacturers are now displaying the union label and thousands of industrial and business firms are designating their services by the shop card and service button because they now realize that the collective buying power of the millions of all labor unionists, their families and friends is a most valuable market. This union label-conscious market has increased the business of firms that have collective bargaining agreements with American Federation of Labor unions by increasing percentages annually for the last five years. The constant aim of the Union Label Trades Department is to prove to employers that the union label is an emblem of mutual benefit. It means a square deal for both the employer who unionizes his plant and the employees who are members of a labor union. Collective bargaining spells higher wages. Higher wages means more purchasing power for the members of organized labor. Increased purchasing power is the only method of obtaining permanent economic recovery in America. Increased purchasing power means greater demand for the raw products of our farming, mining and lumbering industries. It means greater orders for the manufacturers, the processors and for the transportation of these commodities. With the shortening of working hours, millions now idle will obtain employment. This is the program of organized labor. It will create mass purchasing power. It is the only way to absorb mass production.

Among the various activities for the promotion of the union label, shop card and service button formulated by the Union Label Trades Department are local union label exhibits and union label weeks. Local union label committees, in conjunction with the central labor unions, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, have held some very successful union label "shows" in various cities. Several governors and mayors have issued proclamations declaring union label weeks. This six-day period set aside for the sole purpose of promoting the union label, shop card and service button has created great interest among consumers.

The Union Label Trades Department issues an annual union label "buyers' guide." The 1941 Union Label Catalogue-Directory has already been issued and copies have been mailed to all officials of national and international unions, state federations, central labor unions, women's auxiliaries, union label

leagues and various locals throughout the United States and Canada. The 1941 Union Label Catalogue-Directory contains facsimiles of all union labels, shop cards and service buttons of the affiliated national and international labor unions of the Union Label Trades Department. In connection with each union label is a description of how it is displayed and the names of the officials of the respective national and international labor unions affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department. Under each emblem also appears the names of the manufacturers of union label and union-made products of the respective industry. The guide also contains advertisements of many nationally advertised products which have collective bargaining agreements with their employees.

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has utilized every form of publicity for the promotion of union labels, shop cards and buttons. It regularly issues news releases, editorials and cartoons for the labor weeklies and official monthly labor journals. The Secretary-Treasurer has made splendid use of the radio by regularly broadcasting the union label message over coast-to-coast networks of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System. Many local broadcasts are made over stations throughout America. Electrical transcriptions of these union label addresses are furnished to central labor bodies and local unions for meetings and local broadcasts.

The Union Label Trades Department encourages the formation of union label leagues in every city throughout the United States and Canada. Union label leagues are chartered directly by our Department. The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor is being sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department. The Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department urges all local unions to form women's auxiliaries with the hope that central auxiliaries will be formed in every city, and state federations in every state in order to form strong international women's auxiliaries.

During the past year the Union Label Trades Department has directly caused the complete unionization of several industries through the promotion of the union label. These industries found that it was necessary in order to successfully carry on their business to obtain the privilege of displaying the union label. A little over a year ago we obtained a union label agreement from one concern in a large industry. Following the display of the union label by this particular concern there was an increased demand among other concerns in that industry which were not unionized or only partially unionized for the right to display the union label on their products. The Union Label Trades Department could not proceed to make an agreement until we were assured by the respective national or international union that the particular concern was 100 percent union. Meanwhile, several of these other concerns have established union conditions throughout their plants, employ only union services, and buy only union printing. They are now negotiating union label contracts with the American Federation of Labor and soon the union label will appear on their various products. Thus, the union label is an important factor in establishing trade unionism throughout a great industry, and likewise

unionization in other industries will grow with an increased demand for the union label among members of labor unions and all consumers.

We recommend that all affiliated unions encourage their officials and organizers to consider the promotion of unionization by stressing the practicability of an industry in displaying the union label on their products.

In our last report we predicted the success of increasing collective bargaining agreements by labor unions through increased collective buying of union label products. We are convinced that this method will bring direct results not only to our affiliated unions but to all the national and international unions in the American Federation of Labor family. We feel confident that emphasis placed upon collective buying of union-made products and collective patronizing of union services will result in a growth of labor unionism that has not been paralleled in the history of our great movement. If we can show manufacturers and other business men that there is a real demand for the union label, certain employers can not use the shopworn excuse that labor unionists, their families and friends do not buy union label goods and do not patronize union services.

Many merchants even tell the union label-conscious consumer that his goods are union-made but there is no demand for the union label. He states that he complies with the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage and Hour Act and that he does not see the necessity for placing the union label on his goods. To these merchants who say there is no call for the union label, we might add that there is no call for non-union products. But the real solution is for all members of organized labor, their families and friends in every locality to cooperate with the Union Label Trades Department and always demand the union label. Even by asking for it creates a demand for it. It is at this counter of the local merchant that the bottleneck is formed. The Union Label Trades Department can not emphasize too strongly this fact, that if we do not obtain the cooperation of our friends when they buy any article, we can not carry out our union label program. We constantly urge our people to demand the union label, shop card and service button. We wish that we could demand them to urge the merchant to place the union label on his product, but it is not in our power to issue orders to members of labor unions. Consequently, if these union label-conscious consumers do not voluntarily do this job, it is not done. We will appreciate any suggestions from members in various localities on the subject of how union people may be made to demand union label goods. If it were in the jurisdiction of the Union Label Trades Department we would make it a requirement that every member of a labor union be obligated to purchase only union label goods and to use only union services. This provision is now included in the oath taken by a new member in many unions. This method of approach is more powerful than a strike or a picket line, because the most sensitive nerve in our economic system runs directly into the pocketbook of the average business man. By increasing the demand for union label products, we indirectly boycott unfair manufacturers and merchandisers, and it will result in the increase of unionization.

This formula of centering our drive on one concern in an entire industry has worked out so successfully that we believe the time will soon arrive when we can obtain blanket union label agreements at once for an entire industry. In turn, this would create institutional advertising of the fact that all the articles made in a certain industry were union-made. When one considers the fact that the words "union label" would appear in all display advertising and would be heard on all radio programs, a mental estimate of the value of organizing labor unions through the promotion of the union label would be permanently established in the minds of employers. No publicity campaign or sales argument is as effective as the actual buying of union label goods and the actual patronage of union services. Several large firms selling nationally advertised products over the radio and through newspaper advertising always mention the fact that their products bear the union label. This is evidence of the result of our campaign. Some of these firms have split away from the traditional policy of their trade association and have independently taken this step because they realize that there is a demand for union label goods.

In our future program we recommend that the present policy of the Union Label Trades Department be continued. We urge that central labor bodies, in cooperation with union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, hold union label weeks and union label exhibits. We recommend the continuation of our editorial, news release and cartoon service. We also recommend that all national and international officials urge their respective affiliated unions to encourage the formation of union label leagues and women's auxiliaries to their local unions. We recommend the hearty cooperation of all national and international unions in the distribution of the 1941 Union Label Catalogue-Directory. We recommend that our affiliated unions, together with all the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, encourage the use of the local radio broadcasting stations for talks on the subject of the union label, shop card and service button. And finally, we recommend that the affiliated unions of the Union Label Trades Department, all affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the unaffiliated railway labor unions urge their members to cooperate in all union label activities in their communities to increase the union label-conscious market for union label goods. We shall appreciate the continued support and intelligent cooperation of officials of central labor unions in any new formula originating from the Union Label Trades Department and campaigns conducted by this Department throughout the United States and Canada.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have continued to make progress in their various activities during the past year. The organizing campaign, which was begun a few years ago, has been carried on intensively with good results. In addition to establishing representation and securing agreements on a number of additional railroads, numerous existing agreements have been improved. Employment in the railroad industry has been given impetus by the general improvement in business

conditions. As the result of the procedure under the Fair Labor Standards Act, a minimum wage of 36 cents an hour has been recommended for the employes of Class I railroads and 33 cents for the employes of the short lines. This recommendation is now before the Wage and Hour Administrator for approval. A national movement to secure two weeks' vacation with pay for railroad employes has been inaugurated, and is now under way. The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act has been amended in a number of important respects so as to provide for more liberal benefits to the employes. The general transportation legislation, which provides for the regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of railroad, highway and waterway transportation, has been passed by Congress and approved by the President. Consequently, it can be said that good progress has been made in the railroad industry.

Progress of Organization—The organizing campaign which the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations began a few years ago has been carried on during the past year with good results. Representation has been established and agreements secured on a number of additional railroads, so that, with a few exceptions, substantially all of the railroads in the United States are now under agreement with the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations. More important, however, is the fact that many of the existing agreements in effect have been improved. With the campaign to secure representation on the various railroads now substantially complete, the efforts of the Department have been directed toward levelling up sub-standard rates where they exist for certain classes of employes, and eliminating undesirable rules. As the result of many years of company-union domination, the wages and working conditions on most roads were bad when representation was established by the Department, but on those roads where negotiations on a new agreement have been conducted, these conditions have been greatly improved. Although it will probably take some considerable time to complete negotiations on all railroads where such conditions exist, these efforts will be continued until the objective of substantially uniform wage rates and working conditions have been established for the employes on all railroads represented by the Railway Employees' Department, and its affiliated organizations.

Railroad Employment—The general improvement in business conditions has been reflected in an increase in railroad traffic, with the result that railroad employment has also increased, but employment has not increased as much as railroad traffic. Employment in the maintenance of equipment department increased rapidly during the fall of 1939, when the railroads concentrated on improving their bad-order situation in anticipation of an increase in traffic. As equipment was put in good order, maintenance of equipment employment fell off somewhat, but it has continued to be higher than railroad employment in the industry generally. From the standpoint of personnel, the railroad industry is prepared to meet any demands upon it, including those of the national defense program, which incidentally has not as yet had any appreciable influence on the railroad industry. It is anticipated that when the national

defense program is fully under way, it will undoubtedly offer additional job opportunities to railroad workers, both in the railroad industry as a result of increased traffic and in the defense industries, where skilled workers, particularly those in the mechanical trades, will be in demand. It should be made clear, however, that the supply of skilled workmen in the railroad industry is ample to meet the needs of that industry, and consequently there will be no need to break down the apprenticeship program or the working conditions which have been established in the railroad industry after many years of effort, under the pretense that this is necessary for national defense.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average number of employes on Class I steam railroads in the United States (excluding switching and terminal companies) increased from 939,505 in 1938 to 987,943 in 1939, or 5.2 percent; while the total compensation increased from \$1,746,193,567 to \$1,863,502,823, or 6.7 percent. During the first six months of 1940, for which reports are available, the average number of employes increased to 1,000,800, or 4.9 percent, over the 953,920 employes reported for the first six months of 1939, while the total compensation increased from \$892,676,476 during the first six months of 1939 to \$950,220,735 during the same period in 1940, or 6.5 percent.

The average number of maintenance of equipment employes increased from 239,796 in 1938 to 264,160 in 1939, or 10.2 percent, while the total compensation increased from \$399,610,378 to \$458,604,805, or 14.8 percent, during the same period. During the first six months of 1940 the average number of employes in the maintenance of equipment department reached 275,491, which is an increase of 8.5 percent over the 253,894 employes reported for the first six months of 1939, while the total compensation paid to these employes increased 9.9 percent, or from \$217,901,521 during the first six months of 1939 to \$239,411,676 during the same period in 1940. It will be observed that with the increase in traffic in 1939 and 1940, maintenance of equipment employment has increased more sharply than employment in the industry generally.

Railroad carloadings, which indicate the condition of the business of the railroads, increased during the year 1939 as compared to the previous year and continued to increase during the early months of 1940. The number of cars loaded increased from 30,457,078 in 1938 to 34,102,759 in 1939, or 12.0 percent. During the first 36 weeks of 1940, for which data are available, 24,145,755 cars were loaded, which is an increase of 10.5 percent over the 21,846,065 cars loaded during the same period in 1939. From all indications, traffic should continue to increase and provide employment for railroad employes.

During the year 1937, when there was a demand for rolling stock because of improved traffic conditions, the railways generally improved their bad-order situation. In 1938 traffic fell off, with the result that, notwithstanding reduced maintenance programs that year, the number of cars and locomotives unserviceable did not increase greatly. With the improvement in traffic in 1939, however, and in order to meet future traffic increases which were anticipated, a considerable amount of deferred maintenance was brought up during the

latter part of 1939. Although the bad-order situation has been greatly improved, this program is being continued. The number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line as of July 1, 1937, was 10.9 percent, increasing to 13.6 percent as of July 1, 1938, and again to 13.7 percent as of July 1, 1939. On July 1, 1940, the number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line was reduced to 9.5 percent. The number of locomotives unserviceable of the total on July 1, 1937, was 15.3 percent, increasing to 18.3 percent as of July 1, 1938, and to 20.1 percent as of July 1, 1939. The number of locomotives unserviceable of the total declined to 16.5 percent as of July 1, 1940.

The increased maintenance program during 1939 and 1940 is reflected in the maintenance of equipment expenses, which increased from \$676,374.537 in 1938 to \$765,942,665 in 1939, or 13.2 percent, and during the first six months of 1940 were \$397,126,782, which is an increase of 8.4 percent over the maintenance of equipment expenses for the first six months in 1939, amounting to \$366,226,352.

Minimum Wage Rates in the Railroad Industry—With the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, a statutory minimum wage rate of 25 cents an hour became effective on October 24, 1938, and by operation of the law this was increased to 30 cents an hour a year later. Only the wage provisions of the Act are applicable to the railroad industry.

The Act provides that during the following six years the highest rate up to 40 cents an hour should be established by order of the Wage and Hour Administrator as rapidly as economically feasible, which will not substantially curtail employment in the industry, and that by the end of that period a minimum rate of 40 cents an hour will be established. Before such an order can be issued, however, an industry committee must be appointed to study conditions in the industry and, based on the facts adduced at public hearings and by other means, such committee is empowered to recommend to the Administrator the highest minimum rate above 30 cents and up to 40 cents which should be established.

In accordance with the provisions of the Act, an industry committee was established for the railroad industry on November 2, 1939. This committee was composed of four members representing the railroads, four members representing the railroad labor organizations, and four neutral members representing the public who were appointed by the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor. Public hearings were conducted by this committee from February 14 to March 7, 1940, during which an extensive amount of testimony was heard and many exhibits were introduced. After considering the evidence in executive session, the Railroad Industry Committee on August 15, 1940, filed its report with the Administrator. The majority report, signed by the public and railroad members of the committee, recommended the establishment of a minimum rate of 36 cents an hour for the employes of Class I steam railroads (roads with operating revenues of a million dollars or more annually) and their owned or controlled subsidiary companies, all switching and terminal companies regardless of their class, Class A electric lines, express, and sleeping-car companies, and a minimum

rate of 33 cents an hour for the employees of Class II and III steam railroads, and Class B and Class C electric railroads. A minority report was filed by the employe members of the Railroad Industry Committee, which stated that "evidence before the committee, properly weighed, supported a finding that employment in the industry would not have been substantially curtailed by a 40 cents minimum."

The Administrator now has these recommendations under advisement. The law requires him to hold public hearings on the recommendations, and if he finds that they have been made in accordance with law, are supported by the evidence taken at the hearing, and, taking into consideration the same factors as were required to be considered by the Industry Committee, will carry out the purposes of the law, he is required to issue an order setting the date when the recommendations shall become effective. If he finds that they do not conform to the requirements of the law, the Administrator can disapprove the recommendations and resubmit the matter to the committee, or to another industry committee which he can appoint for that purpose.

If the recommendations made by the majority report of the committee are approved by the Administrator, a total of 55,800 employes on Class I railroads and 5,300 employes on short lines will receive an increase in pay, which will involve an increase in pay roll of approximately \$7,000,000 annually.

Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts—Under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935 and the Amendatory Act of 1937, five classes of benefits are administered by the Railroad Retirement Board: (1) Employee annuities paid to eligible individuals on the basis of their years of service and average monthly compensation with employers under the Act; (2) survivor annuities paid to the surviving spouse of a deceased employe annuitant who had elected a reduced annuity during his lifetime in order to provide a lifetime annuity for his widow; (3) death benefit annuities under the 1935 Act paid to the surviving spouse or dependent next of kin of a deceased annuitant for a period of 12 months; (4) lump-sum death benefits under the 1937 Act paid to a designated beneficiary or to the deceased employe's legal representative; (5) pensions under the 1937 Act paid to individuals who were on the pension or gratuity rolls of employers under the Act both on March 1 and July 1, 1937, and who were not eligible for an employe annuity.

Benefit payments under the Railroad Retirement Act in the fiscal year 1939-40 totaled \$114,025,141, or 6.4 percent more than in the preceding fiscal year. From the beginning of the retirement system through June, 1940, \$308,325,857 was paid in benefits. In 1939-40 payments on employe annuities constituted 74.1 percent of total benefits, pensions 22.8 percent, survivor annuities 0.8 percent, death benefit annuities 0.4 percent, and lump-sum death benefits 1.9 percent.

By June 30, 1940, 124,055 employes had retired and received annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act. In addition 48,500 former carrier pensioners, 2,453 survivor annuitants, 4,607 death benefit annuitants, and 29,393 lump-sum death beneficiaries had received benefits under the Act. This makes a total of 209,008 employes who have benefited from railroad retirement legislation

which has been sponsored by the standard railroad labor organizations.

New certifications of employee annuities during 1939-40 exceeded the number of terminations by death by about 3 to 1, a net of 15,916 being added to the employee annuities in force. As of June 30, 1940, there were 106,078 employee annuities in force, with a total monthly amount payable of \$6,953,664. For all employee annuities in force at the end of June, including those still subject to recertification, the average monthly payment was \$65.55.

A total of 26,218 applications for employee annuities was received by the Board during 1939-40, fewer by 7.8 percent than in the preceding fiscal year. Applications received from the beginning of operations through June, 1940, totaled 159,496. Of this number, 126,295 were initially certified, 10,601 were denied, 11,832 were in the adjudication process at the end of the fiscal year, and 10,768 were inactive—that is, they indicated beginning dates more than 60 days after June 30, 1940.

There were 35,146 former private pensioners on the rolls of the Board at the end of the fiscal year 1939-40. The total monthly amount payable to them amounted to \$2,061,717. As of June 30, 1940, the average monthly pension in force amounted to \$58.66.

The total reserve in the railroad retirement account, invested in 3 percent Treasury notes, totaled \$79,400,000 at the end of June, 1940. This was \$12,200,000 more than the investment at the beginning of the fiscal year. Collections under the Carriers Taxing Act during 1939-40 totaled \$120,966,719, an increase of 10.7 percent over the preceding fiscal year. A small part of the increase in collections is the result of the higher tax rate applicable to pay rolls for the last quarter of the fiscal year, but the principal part of the increase is due to the improvement in railroad employment.

Under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act unemployed railroad workers have become eligible for benefits with respect to unemployment on and after July 1, 1939. To be eligible for benefits an employee must have earned at least \$150 in the preceding calendar year from an employer covered by the Act; in addition he must qualify by serving a waiting period of one-half month, which includes at least 8 days of unemployment. Subject to these conditions, benefits are payable for every day of unemployment in excess of seven in a period of 15 consecutive days (or half month), up to a total of 80 daily benefit amounts in the course of 12 months. The daily amount varies in 25-cent intervals from \$1.75 for employees whose credited compensation in their base year was \$150 to \$199.99, to \$3 for employees with base-year compensation of \$1,300 or over.

In the first year of the railroad unemployment insurance program, ending June 30, 1940, the number of workers who were unemployed at one time or another and who exercised their rights under the Act by applying for certificates of benefit rights totaled 210,823. Benefit payments amounting to \$14,807,120 were certified to 160,735 of these workers. Of this number, 29,122 received the maximum amount of benefits to which they were entitled in a benefit year. This amount ranged from \$140 to \$240, depending on the amount of wages earned by them in 1938. The average amount certified for this

group is estimated at about \$178 per worker. For the 131,613 beneficiaries who did not receive the maximum amount of benefits, the average amount is estimated at approximately \$73 per year. Among the 50,088 applicants who were not certified for benefits, 2,833 were ineligible because their creditable wages for 1938 were less than \$150. Of the remaining eligible applicants, 30,067 were unemployed long enough to have served their waiting period, and benefits based on 1938 wages were certified to some of these employees in July. A total of 17,188 employees who filed applications had either very little unemployment or their unemployment was scattered in such short spells that they had no half month with as many as eight days of unemployment.

During the past year a number of amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act have been introduced in Congress, in order to increase the benefits to railroad workers and also meet certain special problems which have arisen in the administration of these laws. There were six such measures endorsed by the standard railroad labor organizations which, in the order of their enactment or consideration by Congress, are as follows:

Public Resolution No. 81, Seventy-sixth Congress, providing for more uniform coverage under the Railroad Retirement Acts of 1935 and 1937, Carriers Taxing Act of 1939, and Subchapter B of Chapter 9 of the Internal Revenue Code; this resolution was approved by the President on June 11, 1940.

This Act excludes from the coverage of the several measures mentioned persons who are not citizens or residents of the United States when they are rendering service outside the United States to an employer who is required, under the laws applicable in the place where the service is rendered, to employ in whole or in part citizens or residents of that country.

The necessity for this Act arose out of the situation in the Republic of Mexico, where the Pullman Company employs a few hundred persons who are citizens and residents of Mexico. Under the laws of Mexico, no deductions may be made from the pay of employees; while under the Carriers Taxing Act the Pullman Company is required to make deductions from the pay of these same employees. Obviously, either the Mexican or American law had to be changed. The employers affected in Mexico were removed from any contact with work within the United States and the administration of the American law affecting them would, in any event, be very difficult. It seemed reasonable, therefore, to exclude them from coverage of the Railroad Retirement and related Acts as last year they were excluded from coverage under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The language employed made an employment law the basis of exclusion; thus uniformity with the Unemployment Insurance Act was preserved. Exclusion from the Unemployment Insurance Act could not well be based on the prohibition of deductions under the law of the foreign state, since that Act itself prohibits deduction of contributions from employees' pay.

Public No. 725, Seventy-sixth Congress (approved July 2, 1940), amending Section 13 (d) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

Section 13 of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act directs the Social

Security Board to compute certain balances in the unemployment trust accounts of each state based on the proportion of those balances contributed by railroads and their employes, and to withhold the grants to states under Title III of the Social Security Act until the amount so withheld equals the railroad proportion of the state funds. These withheld amounts are to be paid into the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account. In lieu of this procedure, states may elect to direct the United States Treasury to make a direct transfer from their accounts to the railroad account. The great majority of the states have in fact chosen the direct method.

The legislature of the State of Kentucky passed measures providing for a direct transfer. Litigation arose involving the constitutionality of the transfer of that part of the railroad balance contributed by railroad employes in Kentucky, and the highest court of the state held that such transfer was prohibited under the terms of the state constitution. Failure on the part of Kentucky to make the transfer would, under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act as it stood prior to the bill here discussed, have resulted in the loss of Kentucky's eligibility for Federal grants to administer its unemployment compensation system. While Kentucky law grants authority to the State Unemployment Compensation Commission to levy a special payroll tax to defray administrative expenses, Kentucky officials were apprehensive that exercise of the power might have unfortunate results on the status of the Kentucky law. They, therefore, requested that some way be worked out under which the administrative grants could be continued. Public No. 725 in effect postpones to July 1, 1942, the limiting date for transfers by states in a situation similar to that in Kentucky. A hope was expressed that before that time the situation in Kentucky would straighten out so that the Kentucky transfer could be handled on the same basis as those in the other states. The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account will not lose by the transaction, since the funds not transferred will draw interest at a rate equal to that which is now being paid on the investments.

Public No. 764, Seventy-sixth Congress (approved August 13, 1940), providing for more uniform coverage of certain persons employed in coal mining operations with respect to insurance benefits provided for by certain Federal Acts, and for other purposes.

In the latter part of 1939 the Railroad Retirement Board held that certain wholly-owned subsidiaries of the railroad, subject to Part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, engaged in the mining of coal, were employers within the meaning of the Railroad Retirement Act. This ruling on the part of the Railroad Retirement Board was objected to by the coal mining subsidiaries. Rather than become involved in litigation, all parties agreed that it would be desirable to modify the Act so as to exclude from coverage all coal mining operations. Although these coal mining operations are very closely connected with the rendition of transportation service, the persons engaged in coal mining are specialists in that field and for most purposes are not regarded as railroad workers. They are members of labor organizations which are not recognized as being railroad connected and work under contracts of employ-

ment which differ in many respects from the usual type of railroad schedule. The workers themselves prefer the coverage of old-age and survivors' insurance and the state unemployment insurance provisions, and, more particularly, the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, to the Railway Labor Act. Public No. 764 as enacted excludes from the coverage of the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts not only the employees of the separately incorporated subsidiary coal mining companies but also employees engaged directly in coal mining operations even where such operations are conducted directly by the railroad itself.

S. J. Res. 267 provides for the acquisition by the Railroad Retirement Board of data needed in carrying out the Railroad Retirement Acts. It was passed by the Senate on June 22, 1940, by the House of Representatives on September 30, 1940, and approved by the President on October 9, 1940.

This bill places an obligation on all employers subject to the Railroad Retirement Act to assemble all data, in the possession of each such employer, having a bearing on the service and compensation of employees entitled to credit therefor under the Railroad Retirement Act.

At the present time the Railroad Retirement Board collects the pertinent data concerning entitlement to and the amount of the annuity of each employee following receipt of an application. This necessarily delays somewhat the process of adjudication. Moreover, the records are now scattered over the whole of the United States and are subject to considerable hazard of loss by fire, flood and other destructive elements. Because of lack of exact knowledge of prior service and compensation, no one can determine precisely what credits have accrued to railroad workers under the Railroad Retirement Act.

The bill requires that the collection of records be completed not later than June 30, 1943, and authorizes the Board to reimburse employers for the expense of the collection at a rate not to exceed fifty cents per man-year of service. The project will be of great assistance to the Railroad Retirement Board in its work and, by facilitating the payment of claims, will in the end pay for the additional costs of reimbursing employers for their expenses.

S. 3920 to amend the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, approved June 25, 1938, as amended June 20, 1939, and for other purposes, was passed by the Senate on July 29, 1940, and by the House, with minor amendments, on September 30, 1940. The House version of the measure was adopted by the Senate on October 2, 1940, and approved by the President on October 10, 1940.

This bill amends the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act first by liberalizing the scale of benefits. This liberalization is accomplished in three ways—first, by shortening the waiting period; second, by increasing the number of days for which payment is made within each period without, however, reducing the overall duration of payments; third, by raising the daily rate of benefit for certain groups of employees.

In addition to these changes in the benefit structure, which, of course, is the most important feature of the bill, a number of changes aimed to simplify administration are comprehended within the terms of the measure; for the individual benefit year a fixed benefit year is substituted; the fifteen-day

half month is changed to a period of two weeks; the definition of remuneration is simplified and a definition of subsidiary remuneration now followed by administrative regulation is incorporated in the basic statute; the procedure for the adjustment of controverted questions is simplified and unified; the process of recovering erroneous payments is made less complex; the disqualifications affecting mileage workers who secure several days pay within a brief period of time because their methods of operation are simplified; the handling of administrative funds is rearranged so as to admit more effective coordination of administrative operations under Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts; and provisions for personnel administration are made somewhat more flexible in order for the Board to deal effectively with rapidly fluctuating volumes of claims. Compensation received from local lodges and divisions of labor organizations is to be disregarded in determining eligibility for the amounts of benefits and contributions. This last provision will materially simplify the problems of labor organizations connected with administration of the Act. Included as well are amendments which will remove from the Retirement and Carriers Taxing Acts (the latter now being part of the Internal Revenue Code) pay to local lodge and division employees amounting to less than \$3 per month. Enactment of the amendments will place the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act at the top of all unemployment insurance systems in this country.

S. 3356 and H. R. 8609, identical bills, providing for the return to employees of contributions paid by them to unemployment compensation laws to make funds available therefor, are now pending in both Houses.

The bills S. 3356 and H. R. 8609, intended to accomplish this objective, Board, recover the amount of any contributions paid by him under the laws within the state. The bills provide also for the immediate transfer to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account of the railroad balances in the accounts of the various states.

The second of these purposes is being accomplished by administrative action, although the transfers have been much delayed from the time originally contemplated. Further legislative action is unnecessary.

In most states all the funds for the unemployment insurance systems were raised by levies on employers. In the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Kentucky, Louisiana and California, however, employees were required to contribute. Employee contributions were levied also for brief periods in Indiana and Iowa, and while there is a similar contribution in Alabama, railroads and their employees were not subject to it. The benefits under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act are the same for all employees. Although some employees may have contributed substantially under a state law, they will receive no additional benefits under the Railroad Act and after June 30, 1939, could not receive any benefits at all under state laws with respect to railroad service. It seemed reasonable and equitable, therefore, to provide for a refund of such contributions in order that all railroad workers might be put on the same basis.

The bills S. 3356 and H. R. 8609, intended to accomplish this objective,

have not been considered by committees in either House and it seems doubtful whether action will be taken in the current session of Congress.

Transportation Legislation—The general transportation legislation, known as the Wheeler-Lea Bill (S. 2009), providing for the regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of railroad, highway and waterway transportation, which was developed as the result of recommendations made by the "Committee of Six" appointed by the President late in 1938 to investigate conditions in the transportation industry, was passed by Congress last year, but the form in which this bill was adopted by the Senate and the House differed, making it necessary to refer the matter to a Conference Committee. The Senate measure provided for codification of the Interstate Commerce Act, eliminating the present Parts I and II, and bringing rail, motor and water carriers under the appropriate provisions of a single part. The bill passed by the House provided for the addition of a Part III to the Interstate Commerce Act, which Part dealt with the regulation of water carriers, and for certain amendments to Parts I and II of the Act relating to railroads and motor carriers. The two bills differed in a number of other respects, but this was perhaps the most important.

Of particular interest to railway employees was the declaration of policy and the provision dealing with the consolidation of railroads. The declaration of policy, which was practically the same in both bills, stated that the legislation was intended, among other things, "to provide for fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation subject to the provisions of this Act, so administered as to recognize and preserve the inherent advantages of each" and "to encourage fair wages and equitable working conditions." With respect to consolidations, both bills provided for the repeal of the provision in the Interstate Commerce Act directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to prescribe a plan for the consolidation of all railroads into a limited number of large systems, and in lieu thereof allowed consolidations which in the judgment of the Commission were in the public interest and with the express provision that the interests of railway workers affected by consolidations would be adequately protected. The character of protection provided in the two bills for employees affected by consolidations differed somewhat, however, as the result of an amendment introduced by Congressman Harrington and adopted by the House. Both bills contained the following provision for the protection of employees:

The Commission shall require, as a prerequisite to its approval of any proposed transaction under the provisions of this section, a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the employees affected.

The so-called Harrington amendment, which was included in the House bill, read as follows:

Provided, however, that no such transaction shall be approved by the Commission if such transaction will result in unemployment or displacement of employees of the carrier or carriers, or in the impairment of existing employment rights of said employees.

Extensive consideration was given by the Conference Committee to the

two bills, and finally, on April 26, 1940, a compromise bill was reported out in uncodified form, thus applying the policy of amending the existing law as was provided in the House bill. Because of the inability of the conferees to agree upon the character of protection which should be given to railway employees affected by consolidations, the entire consolidation provision including the provision for the protection of railway employees affected by consolidations was eliminated from the bill. Under this arrangement the existing consolidation provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act would continue in effect, and the organizations would rely as in the past on their Job Protection Agreement for the protection of the interests of railway employees affected by consolidations. In the case of consolidations covered by the Interstate Commerce Act, the carriers would continue to be required to seek the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a consolidation, and the Commission would continue to have the power, sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in the recent *Rock Island Consolidation* case, to require the carriers to provide for the protection of the employees' interests, as a condition for authority to make a consolidation.

On May 9, 1940, the House of Representatives gave consideration to the report of the Conference Committee, and by a record vote of 209 to 182, adopted a motion introduced by Congressman Wadsworth to recommit the bill to the Conference Committee with the following instructions to the House conferees:

Mr. Wadsworth moves that the bill (S. 2009) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, by extending its application to additional types of carriers and transportation and modifying certain provisions thereof, and for other purposes, together with the House amendment thereto, and the conference report thereon, be recommitted to the Committee of Conference, with the following instructions to the managers on the part of the House:

1. That the managers on the part of the House insist on the inclusion in the report on the Committee of Conference the provision adopted by the House, known as the Jones amendment, which reads as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress that shippers of wheat, cotton, and all other farm commodities for export should have substantially the same advantage of reduced rates, as compared to shippers of such commodities not for export, that are in effect in the case of shipment of industrial products for export as compared with shipment of industrial products not for export, and the Interstate Commerce Commission is hereby directed to institute such investigations, to conduct such hearings, and to issue orders making such revisions of rates as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such policy.

2. That the managers on the part of the House insist on the inclusion in the report of the Committee of Conference the provision adopted by the House, known as the Wadsworth amendment, which reads as follows:

In order that the public at large may enjoy the benefit and economy afforded by each type of transportation, the Commission shall permit each type of carrier or carriers to reduce rates so long as such rates maintain a compensatory return to the carrier or carriers after taking into consideration overhead and all other

elements entering into the cost to the carrier or carriers for the service rendered.

3. That the managers on the part of the House insist on the inclusion in the report of the Committee of Conference the provisions adopted by the House relating to combinations and consolidations of carriers (Secs. 8 and 22 of the House amendment) but modified so that the sentence in Section 8 which contains the provision known as the Harrington amendment read as follows:

(f) As a prerequisite to its approval of any consolidation, merger, purchase, lease, operating contract, or acquisition of control, or any contract, agreement, or combination mentioned in this section, in respect to carriers by railroad subject to the provisions of part 1, as a prerequisite to its approval of the substitution and use of another means of transportation for rail transportation proposed to be abandoned, the Commission shall require a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the railroad employes affected. In its order, or certificate, granting approval or authorization of any transaction referred to in this paragraph, the Commission shall include terms and conditions providing that such transaction will not result in employes of said carrier or carriers being in a worse position with respect to their employment.

Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, an agreement pertaining to the protection of the interests of said employes may hereafter be entered into by any carrier or carriers by railroad and the duly authorized representative or representatives of its or their employes.

After some delay, the Conference Committee met and gave consideration to the instructions of the House, and in the light of these instructions brought out another report on August 7, 1940, which eliminated the Miller-Wadsworth minimum rate amendment, clarified the Jones export agricultural rate amendment and provided for inclusion of substantially the consolidation provisions of the House bill together with a provision that employes affected by a consolidation would be protected for a period of four years after the consolidation had been approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The amendment in the conference report providing for the protection of employes, which applies to consolidations, mergers, pooling, etc., but not to abandonments, is quoted herewith:

As a condition of its approval under this paragraph (2), of any transaction involving a carrier or carriers by railroad subject to the provisions of this part, the Commission shall require a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the railroad employes affected. In its order of approval the Commission shall include terms and conditions providing that during the period of four years from the effective date of such order such transaction will not result in employes of the carrier or carriers by railroad affected by such order being in a worse position with respect to their employment, except that the protection afforded to any employe pursuant to this sentence shall not be required to continue for a longer period, following the effective date of such order, than the period during which such employe was in the employ of such carrier or carriers prior to the effective date of such order. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, an agreement pertaining to the protection of the interests of said employes may hereafter be entered into by any carrier or carriers by railroad and the duly authorized representative or representatives of its or their employes.

On August 12, 1940, the House passed the conference report on S. 2009 by a record vote of 246 to 74 with 110 members not voting, and the bill was immediately sent to the Senate where it was passed on September 9, 1940, by a vote of 59 to 15. This measure was approved by the President on September 18, 1940.

As finally enacted, the most important features of the bill include the declaration of policy, the water carrier provision and the consolidation provisions together with the protection for Labor which have already been referred to, the provision for the appointment by the President of a three-member board to study the relative economy of various agencies of transportation and Government aids to transport, the conditional repeal of land-grant rates and the liberalizing amendments to railroad loan provisions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act.

The so-called "Bridge Bill," providing for the reimbursement of railroads by the United States Government for alteration of bridges in connection with waterway improvement, which was passed by Congress last year but vetoed by the President was again considered by Congress and passed by the necessary two-thirds majority to become a law over the President's veto. This measure (H. R. 9381), which was part of the transportation policy recommended by the "Committee of Six," was passed by the House on June 19, 1940, by a vote of 324 to 68 with 39 members not voting, and by the Senate on June 21, 1940, by a vote of 65 to 17 with 13 members not voting.

The "Committee of Six" also recommended the enactment of legislation which would make important changes in Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act by creating a special reorganization court to handle railroad bankruptcies. A bill (S. 1869) providing for the creation of such a "reorganization court" was passed by the Senate on May 27, 1939. In the House a companion measure (H. R. 5182) was introduced, and later H. R. 6369 was introduced as a substitute for the previous bill, incorporating the changes which were made in S. 1869 by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearings on this measure were begun before the House Judiciary Committee on May 31, 1939, but a bill has not been reported out as yet.

Vacations With Pay—During recent years, vacations with pay, which had been restricted to white collar workers in the past, have been extended widely to wage earners in industry. According to recent studies not only have vacations with pay been extended to wage earners, but vacation plans for wage earners have been constantly liberalized, and in many instances are the same as for the supervisory and clerical staff.

In the railroad industry, paid vacations are still restricted to the executive and supervisory forces and in some instances to clerical workers, but with respect to the latter group vacations are granted only if it can be done without expense to the company. The railroad industry, therefore, which profits the most from a general vacation policy in industry through increased passenger traffic, has perhaps been the most backward in granting vacations with pay to its own employees.

On May 20, 1940, the committees of fourteen standard railroad labor organi-

zations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, served notice under the Railway Labor Act on the managements of all of the railroads with which they had agreements, requesting that such agreements be amended so as to provide for two weeks vacation with pay. In keeping with the previous policy followed by the railroads and the organizations in connection with other national movements, the various managements were also requested to form a National Conference Committee to deal with this subject in the event an agreement was not reached in local conferences.

The carriers in the Eastern and Southeastern Regions acknowledged the notice and set a date for conference with the general chairmen on each railroad, but the carriers in the Western Region, in acknowledging the notice, made a counter proposal by serving notice of a request for a 10 percent wage reduction and that the negotiations be conducted on a regional basis. The conferences have been conducted on each railroad on which notices were served. The insistence of the carriers in the Western Region for regional handling, however, has so far served to prevent the formation of a National Conference Committee. This problem is being considered by the Chief Executives of the organizations involved with the view of bringing this matter to a conclusion.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

In our January meeting, the Executive Council reviewed the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of seeing how it could more effectively present the purposes and achievements of the American Federation of Labor. The Council went fully into the advisability of continuing the policy of securing and publishing advertisements as well as what changes in publication policies would make the magazine more fully meet the current needs of affiliated unions.

When the magazine was launched in 1894, the publication of advertisements was authorized as a method of paying publication expenses. The Executive Council, after considering fully all aspects of the policy, decided to discontinue the publication of advertisements for the following reasons: because of the increase in the circulation of the magazine, publication of advertisements meant loss of money instead of revenue unless rates were increased. Increasing the rates would provide added opportunity for the distasteful features often associated with solicitation of advertisements, which have occasioned criticism. The Executive Council was of the opinion that the cause of trade union education, the literary value of the *Federationist* and the highest and best interests of the American Federation of Labor would be served through a discontinuation of advertisements in the *American Federationist*.

Beginning with the July, 1940, issue the format and editorial policy of the *American Federationist* were adapted to the purpose of keeping the affiliated members of the American Federation of Labor informed on the activities and progress of the movement. The use of pictures helps to familiarize our members with their national representatives. The change in the cover design, the makeup and the size of the *American Federationist*, is in keeping with modern requirements. It represents in its new form the tendency which has

developed in the publication of modern day magazines. Altogether, the changes have met with most general approval and appreciation.

PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS

We have constantly and unremittingly presented the facts regarding developments which have taken place in the experience through which the American Federation of Labor has passed with the rebel, rival, dual labor movement. Through newspaper and magazine articles and our *Weekly News Service*, responsibility for the division which was created within the ranks of Labor has been placed squarely where it belongs. Communist activities within the rebel, dual movement have been widely exposed. All of this has stood out in sharp contrast to the loyal American policy which has been pursued by the American Federation of Labor. As a result of the widespread dissemination of all of this information, the prestige of the American Federation of Labor has been immeasurably increased.

The American Federation of Labor's *Weekly News Service* has been improved and revitalized for the benefit of the labor press which supports the philosophy and policies of the American Federation of Labor. The *News Service* furnishes, free of charge, full, up-to-the-minute news reports and comment on important labor developments, and its material is being more widely used than ever before by the labor press. The benefits are two-fold. The labor press gains by being able to publish more interesting stories, and the American Federation of Labor gains by being able to disseminate labor news and its views more extensively. Many communications have been received from editors of labor papers expressing appreciation of the improvements.

Generally speaking, the labor press, especially that part of it which has embraced the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, has rendered most valuable service to the American Federation of Labor and its membership. We trust that our labor publications, loyal supporters of the American Federation of Labor, will be given increased support by the membership of the American Federation of Labor and all their friends in every locality where a bona fide labor paper is published.

The Executive Council expresses its deep appreciation of the loyal support of the labor press and pledges to it the continued assistance of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and all its constituent organizations.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

The increasing number of technical problems developing in the fields of collective bargaining and labor law administration have added to demands on the research division for service. The work during the past year has developed around these special fields: organization and collective bargaining for federal labor unions, legislative proposals and administrative problems in social security, and the administration of the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts. Research work for use in connection with the administration of labor laws is included in reports on separate laws.

Information for Collective Bargaining and Organization

During the past year, demands for information for use in collective bargaining have been heavy. Local unions negotiating agreements have sent for strategic information, and organizers building up union membership have sought facts on company earnings, location of competing plants and other data. In all, 1,172 reports have been requested and sent out in the 12 months ending August 31, 1940. This amounts to more than four reports on the average for every working day.

Use of this factual information in wage negotiations has increased greatly. Locals and organizers write us that they can negotiate to better advantage when they go to conference fully informed. Published reports showing the financial condition of the company, wage rates paid under union contract in competing plants, outlook for the industry and company concerned have helped to win many wage increases and to bring members into the unions.

Our service has fallen in general into the following categories:

(1) **Company reports.** From published sources we have prepared financial reports showing the ability of companies negotiating to pay higher wages, connections with other firms or interlocking directorates, location of plants and any other data needed.

(2) **Wage scales and union agreements.** This branch of our service has grown markedly in the past year. We now have wage scales of 665 local unions in our files. We are still far from having complete records from directly affiliated locals, since our reports thus far cover less than half of them all, and many important scales are missing.

Locals have found these scales of great value in negotiating. Evidence that a competitor or a branch plant is paying higher wages has often been the determining factor in securing a wage increase. Such evidence recently won a \$78,000 wage increase for 1,100 union members in a highly profitable business working on defense orders. We are informed that this increase was entirely due to wage scale data secured by headquarters office with the assistance of Federation organizers. The increase brought an average gain of more than \$70 per year for each of the 1,100 members concerned.

The Federation is also building up a file of agreements negotiated by directly affiliated locals. These have proved an important service for locals wishing to know what clauses and provisions other locals have found effective. We have about 500 such agreements and are endeavoring to complete this file.

Because of the importance of this wage information for local unions, we try to keep on file an up-to-date copy of the agreement of every directly affiliated union, showing wage scales and work conditions.

(3) **Outlook for industrial earnings.** In the present period of industrial expansion, stimulated by defense production, the average industrial company may expect increasing sales and higher profits. Many companies will make the highest profits in their history. Union officers going into negotiations with the knowledge that their company looks forward to good profits can see to it that members share all gains. Outlook reports have been of special value this year.

(4) **Productivity.** With the machine tool industry operating above 92 percent of capacity this year, and new machinery being installed in industry at an exceptionally rapid rate, we are entering a period of large increases in productivity and consequent displacement of labor. National Industrial Conference Board figures show that production per man-hour in June 1940 was 10 percent above June 1939 and 52 percent above 1929. That is, the rate of increase in productivity in the last year has been double the average for the period since 1929. Increased productivity means reduced labor cost and gains in operating profit out of which higher wages can be paid.

Unless union officers have facts on increasing productivity for their negotiations, they will find it difficult to make the necessary wage adjustments. Labor Department information on this subject is very inadequate and only in a few industries is there any up-to-date information which can be used. The Federation has, therefore, made efforts to have adequate information assembled. The Legislative Department have cited in their report the passage of a resolution by Congress providing for studies on productivity to be made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. While awaiting this information, the Research and Information Service has furnished unions with all available facts on productivity.

(5) **Cost of Living.** When prices are rising, cost of living information is essential to enable unions to adjust their wage scales and prevent a reduction of living standards. Since the price trend has been gradually upward in recent months, there has been increasing demand for this information.

(6) **Budgets.** It is advantageous to have authoritative estimates from recognized sources showing the actual yearly cost of supporting a worker's family in health and efficiency. Two such budgets have been found useful, (1) The Labor Department "Maintenance Budget" provides a bare subsistence living for a family of four; this amounts to approximately 70 cents per hour, received for 40 hours every week. Since there are thousands who do not yet receive this amount, this budget is useful in establishing decent minimum wages. (2) The Heller Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, University of California, publishes two generally recognized budgets; one for a wage earner's family, one for a clerk or skilled worker's family. The wage earner budget provides a minimum health and efficiency living standard for a family of five, amounting to approximately \$1 per hour for 40 hours every week; the clerk's or skilled worker's budget calls for \$2,860 per year or \$1.43 per hour for 40 hours each week. These budgets have been furnished to unions for negotiations.

In collective bargaining today, the union officers who go to conference knowing the condition and outlook of their own company and industry the budget accepted by competent authorities as necessary to maintain a worker's family in health and decency, and other pertinent facts, are in a better position to establish a just wage and just conditions. Without this information they are at the mercy of an unscrupulous employer, and even with a fair employer they may fall far short of obtaining the best conditions the company can afford.

After a union is well established and mutual confidence exists between union and employer, a detailed accounting of the company's operating results should be available for negotiations. This record is the basic information on which just wages can be set. We look forward to the time when Labor will be accepted by management as its partner in productive enterprise, entitled to a partner's full share in the income created. When this time comes the great achievements of our industries will bring decent living standards for America's workers.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

Since our last convention important legal matters affecting interests of vital importance to the American Federation of Labor have been handled by our General Counsel. These matters include court cases, legal opinions, legislative activities, Labor Board cases, hearings in cases before other administrative boards which administer other laws such as the wage and hour law, the Walsh-Healey Act, Bacon-Davis Act, Social Security Act; also numerous conferences and miscellaneous activities under the direction of President Green; the furnishing of reports on decisions of courts and administrative tribunals including the trends of the law.

Nullification of Alabama Anti-Picketing Statute

Without question one of the greatest court victories the American Federation of Labor has ever won was the outlawing of the Alabama anti-picketing statute in the case of *Thornhill v. State of Alabama*. One, Thornhill, a member of an American Federation of Labor union, was arrested, fined and ordered imprisoned for engaging in peaceful picketing in violation of a state statute. The Alabama State Federation of Labor fought the case through the lower courts but did not prevail. It requested the American Federation of Labor to give legal aid and assistance. This was done. Our General Counsel was assigned to work with local counsel in presenting an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case was briefed and argued and a decision was handed down by the Supreme Court on April 22, 1940, invalidating the Alabama law, as well as all other similar laws in the country. The basic victory is the holding on the part of the United States Supreme Court that peaceful picketing is equivalent to freedom of speech and is guaranteed by the Constitution. The Court held that no state may pass an anti-picketing law.

Our affiliates are urged to obtain copies of this milestone decision and study the same.

Oregon Supreme Court Declares Anti-Picketing Law Unconstitutional

On October 22 the Oregon Supreme Court in a precedent-making decision of great consequence to Labor declared the Oregon Anti-Picketing Law invalid. This law, passed two years ago by referendum vote, made it a crime for a single worker or a minority group of workers peacefully to picket an employer with whom they were in dispute. The American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods joined in a suit to have the law declared unconsti-

tutional. The lower court upheld the law, whereupon the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. Briefs and arguments were presented to the Court on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

The principal attack on the law was that it denied to a minority group of workers the exercise of their constitutional right of freedom of speech. The Oregon Court agreed with this contention and based its decision on the *Thornhill* case wherein the American Federation of Labor made a similar attack on the Alabama Anti-Picketing statute. The United States Supreme Court declared the Alabama law invalid on that ground, and the Oregon Supreme Court followed the United States Supreme Court in the *Thornhill* case.

In outlawing the Oregon law the Supreme Court of that state said:

By the decisions in the *Thornhill* and *Carlson* cases, it is now established that picketing as an incident to a labor dispute is at least in some of its phases an exercise of the right of freedom of speech.

The Supreme Court has announced a broad construction of the guaranties of freedom of speech and the press, and applying this conception to laws aimed at picketing, has held that publicizing the facts of a labor dispute in a peaceful way through appropriate means, whether by pamphlet, by word of mouth or by banner, is within the liberty of communication which is secured to every person by the Fourteenth Amendment against abridgement by a state. . . . The prohibitions of the statute under review clearly include picketing in bona fide labor controversies.

It has now been determined by the highest court in the land that a law of this kind cannot stand as against the guaranty of freedom of speech in the Federal Constitution.

With this notable decision of the Oregon Supreme Court, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Thornhill* case, and the decision outlawing the Anti-Picketing Ordinance of Shasta County, California, it seems certain that similar enactments passed by Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Michigan legislatures are doomed to defeat.

Chicago Newspaper Cases

The organizational drive among editorial and commercial employes in the newspaper field was given great impetus when in a National Labor Relations Board election held in Chicago in September of this year our affiliates, the Chicago Editorial Association and the Newspaper Commercial Associates, won the election, by an overwhelming majority against the American Newspaper Guild, affiliated with the C. I. O.

The election was the culmination of two and one-half years of proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board. The American Newspaper Guild had in March 1938 filed Petitions for Representation in cases involving the *Chicago Evening American* and the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*. At the time of filing these petitions the Guild represented but a minority of the employes. Disgusted with the tactics of the Guild the editorial writers and commercial employes of the newspapers formed American Federation of Labor unions and were chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The craft unions already represented in these two newspapers and our affiliates in the editorial and commercial groups intervened in the proceedings asking for an election to determine representation. By every known device and trickery the Guild endeavored to delay the proceedings before the Board because it knew its case was hopeless. The Guild, finding that it could not succeed even by delay, called a strike in an effort to destroy the American Federation of Labor unions already in the newspaper plants. However, all of the Guild's attempts to bolster its position failed and when the National Labor Relations Board election was held and the results announced it was found that 151 employees had voted for the American Federation of Labor editorial union as against 34 for the Guild; and 388 in favor of the American Federation of Labor commercial departments union as against 91 in favor of the Guild. This victory is significant because of the bitter attacks upon the American Federation of Labor unions and upon the newspapers through improper strikes, illegal boycotts, false charges and other reprehensible means resorted to by the Guild to destroy the workers' "freedom of choice."

Wisconsin Anti-Picketing Law

Since the passage of the Oregon anti-picketing law other states, particularly Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Minnesota have passed measures restricting the rights of organized labor. One most highly objectionable was passed by the legislature of the state of Wisconsin. It follows the pattern of the Oregon law in that it requires a majority of the workers in a plant to vote in favor of a strike or labor dispute before the minority may strike or picket. It also requires that there be a dispute between the employer and his immediate employees. Such legislation overrules landmark decisions such as the Senn case, wherein the United States Supreme Court held that a labor union, without any employees in a particular plant, may picket and exercise economic pressure against the plant in order to unionize it. On the basis of the Thornhill case it seems certain that the Supreme Court cannot hold that the right to picket, which is now recognized as exercising freedom of speech, can be abridged, curtailed or denied by the will, whim or opposition of the majority. In other words, the exercise of freedom of speech by any individual or minority group cannot depend on the determination or desires of the majority. It is vital that the right of a minority to strike in furtherance of wages, hours and working conditions must be preserved and maintained. The Wisconsin law is now before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin for a test of its constitutionality. The precise case involves a local in Milwaukee affiliated with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, and under the direction of this International our general counsel and his associates at Milwaukee are handling this case.

New Orleans Antitrust Case.

In October of last year a rival organization instituted a civil antitrust suit for injunction and other relief against all of our building trades affiliates in New Orleans. Because of the importance of the case the Executive Council,

then meeting in Cincinnati, directed our General Counsel to go to New Orleans to handle this case. He did so, interposed motions to dismiss and argued the legal issues involved. United States District Judge Porterie, at the conclusion of the argument, upheld the contentions of the American Federation of Labor that jurisdictional disputes were not in violation of the antitrust laws, and the suit was dismissed.

In spite of this ruling of a United States District Judge, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice has proceeded to institute criminal prosecutions against the same unions for the same activities which were involved in the issues in the civil suit. Our General Counsel has been directed to assist the local counsel of the building trades unions in defending this suit.

Teamsters' Antitrust Case

The case against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers, its representatives and local officials in Washington, D. C., was handled most successfully before the U. S. District Judge and a jury. The result was a victory for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in that the court directed the jury to return a verdict of "not guilty."

Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Case

Previous reports have been made on this case which involves a Labor Board decision setting up the entire West Coast as a single unit for collective bargaining in the Longshore craft, thus attempting to wipe out existing American Federation of Labor unions on the West Coast. The American Federation of Labor appealed this ruling to the Supreme Court of the United States and the matter was briefed and argued before the court by our Counsel. The United States Supreme Court handed down its decision on January 2, 1940, wherein it upheld the reasoning of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, which court held that the Board's decision was arbitrary and unjust, yet the United States Supreme Court pointed out that the National Labor Relations Act makes no provision for an appeal of a decision by the Board in a representation case. The Supreme Court suggested that Congress should act on this matter. However, it did say that an effort can be made to reach the merits by proceeding in the United States District Court. Such a case has been instituted and is now pending. The Board moved to dismiss the case in the District Court. After arguments on this motion the United States District Court overruled the Board and ordered the case to proceed to trial. The Board not being satisfied with this decision of United States District Judge Bailey, appealed the same and it is now pending before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and will be argued in the month of December. The American Federation of Labor is proceeding with this litigation because of the vital issues involved.

Retail Food Clerks case

In this case the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia issued an injunction against an American Federation of Labor union picketing

an employer because a rival union claimed the right of representation. If injunctions under such circumstances could be issued it would prevent labor unions from exercising their right to picket pending disputes between rival unions. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court was ordered and the case was argued. A few days before the case was argued an election was held at the plant and the American Federation of Labor union won out and thus obtained certification as the bargaining representative. The United States Supreme Court thereupon held that the case was moot, but it entered an order dissolving the injunction.

Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company case

The National Labor Relations Board invalidated existing contracts between several of our metal trades unions and the Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company. The Metal Trades Council and the affiliates involved have taken the position that the decision of the Board was arbitrary and illegal. The employer likewise resists the ruling of the Board. The employer and the unions involved sought a review in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, but when this review was filed the Board withdrew the case for further proceedings which, under the law, it has a right to do. After holding the proceedings open for a long period of time, the Board recently filed a petition for enforcement. The American Federation of Labor has directed its General Counsel to continue to oppose this arbitrary decision of the Board. The case will be briefed and argued some time in the year 1941.

Florida, Georgia and Alabama "Loan Shark" cases

Following the plan of Minnesota, the states of Florida, Georgia and Alabama have sought and are seeking to abolish the "loan shark" evil—that is, salary buying and high rate lending, in some instances ranging from 300 percent to 1,000 percent. The American Federation of Labor joined with the officials of the state of Minnesota and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in court proceedings seeking to outlaw this business. In the past year cases similar to the Minnesota case were brought in the states of Florida and Georgia. The American Federation of Labor by its counsel appeared *amicus curiae* in the Florida case and in the Georgia case.

While the Florida case did not reach the merits but involved merely procedure, nevertheless the decision of the Florida court was favorable to the position taken by the State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

In the Georgia case the court held in favor of the "loan sharks" on a technicality, but not on its merits. The case is on appeal to the Supreme Court of Georgia and was argued in the month of September. The American Federation of Labor interposed a brief on the order of the Minnesota brief, *amicus curiae*, together with the Georgia State Federation of Labor and the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

The Attorney General of the state of Alabama has now under consideration the subject of commencing a proceeding in the State of Alabama against "loan

sharks." The Alabama State Federation of Labor has undertaken to join with him in the proceeding he proposes to bring. Our Counsel has been authorized to interpose a brief similar to the Minnesota brief in support of the program of the American Federation of Labor seeking to eliminate the "loan shark" evil. The legal procedure adopted in this drive to destroy the "loan shark" business is through application for court receiverships. It has proved most effective and successful.

Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company case

This case involves a Board decision invalidating a contract between the Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The Board also denied representation to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen although a majority of the employees were members of the union, and instead the Board certified a rival union. The decision of the Board was challenged by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the American Federation of Labor. The Board, without seeking enforcement of its order, undertook to enter into a stipulation with the employer by which it reversed itself on the subject of certification and reduced its back pay order in favor of the rival union to 10 percent of its former order. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen decided to challenge this proceeding in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. After these proceedings were pending for some time the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen agreed to withdraw its suit providing the Board would agree to certain terms and conditions, chief of which was a prompt election. The Board agreed to do so, whereupon the proceedings in court were withdrawn. An election was held in the month of September of this year between the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the rival union. The election forcefully sustained the position of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. With over a thousand employees voting, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen sustained a four to one victory over its rival.

This was a long and persistent fight, costly to the American Federation of Labor and to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. However, the principle involved was vital and precedent-making. It not only set aside an existing valid American Federation of Labor contract, but it certified a rival union after the majority had selected the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, without even ordering an election. The victory for the American Federation of Labor through the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen in this case lies in the fact that the Board was compelled to withdraw its certification of the C. I. O. and conduct an election in accordance with law.

Tennessee Copper Company

This case involves a decision of the Board wherein it set aside an election won by the American Federation of Labor federal labor union, because of alleged derogatory statements against a rival union by alleged supervisory employees of the plant. The American Federation of Labor sought to restrain the Board from conducting a second election, but the courts held that there was no authority in the law or power in the court to restrain the Board from holding a second election. In this second election involving approximately

nine hundred employes the rival union won out by a few votes. It is to the credit of the federal labor union that it persisted in its fight to be represented by the American Federation of Labor. The majority of the workers refused to abide by the ruling of the Board in the second election which they claim robbed them of their right to representation. After many months of travail and strikes called by the rival union the American Federation of Labor prevailed upon the Board to order a new election. This was held in the month of August of this year. The position of the American Federation of Labor union was overwhelmingly sustained in that it won over its rival by a five-to-one victory.

This case, similar to the *Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company* case, demonstrates that by persistent efforts to obtain justice, arbitrary decisions can in many instances be overcome.

Seagram-Labor Board case

This is an exceptionally important Labor Board case.

In the *Seagram* case the Labor Board attacked a closed shop contract entered into between the Seagram Company and the American Federation of Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers National Council covering all of the Seagram plants in the United States. The Board alleged that the company had assisted the Council to obtain its majority at the Calvert plant of the company, located at Baltimore, Maryland, in an effort to defeat the C. I. O. The trial of the case lasted two weeks. On October 4th the trial examiner issued his intermediate report in which he sustained the contract in its entirety, thus finding against the contentions of the C. I. O., and that the American Federation of Labor contract was valid and binding in every respect. He specifically upheld the right of the American Federation of Labor Distillery Workers Council to require the discharge of members engaging in dual unionism. This case is extremely important because an adverse decision would have destroyed the hard, strenuous efforts of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the distillery workers. It would have cancelled a national closed shop contract, of three years standing, covering thousands of distillery workers.

Numerous other legal matters were handled by the legal department. Upwards of three hundred opinions have been rendered to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates during the past year.

There are a number of other court cases which the legal department was assigned to assist and join with local counsel of our affiliates in presenting the issues to the courts. Briefs were prepared and oral argument made by our General Counsel in these various cases in various courts. However, decisions have not yet been handed down in them.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

The following detailed report shows that \$21,695,204.65 was paid by national and international labor organizations to their members in out-of-work, disability, pension, death, and sick benefits during the calendar year of 1939.

This vast sum of benefits paid, however, does not cover the total amount paid by all national and international organizations and local unions during the past year. It represents the amount paid by national and international organizations and other organized units which reported to the American Federation of Labor. Many local unions chartered by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and federal labor unions, chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, have established funds out of which benefits were paid locally. In addition strike benefits were paid by local organizations which do not appear in this report.

Therefore, it is apparent that the total amount set forth in this report of benefits paid to members of organized labor, does not represent the grand total and that several millions of dollars more paid by organizations not reporting, should be added thereto.

This report also shows 1,264,428 members working a five-day week. In addition the compilation discloses 760,545 members enjoying vacations with pay. We heartily endorse the efforts of American Federation of Labor organizations in their campaign to secure a five-day week and vacations with pay for their members and urge them to include provisions in their agreements wherever possible.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939

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Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America, Associated	NO	INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Anastasio Workers, International Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Heat and Frost Insulators and	NO	INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, Journeymen	54,360.20	222,230.46	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	128,530.36	47,626.60	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	6,950.00	47,626.60	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Billboard and Signs of America, International Alliance of	312,024.38	2,050.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	85,955.00	46,880.03	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Boat Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	23,550.00	7,000.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	8,250.00	7,000.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Boat and Shoe Workers' Union	222,478.53	7,000.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of	6,000.00	29,500.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America	106,717.19	106,717.19	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	1,000.00	2,600.00	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations with Pay	Vacation Period
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employees' Union, International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, North American International Woodworkers and Carpenters' Union, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United Cigar Makers' International Union, International Union of American Sash, Door and Window Workers, Circus, Carnival, Fair and Rodeo International Union	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID	PAID	183,650.00	5.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	200	350			
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of Leather Workers, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail	52,000.00 390,417.15 7,530.00	118,779.40					70,779.40 380,417.15 29,601.39	2,100 per yr. 30.00 per wk. 22.50 per wk. women	8 hours 8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 48 hrs., 8 days 56 hrs., 7 days	40,000	40,000		40,000 15 days	1 to 2 wks.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car Coopers, International Union of North American Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America, Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and	4,850.00 1,200.00 NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID	950.00	4,850.00 2,150.00 PAID	.85 per hr. 60.00 per wk. 50.00 per wk.	8 hours 7 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 35 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	2,000 275 2,500	2,000	2,100	200 275 2,500	1 week 10 days to 1 month

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	547,775.15			454,921.90			1,002,697.05	1.27 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	180,900	150,750	10,050	88,000	1 wk. to 10 days
Elevator Constructors, International Union of Engineers, International Union of Operating															
Engravers' Union, International Union of	229,316.05	46,417.25	938,534.63		4,058.23	41,442.75	1,259,768.91	1.77 per hr.	7½ hours	36½ hrs., 5 days	9,900	3,120	7,280	1,400	2 weeks
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo															
Fire Fighters, International Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID		2,000 per yr.	11 hours	77 hrs., 7 days				40,000	2 to 3 wks.
Firemen and Others, International Brotherhood of	20,550.00					2,500.00	23,050.00	.95 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	15,000	15,000	850	19,470	2 weeks
Garment Workers of America, United	33,500.00						33,500.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000				
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies' Association of	41,780.00						41,780.00	5.00 to 12.00 per day	6 and 8 hrs.	40 hrs., 5 days				10,000	1 to 2 wks.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of America and Canada	12,790.00						12,790.00	1.25 per hr. minimum	7 hours, 12 min.	36 hrs., 5 days	1,250				
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	4,815.00						4,815.00	37.28 wkly.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	5,375	18,407		814	
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint								25.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days				45	1 week
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID		16 per wk. women							
Government Employees, American Federation of		INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID			7½ hours	39½ hrs., 5½ days	5,000	5,000	16,700	21,700	21 1/6 days per mo.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	35,379.25						35,379.25	8.50 per day—monumental 9.00 per day—small	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,100	4,100	900		
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	5,470.00		10,634.00			8,792.00	24,896.00	.50—2.75 per hour	7 hrs., millinery 8 hrs., cap and men's hat	35 hrs., 5 days millinery 40 hrs., 5 days cap and men's hat	35,000	15,000	20,000		

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacation With Pay	Vacation Period
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union of America, International Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	88,700 00 NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS		PAID	88,700 00		8 hours 44 hrs., 3½ days					15	2 week
Jewelry Workers' Union International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	136,215 00			36,902 80		122,494 50	295,612 30		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days				125,000	2 weeks
Laundry Workers' International Union	36,685 71	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS		PAID	36,685 71	1.43 per hr.	7.7 hours	38.5 hrs., 5 days	8,100				
Leather Workers' International Union, United Leather Workers' National Association of	194,656 71	167,756 06					362,412 77	.55 per hr. 2,080 per yr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,000	1,500			15 days
Lithographers' International Federation of Rural Protective and Beneficial Association of United States and Canada	58,000 00	17,366 95	95,053 51	5,073 50		20,913 57	196,409 83	2,063 per yr. 42.00 per wk.	8½ hours	51 hrs., 6 days	12,668	12,668		5,067	1 week
Longshoremen's Association, International Association of	249,102 40	19,200 00	194,400 00	2,789 16	8,800 00	107,955 73	582,247 29	.96 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	160,000	160,000	30,000	65,000	1 wk. to 26 days
Maintenance of Way Employees' Association of Marble, Slate and Soapstone, Rubbers and Polishes, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Assn. of	266,896 94 3,700 00						266,896 94 3,700 00	.41—68 per 7.00 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	15,000	15,000		5,000	2 weeks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	2,538.00	745.50					3,283.50		8 hours	6 days				320	2 weeks
Master Mechanics and Foremen of the Navy and Marine Engineers, National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FTTS	PAID				8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	180	180		180	26 days
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	47,800.00					43,194.00	90,994.00	37.50 per wk.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days meat cutters 40 hrs., 5 days packing house		40,000	20,000	45,600	1 to 3 wks.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	40,950.00					4,650.00	45,600.00								
Mine Workers of America, International Union	115,000.00					10,000.00	125,000.00	6.75 per day	7 hours						
Miners Union of North America, American Federation of	211,201.30	75,592.50	114,836.70				401,620.50	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	31,230	31,230			
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	303,789.69	4542,466.17			9,025.00		903,129.46	1.09½ per hr.	7 hrs., 53½ minutes	39 hrs., 9 min.	107,968	65,338	42,630		
Pattern Makers' League of North America	19,277.15					4,539.00	23,816.15	.68 per hr.	6-8 hours	36-40 hrs.	23,000	24,000	6,000	8,000	1 week
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, O.	13,875.00	9,443.54			3,025.00	8,679.06	35,022.60	1.25 per hr.	7-8 hours	35-40 hours 5 days	7,500		800	4,000	1 to 2 wks.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	64,775.00					2,500.00	67,275.00	10.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	17,000	17,000	2,150		
Porterhouse and Novelty Workers Union, International Ladies Handbag	188,375.50	25,655.00				3,104.00	217,134.50	11.00 per day	6-8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000				
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	9,200.00		500.00				500.00	.50 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	5,000	5,000	650 ½ to 1 week	
						5,260.00	14,460.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	6,600	6,600	700	4,000	1 to 2 wks.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		1,600 per yr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,500	1,500		1,500	15 days
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United States and Canada, International Union of North America, International Plate	25,241.67	6,162.56					31,404.23	.62½ per hr.	8 hours						
Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		45.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	748		374	550	30 days
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	\$31,149.90	47,151.25	\$135,065.55	\$211,375.75	\$42,807.33	2,256.00	789,808.78	Book, magazine and job pressmen 38.84 per wk. 38.84 hours; assistants per wk. 45.16 Day 7½ hours pressmen per week 48.58 Night pressmen p r .80 per hr.	8 hrs. commercial newspaper Day 7½ to 8 hours Night 7 to 7½ hours	36 to 40 hours, 5 days					
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of						10,600.00	10,600.00	8 hours	8 hours	40—48 hours		40,000		30,000	1 week
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	\$779,096.55	\$78,600.61		\$340,637.50	2,400.00	4,535.00	1,295,269.66							85,000	1 to 3 wks.
Railway Mail Association	36,584.34				136,871.50	1,503.00	174,958.84	2,447 per yr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	22,262	22,262		22,523	15 days
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United States, Tile and Composition	3,600.00						3,600.00	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7,000	7,000	800		
Sedgwick International Union of North America	\$15,958.10					300.00	16,258.10								

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Sheep Shearers Union of North America	565.00			7,100.00		430.00	3,065.00		8 hours						
Siderographers, International Association of															
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		35-40 per week	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days					
Spinners Union, International															
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada															
Associates of Theatrical State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID									
Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America, International	4121,566.45	117,849.28	298,316.16	49,150.00	3,500.00	5,210.07	455,591.96			40 hrs., 5 days	6,300	18,000	29,000	1 to 3 wks.	
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	12,700.00						12,700.00	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days				200	1 week
Slove Mounters' International Union of North America	11,325.00					2,364.50	13,689.50	80½-90 per hr.	7 hours	30½ hours	3,000	5,000		800	1 week
Teachers, American Federation of	187,450.00				12,325.00	9,350.00	209,125.00	7.06 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	30,000				
Teachers, Chauffeurs, Stabmen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID									
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	206,123.65	2,081.00					208,204.65	.75 per hr.	8 hours					5,920	2 weeks
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial	1,750.00						1,750.00								
Textile Workers of America	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID									
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2,600.00	30,620.00					33,220.00	.65 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	16,810	16,810		16,000	1 to 2 wks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1939.—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Upholsterers' International Union of North America						25,000.00	25,000.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	15,200	15,200	800	5,000	1 week
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Paperhangers of North America, United	11,500.00						11,500.00	1.20 per hr. unskilled	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,000	4,000		3,500	1 to 2 wks.
Weavers' Protective Association, American	700.00	270.00				953.00	1,923.00	40.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	300	300			
Wire Brotherhood Locomotive	1,695,788.87				111,230.18	160,464.95	1,967,510.00								
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,280,887.54			398,390.13	52,375.90	649,323.84	2,389,680.41								
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	2,025,801.42	127,115.00		288.60	719,626.28	45,344.67	2,918,145.97		7-8 hours					700	1 week
Order of Railway Conductors of America	776,859.25				4,000.00	147,084.82	927,944.07	7.00-7.64 per day	8 hours						
Total	12,628,509.75	1,519,559.16	1,815,783.70	2,073,326.53	1,766,064.48	1,591,961.03	21,695,204.05				1,294,428	1,085,901	249,032	760,545	

† Includes disability benefits

‡ Includes old age benefits

§ Includes local union benefits

|| Paid by local unions

¶ Includes sick benefits

* Includes unemployment benefits

Recapitulation:

Death Benefits

Sick Benefits

Unemployment Benefits

Old Age Benefits

Disability Benefits

Miscellaneous

Total

\$12,628,509.75

1,519,559.16

1,815,783.70

2,073,326.53

1,766,064.48

1,591,961.03

\$21,695,204.05

WAR IN EUROPE

Europe is now an armed camp. At the end of the World War the Treaty of Versailles set up a League of Nations and the International Labor Office to provide an agency to deal with problems arising out of international relations and to set standards of human welfare as the minimum for associated nations. In addition the World Court was available for issues involving international law. Definite progress toward the standards and practices of democracy was notable in the internal affairs of many nations. There were backward areas; economic pressures were more drastic in some countries than in others; punitive provisions of the Treaty provided a fertile soil for cultivation of desire for vengeance and national vindication. This situation together with the serious economic difficulties which beset different groups in earning their living, facilitated the development of totalitarian states, and strengthened the trend toward national self-dependence and spheres of influence, blocking the restoration of foreign trade and free world markets.

The revolutionary movement to displace existing social and economic organization began in Russia led by a small group of communists who believed that revolutionary ends justified force and included ethical standards and religious institutions in the social order they hoped to destroy. They denied tolerance to any opposing point of view. Such a revolution of destruction has no common ground with a democratic nation and makes impossible any basis for international relations and confidence. Under a democracy tolerance of individual beliefs grows from realization of the value of human life and assurance of equal opportunity to all. Constructive relations between democratic nations and nations seeking to destroy what gives value to a democratic way of life, are impossible. Italy was the second country to set up a totalitarian government. Mussolini inaugurated an imperialistic campaign to restore the glory of the Roman Empire. In the Far East Japan invaded China in defiance of guarantees under the treaty signed by the nine powers. As the League of Nations took no steps against this aggression, Italy was emboldened to initiate its campaign as symbolized by the conquest of Ethiopia. The League of Nations proved itself powerless for action against aggression. In Germany, by mobilizing all elements of discontent, Hitler was elected to the chancellorship which he converted into a dictatorship and organized a totalitarian state, crushing out free trade unions and all other agencies of democracy. The objective of the new economy in Germany was rearmament and expansion of Germany by force.

The urge of the communist revolutionaries to carry their doctrines into all parts of the world, lead to the development of revolutionary centers in many countries as the basis for information and intervention in national groups and issues in efforts to secure control for communists. Direction and control of such foreign centers has been under control of the central agency called the Ogpu. The Nazi Party built up similar machinery served by the Gestapo as its "intelligence service." The obvious working alliance between Moscow and Berlin, as manifest in the Spanish War, in the cooperation between the Ogpu

and the Gestapo, became formal and public in the Treaty of Alliance between Russia and Germany announced with the attack on Poland last fall.

With the successive attacks on Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway and Holland, the overpowering of Belgium and France, there was no mistaking the fact that revolution stalked in Europe and threatened the whole world. When Italy formally entered the war against England and France the Rome-Berlin Axis broadened its cooperation from a political to a military alliance. Japanese aggression threatens colonial possessions in the Orient of countries at war, and Japan has reorganized its state and society on a totalitarian basis. Russia while not actually on a war basis stands ready to spring its half-civilized millions into the balances. The full force of the revolution of destruction has been turned against Great Britain in the Battle of Britain. The fate of this last democratic nation of Europe is of importance to every other democratic country throughout the world. If Great Britain wins the Battle of Britain, democracy wins. If Great Britain is defeated, then America and democracy are increasingly menaced and our peaceful pursuit of life is seriously threatened. The threat of war will be brought nearer to our homeland as well as to our homes.

So long as Great Britain successfully resists the attack being made upon her, as she is now doing, we in America can feel reasonably safe. The Atlantic Ocean and Great Britain stand as a barrier of protection to America.

It is quite logical and sound, therefore, that we in America would manifest a deep interest in the Battle of Britain. She stands as the last outpost in the Old World in defense of democracy and the democratic form of government. Figuratively speaking, she stands as the first line of defense against totalitarian aggression in the Western Hemisphere. We hope and pray Great Britain will win. Our sympathies go out to her people, the men and women who make up the British Trade Union Congress, and to all who are fighting a heroic battle against tremendous odds. We favor the extension of all help and assistance possible to Great Britain in her hour of need, on the part of our Government, short of war itself.

While we cannot settle the problems of Europe or guarantee any settlement that may be made, we cannot escape the consequences of what is happening in Europe or repercussions upon our political and economic institutions and habits. Nor can we put up barriers to keep out the propaganda and fifth line activity of the revolutionary machines of Germany and Russia, or the revolutionary forces accompanying commercial relations. No pledge, agreement or treaty has binding power greater than the convenience of a dictatorship or a value more important than totalitarian opportunity. There is no basis for relationships based on mutual confidence and trust. Since there is no possibility of mutually advantageous relations between democratic nations and the totalitarian nations, we have no choice but to prepare to defend our ideals and our principles.

Whichever way the Battle of Britain may be decided, the democratic countries of the New World must be prepared to defend the New World against invasion and conquest. The United States has a responsibility in this crisis not only for defense but for leading in the development of machinery for

international cooperation and the marketing of agricultural and industrial output in support of democratic ideals. The Pan-American Union has already been expanding to meet some of the needs of the emergency and is capable of indefinite expansion and adaptation. Our problem is to develop international cooperation on a democratic basis and without imperialistic tendencies or denial of equal opportunity to any. Collective economic action must be directed toward producing the material means for increasing standards of living for all and to directing collective trading for mutual advantage and protecting individual countries against yielding to totalitarian control because of economic necessity. The credit structure of no country can maintain production without markets. Protection for individual countries in the New World lies in collective action of all in the hemisphere.

After War—Conferences and Peace Terms

Though we are in no way directly responsible for the present European war, we cannot escape its complications or its consequences. It is not within our province to attempt to fix final responsibility or to allocate blame, but we are concerned with understanding contributing forces so that the world may be spared recurrence of present slaughter of human beings, with its relapse into barbarism and its waste of all that brings satisfaction in living. Confronted with this widespread menace to the principles that underlie our democratic way of life and forced into policies of military preparedness which are repugnant to us and which mean huge expenditures on defense and perversion of our production program from the needs of peace, American Labor feels the need of assurance that in our struggle to perform the duties expected of us and make the necessary sacrifices, we shall be contributing to the defense and the maintenance of those ideals of human freedom and principles of democratic living in search of which this country was colonized and which have continued to guide and control its progress. Though we cannot see the intermediate steps, nevertheless we maintain that after warfare must come planning for peace and a civilized way of life with opportunity to all people for pursuit of happiness and progress. The only way to assure these ends is to devise the world machinery for handling relations and problems arising between countries so that causes of wars may be averted and constructive plans and agencies for progress for all countries may be devised. When world conferences are held to consider international problems and agencies, Labor from all countries must be represented in the councils, for plans and provisions for Labor's security and progress will assure opportunities to the masses of all countries. We realize that we face the end of an old era which dates from the development of a free constitutional government in the United States and the revolution in France creating the first republic, and that we cannot pass through this world war period without bearing the modifying consequences of the experience. We must face new responsibilities in the Western Hemisphere and new relationships with the Old World, but we hope for the courage and the wisdom to help join with men and countries of good will so that technical progress may contribute to higher standards of living and

freedom from the material burdens of existence, so that men and women shall be free to consider progress in intellectual and spiritual living and improving our knowledge and practice of the duties of citizenship. Labor wants to help put the achievements of human intelligence and endeavor at the service of mankind.

Effects of the War on Free Trade Unions in Europe

During the past year since the American Federation of Labor met in convention in 1939 we have witnessed the constantly increasing destruction of free trade unions in continental Europe by the successful aggression of Germany, Russia and Italy against their smaller and weaker neighbors. Although there is no detailed information available about the fate of free trade unions in these conquered countries we know that they cannot exist for long in the lands ruled by the Nazi, Communist and Fascist dictators. We know that the destruction of a free labor movement is an inevitable corollary of a ruthless, aggressive war economy.

The trade union, the cooperative and in general the worker's movements and worker's conditions of life were advancing steadily up to the onset of the world depression. But early in the 1930's a military group, taking advantage of the popular discontent arising out of widespread unemployment, seized control in Japan. In Germany the Nazi Party took advantage of the economic depression to work their way into power even though they were never able to obtain a majority of votes in a free election. The domestic policy of the Nazis has been one of opportunism designed to serve the ultimate objective of territorial expansion by force.

Since free trade unions the world over have been opposed to militarism and territorial aggression, the Nazi Party first suppressed the trade unions and the labor movement within Germany itself. The funds and property of the unions, including schools and vacation homes, were seized; union officials were placed in concentration camps and subjected to torture and in many cases to death. Freedom of association and assembly was abolished and hours of work were greatly lengthened.

Workers were compelled to join a new organization known as the "Labor Front," whose "leaders" were appointed by the dictator without consultation of the workers. Having destroyed Labor's freedom and rights, the Nazis were free to change the German economic organization from a peace time basis to a war time basis. Under this system the entire civil population was organized to support a war machine that is directed to prey upon other nations and peoples with the open use of personal torture and collective terrorism.

While the democratic countries of Europe were preoccupied with problems of security and social welfare, the Nazi military machine was growing rapidly. Assisted by cleverly devised propaganda and carefully organized "fifth columns" it soon began to strike down its victims. Austria in 1938 was seized by a lightning move and free trade unions in Austria met the fate of the labor movement in Germany. Not only were trade union and social democratic leaders tortured and in some cases murdered, but the great achieve-

ments of the labor movement in Austria, and particularly Vienna, for improving the housing and health of workers were swept away and the methods of dictatorship substituted.

Later in the same year came the attack on Czechoslovakia—a country in which greater advances had been made in democracy and free labor unions than in any of the states created in 1919. The workers of Czechoslovakia were prepared to fight to retain their freedom, but the larger democratic countries were still inadequately prepared and Czechoslovakia was sacrificed with disastrous results to the free trade unions and all democratic institutions.

After Czechoslovakia came Poland. The workers' movement had already been subjected to some restrictions, but was still a powerful movement of nearly a million members and the Polish workers wholeheartedly supported resistance to the Nazi aggression. Poland has been treated with greater ruthlessness than any of the territories conquered by the dictators. It has been subjected to the tyrannies of both Germany and Russia. Workers have been forcibly moved from place to place, often far into Germany or Russia, separated from their families, deprived of all rights and reduced to the status of slave labor.

Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg, Holland and Belgium then fell in rapid succession. France collapsed and the Swastika was carried as far as the Pyrenees. The exact position of the workers in those territories which have been overrun by the dictators is difficult to ascertain. However, it is merely a question of time before the totalitarian aggressors administer these countries as conquered territories and impose upon them the degradation and oppression to which workers in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have already been subjected.

The typical method of such civilian oppression proceeds according to a regular well thought out pattern. The German troops are followed by squads of political police—specialists trained in the art of "internal pacification." Symbolically clothed in black uniforms and free of all restrictions, the agents of the Gestapo usurp in the conquered territories, as they did in Germany the functions of police, prosecutor, judge, and executioner at one and the same time. The free trade union headquarters are surrounded and occupied, their bank funds and liquid assets seized. Union leaders are arrested on trumped-up charges, placed in concentration camps and many of them executed.

With their leaders arrested and reduced to silence, their publications suspended, and their headquarters confiscated by the enemy, the workers are without defense. For them social legislation and individual rights have ceased to be a reality. Established law gives way to "the authority of occupation" which regulates according to its will hours of work, wages, prices, food rations and the curfew. To the bitterness of defeat is added in full measure the humiliation of slavery.

France is suffering from the invader's control over the greater part of her territory. Even in the non-occupied area, the workers have been forced to renounce their rights, and the General Confederation of Labor has been compelled to revise its status and deprive itself of the influence which it has

exercised during the past half-century. Longer work weeks have been established and overtime compensation abolished. Labor unions and employers' organizations are quickly being replaced by committees chosen by and under government control.

Aside from Switzerland, Finland, Yugoslavia, and Sweden, where free trade unions exist precariously, the British Isles represent the only European area in which free trade unions and labor movements survive today. The contrast between the situation in Great Britain and that on the European continent is a striking one. It shows that where the workers' representatives share in the government of the country and where free trade unions play an active part in war organization against aggression, the national defense is rendered infinitely stronger. It proves that the unity and determination and accomplishment of the British people since the invasion of the low countries has been due in large part to the confidence created by the full partnership of labor representation in the development and operation of the defense program. Democratic procedure in Great Britain has successfully mobilized the minds and wills of free citizens, making them an integral part and equally responsible with their government.

DEFENSE

National Aspects

Preparedness for defense is a huge undertaking that requires from two to four years time. National defense requires the organization, housing and development of new industries, the construction of the equipment for defense, ordnance, the manufacture of aircraft, building of ships and destroyers in adequate quantities, and the training of men in military discipline, and in the use of mechanized munitions. Preparedness for national defense must be a deliberate national policy, planned and executed in full consciousness of its importance, its gravity and its costs in financial and social terms. Decision upon responsibility for defense service is another problem for fundamental consideration and careful determination. Never before has the United States been faced with necessity of deciding military policies and undertaking a munitions program except under war conditions. Our task was in the beginning complicated by the fear that the presidential campaign might confuse defense issues with the personal programs of candidates. Prudence and good judgment did not permit us to delay decision upon such matters as draft, taxation to pay for defense, financing of war industries, labor representation and work conditions for the workers in these industries, etc. Our decisions should be made in the light of all the facts, guided solely by the best interests of the citizens of this country and the preservation of the ideals and institutions that have made this a land of opportunity. Labor is willing and eager to serve this nation, for it is the land where democracy and a free labor movement still exist. We have a reverence for our institutions and their possibilities and we want our efforts and service to be used for their extension and preservation. We want every safeguard against transforming our democracy into a dictatorship in order to defeat the machinations of dictators,

but in so doing we do not want to destroy the soul of what we would defend. Therefore, Labor maintains that our defense program and policies whether technically during peace or war should comply with these fundamental principles:

- (1) Majority rule—decision to declare war to rest with Congress as the representative of the whole people.
- (2) Defense program in the hands of representatives of functional groups technically qualified to assume responsibility for various parts of the program and headed by a civilian administrator.
- (3) Labor should have representation on all defense agencies dealing with matters affecting Labor's welfare. Representation means selection by the group concerned.
- (4) Administration should be centralized for planning and decision on principles but decentralized for execution under responsible representatives.
- (5) Equal representation for employes and employers on advisory groups connected with employment control.

When the defense program shifts into war conditions these additional principles become imperative:

- a. Universal obligation to service for defense—industrial or military—under the above democratic conditions.
- b. Labor should have representation on all policy-making and administrative agencies and draft boards.
- c. Labor standards and other provisions for social welfare must be maintained under emergency conditions as essential to efficient production as well as national morale.

Only by maintaining the right of functional groups to representation for participation in policy decisions and administration even if only in an advisory capacity—can we hope to preserve the democratic way of life while we defend our right to it.

Due to the changes following the revolution in Europe, the United States cannot count upon help from any like-minded nation in our time of need. We must not only be ready to take care of our own Nation but we must be ready to help the other nations of the Western Hemisphere. The methods of total warfare require provisions for total defense. What was adequate defense under old conditions is not adequate now and for a condition of isolation. Under our neutrality legislation credit cannot be extended to belligerent nations, neither can our boats continue to ship to their ports. This legislation has been a protection against our becoming involved in the war by incidents growing out of normal trade and travel relations.

A committee to study and make recommendations on the administration of our defense program was appointed by the President last fall. Due to the fact that this committee contained no Labor representative, Labor was deeply resentful of such procedure in launching the defense program. This committee reported to the President who did not make their report public.

The radio address of the President of the United States on May 26 described vividly the inadequacy of our defense provisions to meet existing perils and changed conditions.

Congress began making appropriations for defense. The President de-

clared a state of "semi-emergency" to exist at the outbreak of the war last September and executive orders have been issued under the Neutrality Act with regard to trade and financial relations. But to carry forward the defense program and to plan for adequate defense, administrative agencies, separate from existing governmental agencies, were needed. Difficulties developed due to the fact that never before had we undertaken a defense program when at peace and with a public determination not to become involved in the war overseas.

From our experiences in the World War and progress in establishing the principle of representation during this Administration, Labor has a right to expect adequate representation in the formulation of basic principles and in the administrative agencies making defense plans operative. Labor has a right to participate in all emergency controls over employment, such as the selection and allocation of workers to defense or to normal occupations, as well as in the selection of men for military training and service as balanced against civilian needs. Labor participation is necessary to perfect operation efficiency for industries and nation, and at the same time to conserve the welfare of Labor and maintain the democratic practice of equal opportunity for progress.

Defense Administration

The law of 1916, Chap. 418, 39 Stat. 649, provides for a Council of National Defense and an Advisory Commission. The Council is the executive body to coordinate industries and resources for national security and welfare and is composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor. The President appoints a commission advisory to the Council of not more than seven persons selected for special knowledge of some industry, utility or national resource. In the present set-up for defense the Council has been submerged and the Commission made the administrative agency, thus providing non-political control. The Commission consists of the following:

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., advisor on industrial production.
William S. Knudsen, advisor on industrial material.
Sydney Hillman, advisor on employment.
Chester C. Davis, advisor on farm products.
Ralph Budd, advisor on transportation.
Leon Henderson, advisor on price stabilization.
Harriet Elliott, advisor on consumer protection.
Robert W. Horton, Division of Public Relations.
William H. McReynolds, secretary.

The representative of Labor on the Commission, appointed on his Labor Policy Advisory Committee, the following from the American Federation of Labor: Harry C. Bates, president of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America; George Masterton, president, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; George Q. Lynch, president, Pattern Makers League of North America;

Harvey W. Brown, president, International Association of Machinists; John P. Coyne, president, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor; Charles J. McGowan, vice-president, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America; Dan W. Tracy, former president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The labor representative has as an advisory aide on training, Owen D. Young, chairman of a committee on which are the following drawn from the American Federation of Labor: M. J. Collieran, president, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; E. C. Davison, secretary, International Association of Machinists; M. H. Hedges, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The labor representative also has a Coordinating Committee on Labor Supply consisting of the following persons from the Government: Committee on Apprenticeship, Mrs. Clara Beyer; Civil Service Commission, Arthur F. Flemming; Civilian Conservation Corps, James J. McEntee; Office of Education, John Studebaker; Federal Security Agency, Will Alexander and Percy B. McCoy; Bureau of Labor Statistics, Isador Lubin; National Youth Administration, Aubrey Williams; Social Security Board, Arthur J. Altmeyer; War and Navy Departments, Frank McSherry; Works Progress Administration, Fred R. Rauch.

For administrative purposes the labor representation has a division on labor relations, a division on labor requirements and employment standards and a division on labor supply.

Labor Policy—The American Federation of Labor feels that grave injustice was done to its membership and to the principle of representation when the most representative organization of workers within this country was not given representation on the Defense Commission and the organization was not asked to name representatives to the committee advisory to the labor member of the Commission. The least that can be done to right this injustice is to make this principle and rule the guide in reorganization of the defense agencies. The functions of the present agency are primarily those of procurement but there are larger responsibilities for planning and for coordination of plans with the future needs of the nation which should be undertaken shortly. Also the time may be near when the defense agency may need executive authority and mandatory power. When those are provided, full representation for Labor in all activities affecting the welfare of the workers should be included.

The National Advisory Defense Commission adopted the following labor policy:

Primary among the objectives of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense is the increase in production of materials required by our armed forces and the assurance of adequate future supply of such materials with the least possible disturbance to production of supplies for the civilian population. The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man power.

This program can be used in the public interest as a vehicle to re-

duce unemployment and otherwise strengthen the human fibre of our nation. In the selection of plant locations for new production, in the interest of national defense, great weight must be given to this factor.

In order that surplus and unemployed labor may be absorbed in the defense program, all reasonable efforts should be made to avoid hours in excess of 40 per week. However, in emergencies or where the needs of national defense cannot otherwise be met, exception to this standard should be permitted. When the requirements of the defense program make it necessary to work in excess of these hours, or where work is required on Saturdays, Sundays, or holidays, overtime should be paid in accordance with the local recognized practices. All work carried on as part of the defense program should comply with Federal statutory provisions affecting labor (wherever such provisions are applicable. This applies to the Walsh-Healey Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, etc.). There should also be compliance with state and local statutes affecting labor relations, hours of work, wages, workmen's compensation, safety, sanitation, etc.

Adequate provision should be made for the health and safety of employees.

As far as possible the local employment office or other agencies designated by the United States Employment Service should be utilized.

Workers should not be discriminated against because of age, sex, race or color.

Adequate housing facilities should be made available for employees.

The Commission reaffirms the principles enunciated by the Chief of Ordnance of the United States Army, during the first World War, in his order of November 15, 1917, relative to the relation of labor standards to efficient production:

In view of the urgent necessity for a prompt increase in the volume of production * * * vigilance is demanded of all those in any way associated with industry lest the safeguards with which the people of this country have sought to protect Labor should be unwisely and unnecessarily broken down. It is a fair assumption that for the most part these safeguards are the mechanisms of efficiency. Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production, * * * every attempt should be made to conserve in every way possible all of our achievements in the way of social betterment. But the pressing argument for maintaining industrial safeguards in the present emergency is that they actually contribute to efficiency.

There should be no retreat from insistence upon maintenance of social gains and progress, and the maintenance of the right to collective bargaining whether the employer is a private individual or the Government. Nothing is easier than to shift from a democratic organization and control to bureaucratic domination and absolutism. Such a shift often occurs under normal conditions and it is facilitated by stress of war emergency. Labor must help maintain the principle of representation, standards of human welfare and the right to contract.

Defense—Continental Aspects

Modern warfare calls for complete modern defense. Single nations relying upon their own resources are powerless to protect themselves against the

Hitler aggressions. Countries of South America by language and custom and the necessities of trade have been more closely tied to European countries than with North America. Trade and markets are the foundations upon which industrial and social activities are organized. Agricultural products from South American countries are very similar to those from the United States and therefore are not a basis for exchange. Progress in industrial expansions has been very unequal, so this does not provide a basis for interchange.

Over a period of years there has been developing under the Pan-American Union agencies and procedures for dealing with the common problems of Pan-American countries. This Union has included countries south of the Canadian border. Canada has followed a policy of non-affiliation. In the immediate past substantial progress has been made in developing consciousness of the interrelations in the economic and political problems of the Pan-American countries and at the Lima, Panama and Havana conferences in the establishment of joint committees for defense, for economic stability as well as for the promotion of cultural relations.

Defense is recognized as mutual need and undertaking. The zone prohibited to belligerent vessels is the 300-mile limit around the east and west coasts, and responsibility for cooperation for mutual protection and defense was fully recognized and accepted. The dangers of aggression by totalitarian countries by means of trade relationships is imminent and can be countered only by providing new markets or safeguarding present relationships. Our Export-Import Bank meets some of the more urgent needs for credit in South American countries shut off from customary markets, while the organization of an inter-American bank is in the hands of a Pan-American committee. Plans for the marketing of the products of the various countries are in the formulative stages. The first steps in our common defensive program were made by President Roosevelt in negotiating with Great Britain for naval bases and in the cooperative agreement with Canada for protection of Canadian land. Already the Axis is striving for airplane stations on the west coast of Africa, directly across from Brazil. Under the drive of fear and common danger Pan-American cooperation is moving ahead. There are two possible trends—Pan-American imperialism or Pan-American cooperation on the democratic basis of joint consultation and participation. But within our own Government, our State Department and the Office of our Chief Executive, there must be realization that the ideals and procedures of democracy apply to international relations as well as to domestic and understanding of how it is done. Executives and career persons with visions of grandeur and empire for their country may completely ignore democratic procedure in their desire for results. We have no choice but to insist upon the principles of democracy in our foreign relations if we wish to enjoy democracy within our own borders. If we attempt to impose our policies upon Western Hemisphere countries instead of administering policies determined by mutual consent, we shall build up a defense that will defeat our fundamental objective. To insure development along democratic principles, there must be in addition to political cooperation joint relations between the various basic functional groups that make up so-

ciety generally. The American Federation of Labor is concerned for the development of contacts and intercourse between the labor movements of the countries constituting the Pan-American Union. The labor relationship should be through the political channels supplemented by non-political labor channels.

There is in the Pan-American Union a division on labor which is a clearing center for information. Labor representation was provided in the important Lima conference. In addition, the International Labor Organization, functioning internationally, has sponsored two labor conferences in the Western Hemisphere—one in Santiago and one in Havana. These conferences were concerned with basic labor problems essential to higher standards of living for the workers of all countries and fixing a basis for international trade ruling out advantages to any country from low labor standards.

Dues Exemption for Members of Local Unions Called for War Service

The Executive Council is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor is under obligation to assist, help and protect members of directly chartered local trade and federal labor unions who may be selected under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 to engage in the service of our country. For that reason the Executive Council recommends that the membership of directly chartered local trade and federal labor unions who may be drafted into the military service of the nation be exempt from the payment of all local dues and per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor while engaged in such military service. This is one helpful service, which the American Federation of Labor can render its membership. It will help very much those who are called into the service of our country in all the sacrifices which they will be called upon to make as American citizens.

In instances where local trade and federal labor unions provide death benefits, sick benefits or insurance of any kind, arrangements must be made by the individual himself to meet premium payments in order to maintain his rights to participate in these sick, death, or insurance benefits.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

The boycott of German products previously declared by the American Federation of Labor represents our conviction that policies of racial persecution, personal cruelty, reversion to absolutism on the part of the Nazi Government represent a philosophy and a course of action with which we can have nothing in common and any commercial relationship with that government would involve compromise for which there is no justification.

Although the existing blockade prevents our actively practicing a boycott of German goods and German services, under Nazi influence and control, we still wish to register our horror and disapproval as unchanged and to express hope that the revolting evils which we refuse to condone shall be abolished as a basis for restoration of normal relations with other nations.

JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA

Ever since Japan launched its undeclared war on China the sympathy of all fair-minded people has gone out to the nation-victim of the aggression. The Chinese people have one of our oldest civilizations and they are a peace-loving nation, yet the destruction of their property, lives and hopes continues. Although our laws prohibit our giving material aid to China, we have made loans through the Export-Import Bank and have prohibited the sale of iron and steel scrap to Japan. Although Japan has undertaken to order us and other nationals out of international areas, the United States has refused to accede to the demand. Under the brunt of the Nazi attack on Great Britain that country agreed to Japan's demand for the closing of the Burma Road—China's chief avenue for bringing in defense supplies. The road is ordered reopened on October 17, but Japan still threatens colonial possessions in the East Indies.

The United States proposes to stand for the rights of non-aggressor countries and refuses to admit any justification of Japan's demand. Japan having formally allied itself with the Axis powers may presumably have a fairly free hand in the East. The serious world situation should not be allowed to become the opportunity for aggressor nations to extend the boundaries of non-democratic authority.

American Labor hopes this country will continue to oppose aggression against China and that the Burma Road will be kept as an open highway, so that China may have this avenue available for bringing in the materials for defense.

The effective way in which every individual member of the American Federation of Labor can help China as against Japan is to refuse to buy products made in Japan. A general boycott of Japanese goods would weaken the economic resources of Japan already imperilled by heavy taxation. Japan by allying herself with the totalitarian Axis, has created additional obstacles to friendly relations with democratic nations.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

All of the international organizations of workers have been drastically affected by the war. The International Federation of Trade Unions, the largest international organization of workers, had a membership in July, 1939, of approximately 21,000,000. This was in spite of the heavy losses resulting from the disappearance of free trade unions in Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain and Czechoslovakia. By the beginning of January this number had dropped to about 14,000,000 although the rigid Nazi censorship makes it impossible to secure accurate information as to the reduction of free trade union members since the beginning of the year, it is obvious that membership has suffered further heavy losses. Many of the free trade union movements in the twenty-six countries which were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions in January, 1940, have ceased to function altogether. In the countries where free trade unions still exist on paper but which are under German

domination, these unions cannot play any part in the international field since communication with other countries is impossible.

Of the continental European countries that were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Poland can no longer be considered as active elements in the Federation. The free trade unions in the Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia—are now under Russian control by virtue of the incorporation of those states in the Soviet Union. The complete destruction of the free trade unions in those countries was accomplished in another manner than that applied by Hitler, but the result is the same—the complete negation of all democratic principles and ideals.

The free trade union movement still exists in a few European countries, notably Great Britain. The spirit still lives although under increasing threat of domination from the totalitarian powers in Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. However, the International Federation of Trade Unions still counts among its members in the non-European countries, the American Federation of Labor, and the free trade union movements of the Argentine, Australia, Canada, China, Chili, Mexico, and New Zealand.

The Bulletin of the International Federation of Trade Unions, for many years published in Paris, France, was still issued regularly from that city during the first months of the present year. Its weekly reports gave constantly graver warning of the ominous danger threatening the free trade unions in Europe from the march of the dictatorships. It recorded the oppression of Austrian workers under the Nazi war regime, the bitter fate of the Czechoslovakian workers following Munich, and the terrorist regime of the Nazis and Russians in Poland. A report on conditions in Poland printed in the Bulletin of the International Federation for March 20, 1940, states that "the Nazi and Russian regimes are spreading misery and terror throughout the country." "Numbers of Polish workers have been deported to the Reich in order to work as forced laborers." "The Soviet police have taken to unknown destinations in Russia the leaders and officials of the dissolved free trade unions and the labor organizations of all kinds." "The whole of civilized humanity is at one with the International Federation of Trade Unions in its energetic protest against the abominable behavior of Poland's two barbarian oppressors."

This situation attests the validity of the action taken by the American Federation of Labor when it notified its delegate of its unqualified opposition to the admission of the Soviet Trade Unions at the Eighth International Trades Union Congress in Zurich, Switzerland, July 1939, with the result that the Congress voted down the proposal to extend an invitation to the Soviet unions to affiliate and adopted the proposal of the American Federation of Labor delegate to discontinue relations with the Soviet trade union movement.

Despite the growing difficulties, a meeting of the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions was held in Paris on March 14 and 15, with Walter L. Citrine of Great Britain in the chair. One of the most important matters before the Executive was the election of a sixth vice-president

of the I. F. T. U. It will be recalled that the I. F. T. U. Congress held in Zurich, Switzerland, in July, 1939, had decided to increase the number of vice-presidents from five to six in order to allow affiliated overseas countries to be represented on the Executive. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was elected sixth vice-president of the International Federation of Trade Unions at this meeting.

The Executive of the International Federation is now composed as follows: President, Walter L. Citrine of Great Britain; Vice-Presidents, J. Bondas of Belgium, William Green of the United States, Laurits Hansen of Denmark, Leon Jouhaux of France, E. Kupers of the Netherlands, M. Meister of Switzerland, and W. Schevenels of Belgium as General Secretary.

A second meeting of the Executive was held in Paris in the early part of May. No record of that meeting is available because the "blitzkrieg" against the low countries and France had started. At its March meeting the Executive had decided to convene a meeting of the International Federation's General Council for June 17 and 18. As France had by this time collapsed and the greater part of Europe had been overrun by the Nazis and Communists, no meeting could be held.

With the major part of Europe under the domination of the dictatorships, no democratic organization of free trade unions like the International Federation of Trade Unions can exist there. Restoration of the International Federation to its former strength and influence is dependent on the outcome of the present struggle between democratic civilization and totalitarian savagery.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Despite the European war, the American Federation of Labor has continued its active participation in the work of the International Labor Organization. In accordance with the decision of its Governing Body, the International Labor Organization carried on its work as long as possible at its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. This decision had the full support of the member countries and of the worker and employer representatives. The Organization has continued the regular work as far as possible, and in view of existing conditions special attention has been given to social problems in wartime and to the solution of labor problems which will arise in the post-war period. Ratifications of I. L. O. Conventions has progressed, and the International Labor Office, which is the Secretariat of the Organization and a world research center on labor and industrial problems, has carried on with its investigations, technical consultations, and the publication of its reports.

In November-December 1939 the Second Regional Conference of American States conducted by the International Labor Organization was held in Havana, Cuba. The American Federation of Labor was represented at this conference by George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with Miss Rose Schneiderman, of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, as adviser. Robert J. Watt attended the conference as the workers' delegate representing the Governing Body. The conference unan-

imously adopted the Declaration of Havana which contains the following statement:

The representatives of the governments, employers and work people of the American Continent:

PLEDGE the unwavering support of the governments and peoples of the American Continent for the continuance with unimpaired vigor of the efforts of the International Labor Organization to accomplish its high purpose of achieving social justice; and

PROCLAIM their unshaken faith in the promotion of international cooperation and in the imperative need for achieving international peace and security by the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and the scrupulous respect for treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another.

During the two-week session the conference concentrated on the three problems of particular interest and importance to American countries, namely: the administration and operation of social insurance and how best to extend its benefits to agricultural workers; devising ways and means to improve the conditions under which women and children are employed, and how best to deal with the problems of migration.

First was a recommendation that indemnities be paid for all occupational diseases instead of the limited list for which industry is now held responsible. Another recommendation adopted by the conference was that private insurance companies operating for profit be eliminated from the field of workmen's compensation, and the third recommendation adopted was an agreement by the delegates that compulsory government unemployment insurance must ultimately replace existing non-government systems.

The report of the committee on women and children followed in most respects the recommendations of the I. L. O. experts whose reports were published in advance of the conference. In addition to their recommendations the committee recommended and the conference adopted their suggestion to oppose home work and the employment of children. The problem of proper and adequate training for the young was considered by this committee and their recommendation that a system of "apprenticeship training" be inaugurated was approved by the conference.

The committee on migration developed a blue print for national and international machinery to facilitate the transfer from the Old World of persons seeking permanent homes in the New World. Leaving for other organizations the special problem of political refugees, the I. L. O. committee concentrated on how to guarantee that the ordinary immigrant can be sure before leaving home that he is going to a place where he is wanted and where his talents can be utilized.

The Governing Body of the International Labor Organization met in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1940. The American workers' delegate attended this session.

The committee of experts appointed to examine the annual reports sub-

mitted by member countries outlining the measures they had taken to apply the International Labor Conventions, met in Geneva in April, 1940. Nearly six hundred reports which had been prepared and sent to the office since the outbreak of the war were submitted by the member states for the Committee to examine.

The program suggested by the director and approved by the Governing Body included among others the study of the following problems:

1. Men disabled in war. Their right to compensation, vocational and social rehabilitation.
2. Problems of organization of the labor market arising out of the war.
3. Vocational retraining as a continuous means of adapting the supply of labor to the demand.
4. The influence of the war and mobilization on the conditions of work of women.
5. The adjustment of wage rates to changing prices.
6. The adaptation of social insurance to mobilization and war.
7. Agricultural problems of Central and South America.
8. Industrial relations in colonial territories.
9. The housing condition of workers and their families.

Arrangements had been made for a meeting of the Governing Body in June and for the regular session of the June conference in Geneva. The development of the war necessitated postponement of these meetings. Finally the breakdown in communication facilities forced the personnel to seek a haven in the Western Hemisphere. Through the cooperation of the Canadian Government temporary offices for the staff have been established in Montreal in connection with McGill University.

Contact with the Americas has been maintained from the outset by the International Labor Organization. Four of the International Labor Conferences have been held in the Western World: the first General Conference in Washington, D. C., in 1919; the First Regional Conference of the American States in Santiago, Chile, in 1936; the World Textile Conference in Washington, D. C., in 1937; and the Second Regional Conference of American States in Havana, Cuba, in 1939. It is natural, therefore, that the provisional office for the staff should in the present world crisis be set up in the Western Hemisphere and that the meetings should be held on this continent where there can be close cooperation with the American labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor has played an important part in the development of the International Labor Organization. Shortly after the opening of the first World War in 1914, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, with characteristic vision introduced a resolution at the convention of the Federation in Philadelphia, calling for a world labor conference to be held at the same time and in the same place as the peace conference at the conclusion of the war. That resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the convention, was responsible for the creation of the International Labor Organization which was established at the close of the war to advance labor standards throughout the world and to promote the cause of world peace. It was Samuel Gompers who presided as chairman of the Labor Peace Conference in Paris which drafted the Constitution of the

I. L. O. and it was the labor principles proposed by Samuel Gompers which became the basic charter of the organization.

The International Labor Organization was founded on the principle that lasting peace can be assured only if it is based on social justice. To this end, a democratic world organization representing workers, employers and governments was created. Through the efforts of the I. L. O. standards of working conditions have been improved throughout the world. Some 67 conventions or labor treaties have been adopted, and 860 ratifications of these treaties have been registered by the member countries.

As a result of the activities of the I. L. O. hours of labor have been shortened, social security for workers established, protection afforded women and children, safeguards set up against industrial accidents and diseases, protection provided for mercantile workers and seamen, and minimum wage fixing machinery established. The American Federation of Labor and organized labor throughout the world have contributed to these advances.

War again engulfs Europe and threatens the entire civilized world. In all the countries involved, the ones that bear the heaviest burden, that make the greatest contribution in lives and suffering are the workers.

The American Federation of Labor further urges that the International Labor Organization as the organization concerned with the protection of labor standards throughout the world should be upheld and strengthened and that its contribution to the solution of social problems should insure it a place at the peace conference at the conclusion of the war.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

After the Cincinnati, 1939, Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met in Cincinnati and later in Washington, D. C., the following persons participating: William Green, President; Luis Morones, Vice President; Matthew Woll, Secretary-Treasurer; Santiago Iglesias, Secretary. In accord with the direction of the convention, Santiago Iglesias was instructed to undertake a tour of Latin-American countries and transmit a message of fraternity and good will to the working people of Mexico, Cuba, and the countries of Central and South America, and to confer with representatives of all national labor centers. We felt that all efforts for international cooperation in the Western Hemisphere were of pressing importance and that Labor should sponsor international labor cooperation on a Western Hemisphere basis. Secretary Iglesias made the trip through Mexico conferring with local groups. Following that trip, he attended the Havana Conference of the International Labor Organization as an observer as the presence of a labor representative from Latin American countries provided an opportunity for conference. These plans were brought to an untimely end by the death of Secretary Iglesias from an infection acquired on his Mexican trip. Secretary Iglesias was peculiarly fitted for service in this field by birth, temperament and experience. His service in upbuilding the labor movement in Puerto Rico was a monument to his ability and devotion which assured him standing and respect.

Disturbed world politics and new international alliances have interrupted our communications and relations with Labor in European countries and at the same time have made interdependence of action and relationships between the nations of the Western Hemisphere most essential. The labor movements of Canada and the United States have for years recognized the inter-relationships in their economic and social problems and progress, and for the years in which it functioned the Pan-American Federation of Labor provided a channel for intercourse and cooperation between the labor movements of many of the countries of the New World. In the intervening years, the changes have been so many and so fundamental that policies and agencies for action need to be completely reviewed in the light of existing developments and needs.

In reviewing policies and agencies and in considering future plans it is helpful to have a factual picture of the Republics constituting the Latin-American countries.

South America, with more than twice the area of the United States (6,814,000 square miles as compared with 3,026,000) has 82 million people as compared with our 132,000,000. Central America, with an area of 216,000 square miles, has a population of nearly 6 million. Mexico, with 760,000 square miles, has 16½ million inhabitants.

A feature common to all South and Central American Republics, except Haiti, is that all countries of Europe have contributed emigrants but that the major stock comes originally from Spain and Portugal, and, more recently also from Italy. Like the United States, these South and Central American Republics have to live not only with different nationalities but with the regional differences derived from those nationalities. In addition, the so-called Latin-American countries have two other large problems. There is the Indian problem, of a people descended from a highly developed culture at the time of early colonization—represented mainly by the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas—with others of all gradations down to the naked savages. The other problem is that of the Negro, with the same regional differences that were found among the whites. They were imported from Africa especially to the countries that had tropical production conditions and climatic difficulties.

The Latin-American countries, from social beliefs practised since the discovery of the Continent, have faced their population problem in a different way than has the United States.

Mexico, more strongly and more definitely than the other Central and South American countries that have more or less the same acute problems of population, has recognized the positive qualities of the Indian and of the Negro, and has for a number of years been trying to bring them out of their isolation and push them toward an occidental civilization.

The problem in some other countries that have an insignificant percentage of non-European population—especially Argentina and Uruguay—is the fusing of the different nationalities into a national unity and the cutting of the cultural dependence upon the mother countries, so as to build an integrated American nation.

The same differences apply to production. A feature common to all the

countries is that industry, compared to the United States, is less highly developed. Many of these countries have mineral and agricultural products that compete on a large scale with the products of the United States, especially copper, silver, wheat, corn, cotton and beef. This makes them dependent upon European markets. Others of these Republics that produce especially tropical products compete among themselves for the United States market.

Although the Latin-American markets might seem open and free of competition with Europe for the sale of goods, this market is more apparent than real. The reduction of exports to Europe that are not replaced by imports by the United States necessarily diminishes the purchasing power of the Latin-American countries, and makes it impossible to replace the goods that normally come from Europe.

With all these differences between the countries, the problems that have to be faced and solved by each country vary greatly. Nevertheless there are certain features common to all, viz—labor standards, purchasing power, production, etc.

With closer relations in the making between all western world nations on trade, financial, and defense undertakings, there is new and more urgent need for a corresponding movement on the part of labor organizations in the countries concerned. It is of the utmost importance to have Labor add its strength and experience in helping to direct these developments in accord with democratic ideals. We still have the opportunity to fashion our political and defense relationships upon a basis of mutual welfare, interests and consent. Instead of building up an empire as in the past decade upon trade and investments leading to political control, we are still free to attempt a federation of democracies devoted to the promotion of mutual economic and social progress.

In view of the foregoing we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor and Vice-President Woll, who serve also as officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, be responsible for studying development and planning next steps, and with approval of the Executive Council will proceed accordingly.

PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF LABOR

This year the Free Federation of Labor has achieved great success in its efforts for the maintenance of the fundamental objectives advocated by our organized labor as a state branch of the American Federation of Labor in spite of the economic distress of the island and the propaganda headed by politicians hostile to labor institutions.

The 1940 Collective Agreement for the Sugar Industry—One of the far-reaching conventions held by a conference of agricultural and factory labor unions of Puerto Rico on November 19, 1939, considered the renewal of the collective agreement for the sugar industry with proposed amendments. More than two hundred delegates representing the different locals throughout the Island attended this convention. This meeting elected the members of the Insular Council, a central body in charge of conducting the negotiations

together with the representatives of the Puerto Rico Association of Sugar Producers.

The agreement as renewed for the harvest of 1940 maintains the provisions of the previous year: minimum wage rates of not less than \$1 for 25 occupational classifications comprising over 100 different operations, an 8-hour working day, abolition of piecework, the right to maintain labor organizations and adequate rules for the settlement of difficulties. A supplementary clause fixed a sliding schedule of wage increases running from 10 to 40 cents, based on the selling price of raw sugar in the New York market.

This collective contract covers some 125,000 persons engaged in sugar production in Puerto Rico.

Longshoremen Activities—In view of the fact that the longshoremen locals affiliated with the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor and the International Longshoremen's Association have relaxed in their coordinated activities mainly due to the destructive campaign of the communists and the C. I. O. agents, the Executive Council of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor appointed a committee of three of its officers to set down a plan toward the consolidation of the longshoremen movement. This committee called for a convention of delegates representing all the locals affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association on the Free Federation. The convention was held on December 1, 1939, at the headquarters of our institution at San Juan. A very splendid plan was accomplished. An Insular Council was elected in charge of coordinating the activities of the different locals. A constitution and by-laws were drafted and approved by the convention in harmony with the principles and ideals of the American Federation of Labor.

Due to this united effort the longshoremen locals succeeded in signing agreements with the different shipping companies which were very commendable.

Santiago Iglesias, President of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor—On December 5, 1939, the workers of Puerto Rico were deeply stricken with news of the death of Santiago Iglesias, president and founder of our labor institutions in our Island. Brother Iglesias was born in Spain on February 22, 1872; came to Puerto Rico in the year 1896 when he immediately started a campaign to promote the welfare of the laboring classes. At that time organized labor was unknown to the people of Puerto Rico and the reactionary forces were in control of the social, political and economic life of the Island. In the year 1898 Puerto Rico came under the United States sovereignty and Santiago Iglesias, an advocate of democratic ideals, became the most ardent propagandist of the Americanization of the Island. In the year 1899 he succeeded in founding the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor which affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1901.

Due to the efforts of Santiago Iglesias, and of other leaders who came afterwards, the living conditions of the working people were fundamentally transformed.

At the time of his death Santiago Iglesias was president of the Free Federation of Labor, president of the Labor Party, Resident Commissioner

of Puerto Rico in Washington, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and our most outstanding leader and significant defender of statehood for Puerto Rico.

Although he was put in jail by the reactionary forces on different occasions and was injured many times, due to his sincerity in propagating American ideals, Santiago Iglesias never grew tired in his work in behalf of labor institutions and Puerto Rico in general.

With the greatest of gratitude the working people of Puerto Rico are still mourning the death of their leader, Santiago Iglesias.

Committee to Washington—In the meeting held by the Executive Council of our Federation on April 26, 1940, a committee was appointed to go to Washington for the purpose of conferring with President William Green and other officers of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor about the economic and social problems of Puerto Rico and those affecting our organization. The committee was composed of brothers Francisco Paz Granela, William D. Lopez, vice-presidents of the Federation, and Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, secretary-treasurer.

On June 13 the committee reached New York and on June 14 it had the opportunity to confer with President Green and brothers I. N. Ornburn and Frank P. Fenton. An ample memorandum about the economic and social conditions of Puerto Rico was handed to President Green. The "Summary and Conclusions" of such memorandum follow:

Summary and Conclusions—The points of view of our Puerto Rican State Branch of the American Federation of Labor on the economic and social conditions of Puerto Rico and our recommendations thereon may be summarized as follows:

1. In spite of the sound cooperation given the Island of Puerto Rico by the Federal Administration, our country undergoes a serious economic crisis, as particularly shown by the existence of over 400,000 unemployed.

2. Puerto Rico depends on a very few industries and is mostly an agricultural country. Sugar production is our main source of income. It can employ about 150,000 workers but production is limited through a system of quotas that has aggravated our economic crisis and deprived many thousands of workers of a living. We believe that our yearly sugar quota should be increased at least to 1,500,000 tons in order to put a level to our depressed economy and that our country should not be discriminated against to favor foreign countries.

3. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of the people of Puerto Rico, upholding the constitutionality of the law limiting the possession of land to 500 acres, has led us to the conclusion that a definite program is necessary to serve as a basis for a conscientious and reasonable agrarian policy toward the permanent solution of our economic problems. The government of Puerto Rico lacks the funds necessary to expropriate lands owned in excess of 500 acres wherefore we suggest that a \$150,000,000 loan be granted by Federal authorities to the government of Puerto Rico to carry out an agrarian policy that would solve the problems involved. We suggest the establishment of an Insular Economic Board, with representatives from Capital, Labor and the Government, to be charged with the execution of definite plans connected with investment of the aforementioned loan.

4. We favor the government control of our hydro-electric resources,

wherefore we earnestly endorse the Puerto Rican T. V. A. bill introduced in the Lower House providing the government control of our hydro-electric service in order to promote the industrialization of our country and the carrying of electric light to the urban and rural zones of Puerto Rico at a low cost.

5. The people of Puerto Rico are pro-American and have during a period of forty years shown their loyalty and spirit of public sacrifice toward the United States. Our Island constitutes a cardinal point in the defense of American interest in the Western Hemisphere. Inasmuch as the Puerto Rican masses want to live permanently linked to the United States, we request that our political status be solved as early as possible by granting us the right to become a State of the Union.

6. We are of the opinion that Puerto Rico should not be exempted from the Wage and Hour Law. We believe, however, that flexible changes must be effected to conform the law to local conditions, and that there must be approved legislation of this sort to cover workers in industry as well as in commerce and agriculture in interstate and intrastate commerce as well. With respect to amendments to this law that would facilitate the operation of certain insular industries we ratify our viewpoints expressed in a resolution approved by the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor in March, 1939, to which we have previously referred.

7. The Lafayette experiment must be continued on a basis that would guarantee its success. Workers should be given reasonable and just participation and intervention in its administrative control. Organized labor was not represented on the committee that investigated the Lafayette Cooperatives. The report rendered by this committee attributes the failure of the experiment to factors that have no bearing on the workers because they never had participation in the management of the experiment.

The principle established by these cooperatives must be amplified throughout all the island by means of plans properly studied which would ensure success.

8. The principles of collective agreement must continue to have the recognition by the Federal Government in Puerto Rico. These principles have succeeded in maintaining industrial peace and the best relations among employers and laborers. A proof of the effectiveness of this principle is shown by agreements entered into since 1934 by the Association of Sugar Producers of Puerto Rico and the Free Federation of Labor, those signed by the shipping companies and longshoremen unions, besides the ones approved by employers and workers of the tobacco stripping industry.

9. We look to the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with us in obtaining larger appropriations for vocational education and that the teaching of the English language be expanded.

Larger appropriations should be made for the National Youth Administration agencies in Puerto Rico in order to help our poor children continue their school training.

We want the American Federation of Labor endorsement to our petition requesting the establishment of a Pan-American University in Puerto Rico.

10. The committee acknowledges the effectiveness of the cooperation heretofore received from the American Federation of Labor and hopes that this cooperation will be maintained in behalf of the fraternal bonds uniting our Puerto Rican movement with our brethren of North America, in whose free institutions we have placed our faith.

President Green Offers Cooperation—The reception given to the committee of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor in Washington was very fra-

ternal. The following historical document was given by President Green to the Puerto Rican delegation:

Washington, D. C.,
June 14, 1940.

To Representatives of the
Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I salute you and greet you in the name and in behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

Be assured that it is the fixed and determined policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate fully all during the future as we have done in the past, in the promotion of the economic, social and industrial welfare of the working men and women of Puerto Rico.

We are deeply interested in your economic, social and industrial problems. We wish to contribute toward a just solution of these problems so that the economic life of the people of Puerto Rico may be preserved, promoted and protected.

We shall continue the policy we have always pursued, without change or modification, of extending all assistance and help possible to the working men and women of Puerto Rico.

Faternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Puerto Rico Delegates Visit the I. L. A. at New York—With the cooperation given by Brother Maurice Simons, vice-president of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, the Puerto Rican delegation had the opportunity to visit Brother Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, for the purpose of trying to enlist the cooperation of that International in consolidating the longshoremen movements in Puerto Rico. The members of our delegation were introduced by Brother Ryan to the members of the Executive Board that was holding a meeting at that time at the headquarters in New York.

After hearing the exposition rendered by the Committee of the Executive Board of the I. L. A. a resolution was adopted to send Brother V. E. Townsend, vice-president of the organization, to Puerto Rico to meet with all parties concerned in the longshoremen movement affiliated with the state branch of the American Federation of Labor and the I. L. A.

The delegation of Puerto Rico appreciates the kind reception given by said Executive Board.

V. E. Townsend, Vice-President of the I. L. A., Visits Puerto Rico—Complying with the resolution adopted by the International Longshoremen's Association, Brother V. E. Townsend of said International arrived in Puerto Rico on July 27. Immediately meetings were arranged and held with the cooperation of some of the officers of the Free Federation of Labor with the I. L. A. locals and those affiliated with the state branch of the American Federation of Labor. A general meeting was held at the port of Ponce where there were representatives of all the locals from all parts of the Island. Brother Townsend submitted for the approval of the convention a memorandum which was pre-

viously discussed by him and the officers of the Executive Council of the Free Federation.

Women's Auxiliaries—After great efforts were displayed by some of the officers of the Executive Council of our Federation our institution succeeded in organizing the first Insular Chapter of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor under the leadership of a very enthusiastic group of women who have in charge the duty of organizing all the unorganized women of the Island into the American Federation of Labor Auxiliaries of Labor.

The chapter meets regularly at San Juan and is in constant activity. A very important meeting was held at the city of Arecibo where there were present nearly two hundred women for the purpose of organizing the first local of the Puerto Rico Women's Auxiliaries. The officers of the Insular Chapter expect to install this local pretty soon.

Labor Day—A very interesting program was prepared under the direction of the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union for the celebration of Labor Day.

Circular letters had been sent to all the locals and the answers received from many of them show that there prevails a great enthusiasm among the workers for such celebration.

Workers Education Program—Under the auspices of the Executive Council of our Federation a weekly radio program for workers education has been conducted by means of which our institution has accomplished a very important work of far-reaching results. Professors from the University of Puerto Rico and experienced labor leaders are giving their cooperation by means of lectures in different social and economic subjects.

Building Trades—Under the direction of an Insular Council the Building Trades are having a come-back. The bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians and their auxiliaries, are being organized.

National Defense Program—Following the policy of the American Federation of Labor our Federation has been interested in the national defense program, offering its hearty support and sincere cooperation. In accordance with this policy the Executive Council of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor appointed the Secretary-Treasurer of the Institution to represent Labor in the Insular Advisory Committee for the National Defense. This committee is composed of representatives from the Department of Education, from the Military and Naval Posts, from the W. P. A. and private industries. The first meeting was held by the committee on August 5, 1940, at San Juan where was approved a program to offer instruction to workers through the vocational educational units already established in some cities of the Island.

A circular letter urging the utmost cooperation from organized labor was sent from our headquarters at San Juan.

Department of Labor—As in previous years the Department of Labor has been very active in giving its support and assistance to our organized labor movement throughout the Island.

The staff and agents of the Department have cooperated in the strict

application of labor legislation and in conducting to the proper officers the claims of workers when they have been paid wages below those fixed by the collective agreement and the determination of Secretary Wallace under the Sugar Act and the Wage and Hour Law.

The Commissioner of Labor has met with employers and workers covered by the Wage and Hour Law especially those from the needlework industry so as to work out plans favorable to workers and employers.

Final Remarks—The splendid assistance and support given by the American Federation of Labor to Puerto Rican organized labor was permitted our Federation to continue successfully the organization campaign assuring all those things obtained by Labor and in the increasing of its membership and in the strengthening of the faith maintained by the workers toward our labor institutions.

We should say with satisfaction that the C. I. O. communists moving in Puerto Rico have been reduced to a minimum expression and that our 200,000 members and nearly 400 locals maintain unalterable the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor as our mother institution.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

The activities of the Bureau during the past year are summarized under the following headings:

1. **Labor Institutes**—The Labor Institutes as sponsored by state federations of labor or central labor bodies in cooperation with state universities or other educational institutions proved a significant and valuable educational device for American Labor during the past year. They have provided a deeper insight for Labor on its basic problems and an instrument for a much needed public relations function of Labor.

Among the foremost institutes held are the following:

New York—The first of the institutes following the convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at the Central Commercial High School in New York City on December 9, under the sponsorship of the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Allied Printing Trades Council, the Building and Construction Trades Council, Joint Council No. 16 of the Teamsters' Union, the Metal Trades Council of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the New York State Federation of Labor, the federal labor unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the Workers Education Bureau. The general topic of the Institute was "Labor and the World Crisis," and the Institute, at which some 500 representatives of New York labor were present, proved to be an outstanding success.

Texas—The first Labor Institute in the Southwest was held at Dallas on February 25, 1940, under the auspices of the Central Labor Council of Dallas and with the cooperation of the Bureau and the faculty of Southern Methodist University. There was an average attendance of 125 at each of the three sessions, including not only groups of workers from the various trades but representatives of the religious and business community as well.

Pennsylvania—The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in connection with its annual convention at Pittsburgh, sponsored a two-day Labor Forum on April 28 and 29, prior to the opening of the convention. This Labor Forum, set up with the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau and representatives of the state universities and governmental agencies, proved so successful that the convention decided that this should be a regular part of their educational program.

New York—The first conference to be held on the shorter work week was held at the Town Hall in New York on May 11 under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau and the Central Trades and Labor Council and affiliated organizations. At the morning session "The Social and Economic Consequences of the Shorter Work Week" was the topic considered and at the afternoon session representatives of various unions discussed their experiences under the shorter work week.

Indiana—The Indiana State Federation of Labor, in cooperation with Purdue University, the State University at Lafayette, where the meetings were held, conducted its Second Annual Educational Institute on May 25 and 26. This was attended by 142 delegates representing unions, together with forty friends and observers. The topics discussed ranged from "Labor's Responsibility and Opportunities in Vocational Education" through a discussion of Social Security to a consideration of "Labor in the World Crisis" and "The Future of Democracy."

New Jersey—Ten years ago the first Labor Institute jointly sponsored by a state federation of labor and a state university was set up on the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick. A total of 140 trade unionists attended one or more sessions that year. This year the Tenth Annual Institute was held for a period of five days from June 10 to 14, with 218 trade unionists in attendance, 18 observers from industry, 34 listed speakers, and six university representatives from as far away as Illinois and North Carolina. This was by far the largest and most representative Labor Institute ever held in this country and marks a notable culmination of a decade of cooperative planning of this type of educational program. Moreover, the Institute this year at Rutgers, with its theme of "Labor and the World Crisis," had an important international character. During the sessions Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, took occasion to make formal reply to the appeal of Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service in Great Britain, to the trade unionists in the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The address of Mr. Woll was replied to the following day by Mr. Bevin in an international broadcast. Thus the Institute became a unique forum for the consideration of some of the most fundamental issues which are confronting civilization today. The Institute was conspicuous also for the number of observers from industry in attendance, the representatives of neighboring universities, and the spirited discussion of the important question of the status of Labor under the prosecution of the Sherman Anti-trust Law.

Oregon—Another development was worked out jointly with the Northwest

Institute of International Relations in cooperation with Reed College in Portland. The Workers Education Bureau sent delegates to participate in the Labor Conference which was held during the session of the Institute on June 24 and 25.

Massachusetts—The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, with the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau, held a two-day Labor Institute at the Retreat House of the Jesuit Order at North Andover on June 28-30. The general topic was "Labor and the Present Crisis." This was a highly successful meeting with 82 delegates present.

Nebraska—The first Labor Institute to be held in the Corn Belt west of the Mississippi was held on July 13 and 14 on the campus of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, under the auspices of the State Federation of Labor and the university, with the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau. The topics discussed by the 247 delegates present ranged from "Labor and the World Crisis" to "Labor and the Church," "Safeguarding the Security of the Worker," and "Labor Relations."

California—During the course of the Eighth Annual Summer Session of the Pacific Coast School for Workers, a Labor Institute was held at Berkeley on July 13 and 14. The general topic was "Labor and the Government" and one hundred and fifty representatives were in attendance.

Virginia—The Extension Division of the University of Virginia held its Third Conference of Virginia Workers at the university on August 24 and 25. The topic this year was "What Labor Needs."

2. **State Federations, Central Bodies, and Workers Education**—Responsive to the suggestion made by President Green, the State Federations of Labor have taken a more lively interest than ever before in the development of educational programs not only among their own membership but in cooperation with the Workers Education Bureau. The director has addressed eight State Federations in the South, East, and Middle West, and found a deep interest on the part of Labor in all these sections in education and in the more effective use of factual data in the development of their local programs.

(1) **Regional Educational Conferences**—The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, which for the past two years has developed a series of weekend conferences for the consideration of legislative and educational matters before their membership, carried forward this technique during the past year in the cities of Salem, Boston, Worcester, Brockton and New Bedford. In each case a representative of the Bureau cooperated in the conduct of these conferences.

The Indiana State Federation of Labor similarly has developed the plan of regional conferences, to bring education to its membership in the local communities. During the year such conferences have been held at Notre Dame University in South Bend, at Vincennes and at Fort Wayne.

These regional conferences have done a good deal to help Labor to attain an understanding of the pressing questions of the day.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor during the past year has carried forward its educational program, with the advice and assistance of the research

adviser to the Workers Education Bureau. The work this year has consisted largely in discussions of important state and Federal labor laws and of effective methods of enforcing these laws. As a result of its program during the past five years the educational committee of the Baltimore Federation is now considering ways and means of sharing its information with the local unions.

3. Radio Educational Program—The weekly radio program sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System with the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau entitled "Americans at Work" concluded its series of 105 broadcasts on May 7. By a test of audience response as well as the Crosley rating this series was deemed of recognized merit. It has been decided by the American School of the Air of the Columbia Broadcasting System to incorporate this broad program into their regular series for the schools of the nation, not only for the education of our youth but as a medium for their vocational guidance.

4. Research and Publications—The Bureau has carried on its research and publication services.

The pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labor some years ago on Child Labor was revised by the Bureau and published by the Federation.

With the cooperation of the unions concerned the outline histories of four unions—the Plumbers and Steam Fitters, the Upholsterers, the Fire Fighters, and the Post Office Clerks—have been or are being published and the outlines of ten others have been approved by national and international unions.

A study for the New Jersey State Federation of Labor on trends in labor legislation and economic changes in the state has been completed and is ready for publication.

Following the convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Workers Education Bureau jointly with the American Federation of Teachers published "Labor and Education in 1939," containing reports and addresses at the 1939 convention which deal with the subject of education.

With the growing international crisis the Bureau published these pamphlets: "Labor and the World Crisis," containing the appeals of Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service of Great Britain, and Leon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor of France, and the response of Matthew Woll, given at the Rutgers Labor Institute. "Why the British People Fight," by Professor R. H. Tawney, of the University of London.

The Bureau has published each month the Monthly News Letter and has distributed a series of "Short Stories on Economics" and "The Pros and Cons of Consumer Credit."

5. Affiliation and Support of the Bureau—The year has brought an increasing measure of support from the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There has been an encouraging increase as well in the number of state federations of labor, central labor bodies, and local unions that have become associated with the activities of the Bureau.

During the year the Bureau has received a special emergency grant-in-aid of \$5,000 from the American Association for Adult Education in support of its Labor Institute program for the year.

CONCLUSION

Our report for the past year reflects both the wide range of Labor's interests and activities and the seriousness of the international situation. The problems which we must solve and the decisions we must make will determine not only the future of democracy in this country but in the whole Western Hemisphere. Fully conscious of the gravity of these facts, we submit our report of our stewardship so that the representatives of all affiliated unions may review fully and determine policies for the future.

Our membership has grown, our internal structure has been strengthened, our determination to make no alliance whatsoever with representatives or policies of communism or any other form of totalitarianism has been justified here and abroad, while the economic power of the trade union movement is demonstrated to be its primary resource for the protection of wage earners and for the improvement of their standards of living. While our labor movement has grown and we have enjoyed peace and progress, reports from abroad tell how long-established labor movements in other countries have been destroyed during the past year to make way for another order of society. No country and no labor movement can anticipate the future with a feeling of security or confidence in established rights or guarantees, but we must all alike be on guard to defend our freedom and liberties and must realize the gravity of our responsibilities. The New Orleans convention will make its decisions at a time of world crisis.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, President.
WM. L. HUTCHESON, First Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Second Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Third Vice-President.
JOSEPH N. WEBER, Fourth Vice-President.
G. M. BUGNIAZET, Fifth Vice-President.
GEO. M. HARRISON, Sixth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Seventh Vice-President.
HARRY C. BATES, Eighth Vice-President.
EDWARD J. GAINOR, Ninth Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON, Tenth Vice-President.
FELIX H. KNIGHT, Eleventh Vice-President.
GEORGE E. BROWNE, Twelfth Vice-President.
EDWARD FLORE, Thirteenth Vice-President.
HARVEY W. BROWN, Fourteenth Vice-President.
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT, Fifteenth Vice-President.
GEORGE MEANY, Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

Proposing National Council of Office Workers Unions

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Office Workers Unions in Minnesota have requested the assistance of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in the creation of a financially-sound National Council so as to lead to the formation of an International Union of Office Workers to be composed of workers that are eligible to join federal labor unions of office workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is re-

quested to formulate plans for the creation of such a National Council of Office Workers Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Six Point Economic Plan As Part of National Defense Program

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The purpose of a democratic government is to secure the economic, political and social advancement and freedom of all its people, and to safeguard the

rights of all workers to continuous employment at rising wages, and in proportion to the Nation's ability to produce the essentials to raise life to higher levels, and

WHEREAS, A government conscripting its manpower in peace or wartime gives birth to the right and necessity of the exploited masses to demand from the Government in peace or wartime, that it eliminate the internal forces of exploitation for profits, which create unemployment, and want among the workers in the midst of abounding wealth sufficient to the well-being of all, and

WHEREAS, In our Nation, there are many millions of men, women, and youth, who are still suffering from unemployment, and low wages, inadequate medical care, and hospitalization and wretched housing, notwithstanding the fact that the national resources, labor power, and productive capacities required for its solution already monopolize capital and its servants, and

WHEREAS, The American people have been called upon to unite their efforts and strength and to sacrifice, in behalf of national defense, and since the present Defense Program is definitely inadequate regarding the real needs of Labor; and because the elimination of unemployment and the protection and advancements of all the rights of the workers, and the raising of their living standards is indispensable to national unity and a decisive first line of national defense; and in view of the pyramiding profits of Big Business, proving no sacrifices by them, when compared with the continuous and historic sacrifices of the Nation's workers and their youth, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record for the achievement of the following program and objectives:

1. The establishment of a national six-hour day and thirty-hour work-week with no reduction in daily, weekly, or monthly pay; hours to be temporarily extended if and when actual shortage of labor exists, but not to exceed eight hours per day and forty hours per week.

2. Broadening the coverage of all Social Security, Old Age, Unemployment and Social Insurance categories so as to include all wage and salaried workers; sharp increases in the respective benefits and with weekly benefits through entire periods of total or part time unemployment; establishment of a Federal Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance system and providing educational opportunities in all Departments of Art and Learning for needy youth and adults.

3. The continuous operation of all industries at full capacity to absorb all unemployed adult and youth, and at trade union wages and conditions, and with vocational training facilities under trade union guidance.

4. Systematic wage increases for all workers in the Nation, and commensurate with the wealth produced by Labor with industry operating at full capacity in the production of all the essentials to life.

5. To oppose any inflationary measures, or devaluations, or manipulations of the currency, which tend to diminish the purchasing power or wage gains achieved by Labor, and to oppose any infringements on any of the civil rights of Labor.

6. For drastic taxation upon excess profits of all employers and corporations connected with National Defense Program, and Be It Further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the officers of the State Federation of Labor to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Labor Committee of the U. S. House and Senate; the Minnesota Representatives and Senators to the Congress; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; all State Federations, and to the convention of the American Federation of Labor requesting their active support.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning national federation of office workers' local unions, and

WHEREAS, All organizational work among office workers at the present time must of necessity be carried on by the local unions which cannot afford to conduct effective organizational campaigns, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that a functioning national council or international union is a prerequisite to the formation of effective organizational activity among the unorganized office workers and to the establishment of uniform wage and employment standards for office workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 48th Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor earnestly urges the immediate creation of a functioning national council or International Union of Office Workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in New Orleans request its officers to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That Health Insurance Be Included in Social Security Legislation

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Sickness and its attendant drain on the resources of the workers and a cutoff of income at the same time is one of the great hardships always confronting the workers, and

WHEREAS, The average individual worker is in no position adequately to meet this hardship and to provide for a full measure of medical care for himself and family under the usual conventional methods; and

WHEREAS, Workers realizing this condition have through their labor organizations endeavored to promote health insurance, cooperative medical service and prepaid budget plan service, but such efforts on the part of labor have met with the obstinate opposition of the Medical Societies and Associations, and

WHEREAS, One example of such opposition has come from the Medical Society of Milwaukee County which expelled the doctors associated with the Milwaukee Medical Center and has through its members barred these doctors from the use of the facilities of most Milwaukee hospitals, and

WHEREAS, The American Medical Association has used similar pressure methods on hospitals in many cities, and

WHEREAS, Such pressure methods to bar workers, who want to use a prepaid budget plan for their medical needs, from hospitals are unfair and anti-social, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled goes on record in favor of legislation to include health insurance as a part of social security legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Retaliatory Tax Policies of States Which Block Interstate Commerce

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the practice of the various states to enact retaliatory taxes on products of other states, and

WHEREAS, This practice is particularly conspicuous on the products of the brewing industry, and

WHEREAS, These retaliatory taxes are contrary to fair trade practices and are a hindrance to the free flow of commerce between the states, and

WHEREAS, These practices tend to erect artificial barriers in interstate commerce and are detrimental to all workers. If this practice is allowed to continue it will spread to other industries, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That legislative action be taken to prohibit by law the erection of these artificial barriers between the states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and present it to the next American Federation of Labor Convention and endeavor to have same adopted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Creation of A. F. of L. Commission to Study a Plan to End Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes create chaos and ill will within the ranks of organized labor; likewise produce a feeling of resentment and disgust among employers who have agreed collectively with labor on wages and working conditions, thereby causing an unhealthy public opinion to be developed against labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes are heartbreaking to the workers not parties to the dispute who are usually innocent victims and kept out of work during the periods of the jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great advance in technical improvements has made trades interlocking, thereby making it almost impossible to decide where the jurisdiction of one craft ends and another begins, and

WHEREAS, The present system of trade union autonomy makes it necessary for some workmen employed at certain work to belong to more than one union and, in some instances, the worker will have to be in good standing in four different unions to work on a job and to keep from being involved in a jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great fraternal spirit of good will which was evident in the labor movement of a few decades ago when transfer of membership from one union to another was common has about disappeared on account of the desire to exploit union men by demanding initiation fees when transferring from one craft union to another, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes and strikes, and the rapid disappearance of the transfer card between labor organizations is not to the best interests of the organized workers and the trade union movement, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the next convention of the American Federation of Labor elect a commission of nine—not more than four to

be international officers and not more than one to be from any one international union—to study and work out a plan to end jurisdictional disputes by fixing definite jurisdictions and by devising ways and means of taking a referendum of the members of unions who have an overlapping jurisdiction on the subject of amalgamating such unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such commission shall hold all hearings and meetings necessary in order to be able to make a complete report of its findings to the 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenses including wages, travelling and per diem and clerical expenses of the commission be paid out of the treasury of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Creation of A. F. of L. Agency to Publicize Fifth Column Activities

Resolution No. 7—By Central Trades Council, Tucson, Arizona.

WHEREAS, There now exists in our great American democracy various groups and individuals commonly known as the "Fifth Column", and

WHEREAS, The results of Fifth Column activities have been noted by the downfall of Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway and France, all liberty loving democracies infested and ruined by the boring within activities of the Fifth Column, and

WHEREAS, In certain instances the F. B. I. has been powerless under existing laws to completely rid our home of these termites, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the ideals which it represents is a bulwark of democracy, and

WHEREAS, The members of trades unions comprising said American Federation of Labor by virtue of their employment in key industries throughout our nation are in an advantageous position to take cognizance of un-American and suspicious Fifth Column activities, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor create in conjunction with its publicity bureau an agency which will receive and direct information from its various members regarding Fifth Column activities throughout the nation; that said agency will encourage the receiving of such information; that said agency will cooperate with the F. B. I. where applicable and that said agency will shed the full light of publicity on those organizations, groups and individuals who persist in undermining Democracy's last stand—These Great United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Study of Problems of Migratory and Transient Workers

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Whatever works to the detriment of the humblest of our fellow citizens, slowly and insidiously spreads out and wends its way through our entire workaday world until, in the finality, it reacts against even the highest skilled in our midst, and

WHEREAS, The wealth of a nation is not in gold, it is not in land, it is not in industry, nor in the products of industry, but it is in its people, and any system that depends for its survival upon the degradation of even "the least of these" cannot long persist, and

WHEREAS, One of the gravest problems challenging the most thoughtful of our people today is that of the migratory and transient worker, and

WHEREAS, The development of mechanized farming to a point where, in some aspects, it is practically as specialized as a factory process, has resulted in the interstate migration annually of some 2,000,000 of our citizens, and

WHEREAS, Ranching has become so organized that at certain seasons of the year vast numbers of workers are required, while much of the year but few are needed, and

WHEREAS, Under our present social and economic system the migratory and transient worker is an essential and very important factor in our industrial life, and

WHEREAS, These transitory workers are refugees from insecurity. Most communities can find no real solution for the problem created by them, and a wall of resistance laws is being erected in cities, counties and states, to conserve relief expenditures, and in practically all communities resident requirements determine the material aid or work relief eligibility, and

WHEREAS, The pioneer spirit, always worthwhile, has led these workers because of unemployment or other unfortunate circumstances away from their homes, and many of them have been on the road long enough to have completely lost their resident rights, the local residence bars have closed down behind them, and from self-respecting and self-sufficient citizens they have become unwanted transients; they had hoped to better themselves, but the pioneer spirit so lauded throughout history has led them into hopeless confusion and despair, and

WHEREAS, There are indications that the volume of migration is increasing and will continue to increase; the labor standards for such workers are abnormally low; the health safe-guards abominable; and the educational opportunities for their children decidedly limited, and there are practically no limitations as to the hours of labor and much of the work is done under piece work conditions, and

WHEREAS, Much of the present condition of the migratory and transient worker is the

result of the machine age with all of its complexities, a mechanized development too rapid for personal adjustment, and

WHEREAS, While this is not primarily a problem of the trade union movement, it is of vital importance to all. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommend that all groups within our movement give careful study and thought to any procedure advanced whereby the problem of safeguarding and protecting the social, civic and industrial rights and welfare of the migratory and transient worker may be permanently and satisfactorily solved and these fellow workers of ours be reestablished into an economically sound community life.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Granite Cutters' International Association and Journeymen Stonecutters Association Be Awarded Jurisdiction Over Quarrymen

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Paul A. Givens, P. J. Cullen, Journeymen Stonecutters Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The Quarrymen's International Organization having been torn asunder with internal strife, some Locals being dominated by C. I. O. and some open shop, with a small portion organized under federal charters of the American Federation of Labor, the workers are without any international jurisdiction or service, and

WHEREAS, The quarrymen in dimension stone, marble and granite quarries are closely connected with the Granite Cutters and Journeymen Stone Cutters in the production and fabrication of stone and granite for construction and monumental purposes, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the quarrymen in dimension granite quarries be deemed as under the jurisdiction of The Granite Cutters International Association of America, and the quarrymen in dimension stone and marble quarries be deemed to be under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Stonecutters Association of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Reduction in Federal Appropriations That Would Lower Employment Standards in Government Service

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the third session of the 76th Congress, a bill known as the Byrd Amendment designed to reduce all Government appropriations except those devoted to

National Defense received widespread support in the U. S. Senate, and

WHEREAS, A horizontal reduction in appropriations of 10 percent would have caused a reduction in the salaries of government employees of at least 10 percent, and

WHEREAS, Besides the reduction in pay, many socially beneficial services of the Government would have to be terminated if appropriations are cut, as well as the introduction of speed-up tactics in the postal service, and

WHEREAS, It was only through the determined efforts of the affiliated unions of post office employees, plus the enthusiastic cooperation of the various state and central labor bodies and local unions that this measure was defeated, and

WHEREAS, The best National Defense is the maintenance of the standards of living of the working people of the United States. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as firmly opposed to any reduction in federal appropriations that would lead to cutting of salaries of Government service employees, elimination of essential services, reduction in personnel, or increasing the number of hours from the basic 40-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing A. F. of L. Commission to Study An Industrial Mobilization Plan to Safeguard Labor's Interests in Defense Program

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The menacing spread of the war in Europe with its ever present threat to the economic system upon which the democratic institutions of this country are based has caused the United States to embark upon a huge preparedness program of defense, the implication of which shows that this country, despite its genuine pacific intentions, may sooner or later become involved in a struggle for its existence and way of life; and

WHEREAS, The present Industrial Mobilization Plan, which would immediately become effective at the outbreak of such emergency, has been condemned by organized labor for its flagrant infringement of all rights that labor has struggled to attain in the past fifty years of its existence, such infringements due mainly to the fact that the present plan was conceived by military minds who have no understanding of the basic philosophy and ideals of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, although urgently desirous of peace and inflexibly opposed to all wars of aggression, nevertheless yields place to no class, strata, or group in the nation in its patriotism or desire to

serve our country when attacked or threatened by force from abroad. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall create a commission to study the question of how labor can be most effective in cooperating in the preparedness program, and still be adequately protected in all its rights and hard won rights, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned commission shall as rapidly as possible bring into being an industrial mobilization plan conceived by labor, which, while recognizing the sacrifices that must necessarily be made in a war economy, will give to labor the utmost protection in its bargaining rights, living standards, and adequate representation on all War Boards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Displacement of American Workers By War Refugees

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, In various industries in Los Angeles and vicinity, and presumably in other places in the United States, there are numerous cases where European aliens have been employed to the exclusion of American citizens, and sometimes American citizens have been laid off in order to make room for these aliens, and

WHEREAS, These aliens have come to America at about the beginning of the present World War under the terms of an agreement made by Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the governments of certain European nations, and

WHEREAS, Despite the Christian purpose for which Secretary of State Hull made this agreement, namely, to provide a refuge for certain peoples who have been driven from their homes, still they are coming to America in violation of the spirit of our immigration restrictions. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Sixtieth Annual Convention in the City of New Orleans, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the Secretary of State for the purpose of seeking a cancellation of the refugee Migration Agreement, or failing therein, to seek certain regulations that will prevent the employment of such refugees to the exclusion of American citizens.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing St. Lawrence Seaway Project

Resolution No. 13—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Superior, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The United States and Canada are entering into a united program of

National Defense which it is believed should embrace the construction of the St. Lawrence Deep Seaway for both navigation and power advantages, and

WHEREAS, Such a project would make possible the construction of larger vessels and preparedness materials in a far more protected area, free from coastal attack and destruction. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to act at once to obtain this seaway for us under the defense program and all others in Washington who may be influential or of assistance in getting this matter openly before both the Senate and House of Representatives, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, The American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations be requested to support this movement to obtain the water rights needed by the United States and to construct the same as a self-liquidating project to be paid for out of tolls and power sales, and to be maintained thereafter on a cost of operation basis and with equitable rights to both Canada and the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Respect for Jurisdiction Rights of Established International Unions

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed by granting to its National and International Unions certain jurisdiction and this jurisdiction has been recognized and it is a law of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been a tendency in late years for various National and International and Federal Labor Unions to infringe upon the jurisdiction of other National and International Unions. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposed to said infringement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all American Federation of Labor organizers and all National and International Unions be hereby instructed and urged to respect the full jurisdiction of established National and International Unions in order that complete harmony and unity of action may prevail within the ranks of Labor and that the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor see that the members belonging to other National and International organizations, or Federal Labor Unions are turned over to the organizations that have the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Transfer of WPA Sewing Projects to Private Companies

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate James A. Taylor. Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Great quantities of clothing are manufactured annually by Works Progress Administration workers in sewing projects, which clothing is distributed among the needy, and

WHEREAS, The cost of manufacturing this clothing is much in excess of that which is produced by private industry, notwithstanding the fact the workers under the WPA are receiving wages far below those paid in private employment, and

WHEREAS, For a number of years the clothing factories of the United States, because of this condition, have been unable to supply their employees with sufficient work to insure them of an income which would enable them to enjoy the American standard of living, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record to petition our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Senators and Congressmen, to devise ways and means of distributing the manufacture of this line of work to private industries, which are properly equipped, thereby reducing the cost of these commodities to the Government, and which action will automatically relieve the condition of unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Charging Abuse of Tenets of Certain Religious Sects to Undermine Wage-Hour Standards

Resolution No. 16—By Trades and Labor Assembly, New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has succeeded in establishing wage and working standards recognized and protected by state and national laws, and

WHEREAS, Members of certain religious sects in Tuscarawas and adjacent Counties of our state have been entering our industrial life under guidance of certain employers and counsel of several attorneys who hold double standards toward labor, in a manner designed to oppose and destroy our present social and wage standards by commercializing on their religion, and

WHEREAS, Our country has now an established plan of conscription for military service to which these same religious members will claim "conscientious objection" even though they work with and under the protection of guns and other weapons of violence in industrial strife, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Trades and Labor Assembly of Tuscarawas County, State of

Ohio, petition the convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, to acquaint all unions of these unfair conditions and to render us whatever assistance is possible in remedying this condition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Appointment of Interracial Committee to Investigate Charges of Trade Union Discrimination Against Negro Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Color clauses in constitutions and rituals, and various other forms of discriminations by some international unions, bar workers from membership because of race or color, which divides the workers and destroys the basis of labor solidarity, the only hope of the wage earners, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the color bar in constitutions and rituals of all trade unions, and all forms of prejudice in the labor movement based upon race, color, religion, sex, or nationality; and instruct President William Green, in consultation with the Executive Council, to appoint an Interracial Committee of six, three Negroes and three Whites, members of trade unions, which shall investigate cases of discriminations by trade unions against workers, by barring workers from membership or from employment on jobs, on account of race or color, that may come before it, with a view to making reports and recommendations to President Green and the Executive Council, for appropriate action toward the elimination and abolition of the color bar and various and sundry forms of discrimination, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Interracial Committee meet in the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington, and organize at some convenient time following this convention, and work out its plans of procedure and methods for dealing with this important question of race and color discrimination in trade unions, and that President Green arrange to have funds provided for travel, maintenance, and stenographic services for the members of the committee when occasion arises for the committee to investigate cases of discrimination involving membership in unions or employment on jobs, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That Interracial Committees be established by city central labor bodies for the investigation of cases of discrimination against workers on account of race or color, involving membership in unions or employment on jobs, and that the said Interracial Committees make reports and recommendations to the city central labor bodies for action toward the discussion, edu-

cation, and eventual elimination of all forms of race and color discrimination in trade unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green, address letters to national and international unions that have color clauses in their constitutions and rituals, or unions that practice discrimination against Negro workers, requesting and urging that committees be set up in their national conventions for the purpose of conducting investigations and promoting the discussion and education of the membership toward the elimination of the color bar and various forms of discrimination because of race or color.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Appointment of Negro Labor Organizers

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, There are millions of workers, black and white, that are unorganized, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, in New Orleans, go on record in favor of the appointment of paid Negro labor organizers to work as a part of the staff of the A. F. of L. organizers, out of the headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Integration of Negroes Into the Armed Forces of the United States

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Negroes have a record of unquestioned loyalty to America, and matchless fighting ability as soldiers in every war our country has engaged in, from Bunker Hill in the war of Independence to Flanders Field, in the last World War, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention in New Orleans, assembled, go on record, in view of the impending peril to our country by the totalitarian dictatorships, and the need for national unity and complete and adequate national defense, for the integration of Negroes into all of the armed forces of the Nation, including the army, navy, and air corps service as officers on a basis of qualifications, and as technical, skilled, and professional services in the combat departments, and also on jobs where war munitions and equipment are manufactured and government ships of war, or of any kind, are built, on a basis of equality with all other American citizens.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Invasion of Ethiopia

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Sovereignty and independence of the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia has been utterly and wantonly destroyed by the ruthless aggression of Fascist Italy, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 60th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in New Orleans, go on record as reaffirming its condemnation of the invasion of Abyssinia by Dictator Mussolini, and demand the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of Ethiopia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Discriminatory Regulations Depriving Negroes Right of Vote in Primaries

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, White primaries are an ingenious device to disfranchise Negro citizens and seek to circumvent and nullify the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution granting Negroes the right of suffrage, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the White Primaries as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, and call upon the national, international, and federal unions to support judicial and legislative action against this political evil wherever it exists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing Anti-Lynching Bills

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Some 5,000 persons, or more, black and white, male and female, have been lynched in the last 60 or more years, and over a half dozen Negroes have been lynched this year, 1940, and hundreds of Negroes and poor Whites have been brutally flogged and driven from their homes by Klu Klux Klansmen and other lawless mobs, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as endorsing the Wagner, Van Nuys, Capper Anti-Lynching Bill, and condemn the undemocratic filibuster that is used by a small clique of Senators to prevent this Bill from

coming to a vote on the floor of the Senate, and also instruct President Green to send copies of this resolution to all of the members of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Poll Tax

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Eight states in the Nation still have the archaic and undemocratic system of the poll tax which disfranchises both Negroes and poor Whites, thereby nullifying the political power of the workers in these southern states, and making a mockery of American democracy, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the poll tax and support the Geyer Poll Tax Bill, and instruct President Green to send copies of this resolution to the members of the House and Senate, for the enactment of the anti-poll tax bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots has legal American Federation of Labor jurisdiction over licensed deck personnel on self-propelled floating equipment in all and every harbor of the United States and its insular possessions, and

WHEREAS, This jurisdiction was granted the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots over a quarter of a century ago and is continuously maintained in force since that time, and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association, a sister affiliate within the American Federation of Labor, has openly invaded this jurisdiction systematically and consistently for the past five years by raiding the locals of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots and by coercive and unconstitutional means forced our members into joining the International Longshoremen's Association under duress and boycott threats, and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has upset several closed-shop contracts held by the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots for several consecutive years with deliberate destructiveness, and

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots has protested in proper manner this piracy, not only before the past four Conventions, but also on innumerable occasions before the Executive Council and President Green as mediators, and

WHEREAS, Each aforementioned Convention as well as President Green and the Executive Council, have confirmed our jurisdiction and condemned the predatory policy of the International Longshoremen's Association, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in meeting at Atlantic City, N. J., in August, 1939, ordered the International Longshoremen's Association through its President, Joseph P. Ryan, to restore to our jurisdiction those men which the International Longshoremen's Association had filched from our locals as well as any other men within their group over whom our organization has jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, That up to and including the current date, the International Longshoremen's Association has not discontinued its dual groups, nor has not returned those members shanghaied from us, and

WHEREAS, This open piracy of the International Longshoremen's Association has caused substantial loss of members and funds to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots and thoroughly disorganized marine deck personnel wherever dual unions are in force, with the result that the men are withholding all dues and union affiliation until this matter is settled definitely, and the men can resume membership in their proper craft group, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates of the Sixtieth American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in New Orleans, La., be petitioned to order the International Longshoremen's Association, its officers and locals to obey literally the order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and return all members to us, and to cease now and forever, all raids upon our membership by any means whatsoever, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention empower the Executive Council to impose a suitable and effectual penalty upon the International Longshoremen's Association if this order is not obeyed within ninety (90) days after the Convention adjourns.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Support of Britain in European War

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The brave and heroic British workers are waging a courageous and telling battle against ruthless Nazism to save British democracy, whose collapse and destruction would constitute a grave threat

to American democracy and modern civilization as we know it; while we have no illusions about British imperialism whose history has been one of brutal oppression and betrayal of the weaker peoples. Great Britain, in this conflict, is nobly bearing the torch of civilization and liberty, and needs support. Therefore be it

RESOLVED That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the attack of the Axis Powers upon Britain, and urge vigorous and effective American support of the cause of Britain, but to keep out of the war.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Inclusion of Engineers in Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers Unions

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The employees of the Flour, Feed and Cereal Mills industry have been organized in federal labor unions by and through the American Federation of Labor and such federal labor unions have amongst their membership operating engineers who rightfully belong to and should be members of the stationary locals of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, The craft jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Operating Engineers by the American Federation of Labor is clearly defined and covers all operating engineers employed in the Flour, Feed and Cereal Mills industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all federal labor unions, composed of Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers, who have stationary engineers in their membership, to immediately transfer all such engineers to the various local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Inclusion of Engineers in Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, In unions organized under federal charters granted by the American Federation of Labor are included members who should hold membership in local unions

of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, Frequent requests have been made upon representatives of federal unions that the jurisdictional rights of the International Union of Operating Engineers be recognized and that those of their members, immediately above mentioned, be released to it, and

WHEREAS, Those requests have been ignored and no affirmative action taken with respect to those included members, and

WHEREAS, In many instances where engineers, members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, have been employed and agreements have been consummated by federal unions, strong pressure has been brought upon those engineers to become members of such federal unions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be recorded as opposing the granting of federal charters where such charters encroach upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That federal unions be directed immediately to release those of their members who, under jurisdictional definition, should hold membership in the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending Former Postmaster General James A. Farley

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Galnor, Michael T. Flinnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, Honorable James A. Farley held the position of Postmaster General for seven and one-half years until his resignation on August 31, 1940, and

WHEREAS, During the period of his incumbency in that office he maintained a consistent progressive and humane attitude in all personnel relationships, recognizing and treating with organizations of employees with fairness, and

WHEREAS, His administration of the Post Office Department has been outstanding in that postal service has been extended and improved, hours of labor have been reduced and many improvements made in

working conditions, and at the same time the operating deficit in the Post Office Department has been eliminated, thus demonstrating the practical benefit of a humane labor policy, and

WHEREAS, His official and personal acts as the head of the postal administration have won for him the friendship and the highest regard and respect of all postal employees, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend to Honorable James A. Farley its appreciation for his liberal and humane labor policy in his administration of the Post Office Department and its congratulations upon the outstanding record of that Department under his guidance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Disapproving Appointment of Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Leo. E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myres P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gannor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its sixtieth annual convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing National Committee on Fire Defense

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petria, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, World conditions have made necessary the strengthening of the home defenses of America, so that we shall not be

found unprepared in the event of an attack, and

WHEREAS, The course of the war now in progress in Europe has clearly demonstrated that in modern warfare the Fire Service, comprising the fire departments of cities, towns and villages, is a highly important part of national defense, and must perform a vital service in connection with protecting the civilian populations, as well as properties and businesses, from the ravages of incendiary fires, and

WHEREAS, The Fire Service is also recognized as being a vital part of a nation's defense in protecting the defense industries of the nation from damage and destruction by fires and explosions, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has already appointed a National Defense Advisory Commission to plan for and supervise the defense measures necessary to protect the United States from threat of foreign attack, and

WHEREAS, In order that the government of the United States may have available the best knowledge that it is possible to secure concerning fire fighting and fire protection, so that the nation's defenses from incendiary as well as ordinary fires may be as strong as it is possible to make them, the International Association of Fire Fighters has requested the President of the United States to set up a National Committee for the purpose of studying and setting up the proper methods for defense by the Fire Service of the country, in this time of national emergency, in order that the populations and the industries of the country may be properly protected, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, do hereby endorse wholeheartedly the request of the International Association of Fire Fighters for such national committee on fire defense, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention, do hereby instruct the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action in support of the efforts of the International Association of Fire Fighters to secure the appointment of such National Committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Program for Conservation of Timber Lands

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate O. G. Wright, New Mexico State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The superstructure of civilization is based on the proper combination of

raw material and labor, and

WHEREAS, One third of the land in the United States is forest land, the chief use of which is for the production of forest products, the harvesting and manufacture of which supports between five and six million people in the Nation, and about seven thousand five hundred people in the State of New Mexico, and

WHEREAS, The timber stand on those forest lands can be increased, even through use, by correct management, and

WHEREAS, The full development and perpetuation of all forest resources is necessary for the defense, security and general public welfare, and

WHEREAS, A greater supply of timber will increase and stabilize employment in the protection, harvesting, manufacture and transportation of wood products, thereby furnishing added employment and higher standards of living for all allied trades, and

WHEREAS, These and many other benefits to Labor such as economical source of recreation for workers, etc., are directly supplied by forested lands, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the New Mexico State Federation of Labor, in regular meeting assembled, urge a program which will bring about protection, development and proper use of all forested lands, and restoration of depleted forest lands so as to produce a more abundant supply of raw material. For public lands, this should include sufficient public financing for adequate protection and proper administration. For private lands, there should be Federal or State cooperation in protecting them from fire, insects and indiscriminate cutting; but if this fails to accomplish the desired results then there should be State or Federal control and, be it further

RESOLVED, That New Mexico's State Legislature Congressional Delegation and Governor be urgently requested to investigate the facts and work for legislation necessary to bring about such a program and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to the American Federation of Labor so as to inform them of our recommendations in this matter with the request that the 1940 American Federation of Labor Committee on Resolutions recommend to the 1940 A. F. of L. Convention the adoption of appropriate action in this regard to assure the several States affected of the proper protection.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That A. F. of L. Be Empowered to Act in Charges of Racketeering Involving Officials of Affiliated Unions

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Blais, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Recent instances of racketeering in a few labor organizations by individ-

uals in high places, who have exploited the labor movement for personal gain and aggrandizement have cast a reflection on the good name of the entire labor movement, and

WHEREAS, These instances have been seized upon by unscrupulous enemies of labor to discredit the cause of trade unionism and hamper its progress, and

WHEREAS, Racketeering provides hostile government officials with a convenient excuse for interfering with the legitimate activities of bona fide trade unions under the guise of prosecuting racketeers, and

WHEREAS, The integrity of the labor movement in the nation demands that it take prompt and effective action to eliminate from its ranks officers found to be corrupt or to have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has hitherto lacked the constitutional authority to take effective action against affiliated organizations harboring such unscrupulous officers owing to the autonomous powers which such organizations have traditionally enjoyed, and

WHEREAS, It has long been recognized that a formula must be devised which, while preserving the autonomy of affiliated organizations, will enable the American Federation of Labor to remove from its ranks such individuals who degrade the labor movement, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED 1. That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, or any agency authorized by it, have summary power to order the removal by any national or international union affiliated with it or federal local chartered by it, of any officer or officers convicted of any offense involving moral turpitude or conviction of using their official positions in their unions for personal gain, in all cases where such national or international unions or federal locals have failed to do so;

2. That all constitutions of national and international unions affiliated with it and of federal locals chartered by it, contain appropriate provisions for adequate disciplinary action against such of their officers as may be charged with the above acts;

3. That whenever any union fails to institute proceedings in accordance with its constitution against any officers charged with the above acts, the A. F. of L. shall use its full moral force to compel the filing of charges and the holding of a hearing upon the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requiring Consultation by A. F. of L. with International Affiliates Before Former Sponsors Legislation Affecting Membership of Latter

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officers or its Social Security Committees have had Senator Wagner and Con-

gressman McCormack introduce identical bills in the Senate and House of Representatives, the bills being known as S.4269 and H. R. 10384, and having for their purpose the extension of the Social Security Law to cover a number of employees not now covered by the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Included in this group are the employees of State, County and Municipal governments or political subdivisions thereof and

WHEREAS, The majority of employees employed by State, County and Municipal governments are covered by pension and retirement systems that have been in operation many years, and

WHEREAS, The passage of the proposed bills S. 4269 and H. R. 10384 would place these employees under the Social Security Law, and

WHEREAS, The employees now covered by pension and retirement systems are certain that the passage of the proposed bills will jeopardize their present pension and retirement systems, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the introduction of these bills none of the affiliated groups of the American Federation of Labor were consulted relative to whether or not they wanted their members included in the proposed bills, and

WHEREAS, This has brought about a serious problem for several International unions because many members have complained that the American Federation of Labor, in sponsoring the proposed bills to extend Social Security, has taken action which will ultimately result in their present pension and retirement provisions being taken from them if such bills are passed, and

WHEREAS, In order to prevent any such condemnation in the future, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this, the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as being opposed to any legislation being sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and introduced into Congress when such legislation affects the majority of the members of any affiliated International union, without first consulting the officers of such International unions affected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees Be Permitted to Appear Before Congress

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Observance of Jurisdictional Rights of International Unions By A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed under the principle of craft unionism, and

WHEREAS, It has been and is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize federal locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These federal locals admit into membership workers who come under the jurisdiction of established craft unions, and

WHEREAS, In most instances union dues are substantially lower in federal unions than in craft unions, making it difficult for craft unions to compete with federal locals, and

WHEREAS, Paid and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor are actively engaged in encroaching upon craft union's jurisdiction even going so far as to organize plants belonging to the Molders craft union, and signing contracts for a lower rate of wage than exists in signed shops in the same district and circularizing other shops with these lower wage rates thus disturbing conditions in the district and disrupting the harmony which should exist among all workers, members of the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a strong notice to all of their organizers to obey the laws of this Federation, and, that no charters shall be issued to a federal local whose application for a charter unless accompanied by a complete breakdown of all employees and specifying the Departments in the shop or plant in any industry listing types of workers employed, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter shall be issued to a federal union which contains employees that rightfully should belong to a National or International Union, unless within thirty (30) days after said charter is issued, craft union members shall be transferred forthwith to their rightful designated international or National organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizers or others working for the American Federation of Labor be notified that accepting into membership of any person or persons coming under the jurisdiction of any craft union and all present members of federal chartered unions that come within the jurisdiction of craft organizations, be forthwith transferred to said craft organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Organizers be instructed to cooperate with local organizers and business representatives when starting or organizing work in any shop, shops or plants, so that proper cooperation in organizing activities can be had for the purpose of organizing all the workers in the proper way and in their proper organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application of Molders for Change of Title to International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossel, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the International Molders Union of North America, it was decided to change the name to International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, and

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1934, in revoking the charter of the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and ordering its membership to affiliate with the Molders' Union, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor and Metal Trades Department recognize the change in name and also grant jurisdiction that was formerly covered by the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees to the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Six-Point Economic Program to Strengthen National Defense

Resolution No. 37—By Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

WHEREAS, The purpose of a democratic government is to secure the economic political and social advancement and freedom of all its people, and to safeguard the rights of all workers to continuous employment at rising wages, and in proportion to the nation's ability to produce the essentials to raise life to higher levels, and

WHEREAS, A Government conscripting its manpower in peace or wartime gives birth to the right and necessity of the exploited masses to demand from the Government, in peace or war, that it eliminate the internal forces of exploitation for profits, which create unemployment, and want among the workers in the midst of abounding wealth sufficient to the well being of all, and

WHEREAS, In our Nation there are many millions of men, women and youth who are still suffering from unemployment, low wages, inadequate medical care, and hospitalization and wretched housing, notwithstanding the fact, that the National resources, laborpower, and productive capacities required for its solution already exists, were it not for the violent opposition by labor-hating monopoly Capital and its servants, and

WHEREAS, The American people have been called upon to unite their efforts and strength, and to sacrifice in behalf of national defense and since the present defense program is definitely inadequate regarding the real needs of Labor; and because the elimination of unemployment, the protection and advancements of all the rights of the workers, and the raising of their living standards is indispensable to national unity, and a decisive first line of national defense; and in view of the pyramiding profits of Big Business, proving no sacrifices by them, when compared with the continuous and historic sacrifices of the Nation's workers and their youth, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the achievement of the following program and objectives:

1. The establishment of a national six-hour day and thirty hour work week with no reduction in daily, weekly, or monthly pay; hours to be temporarily extended if and when actual shortage of Labor exists, but not to exceed eight hours per day and forty hours per week.

2. Broadening the coverage of all Social Security, Old Age, Unemployment and Social Insurance categories so as to include all wage and salaried workers; sharp in-

creases in the respective benefits and with weekly benefits through entire periods of total or part time unemployment; establishment of a Federal Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance system and providing educational opportunities in all Departments of Art and Learning for needy youth and adults.

3. The continuous operation of all industries at full capacity to absorb all unemployed adult and youth, and at Trade Union wages and conditions, and with vocational training facilities under Trade Union guidance.

4. Systematic wage-increases for all workers in the Nation, and commensurate with the wealth produced by Labor with industry operating at full capacity in the production of all the essentials to life.

5. To oppose any inflationary measures, or devaluations, or manipulations of the currency, which tends to diminish the purchasing power or wage gains achieved by Labor, and to oppose any infringements on any of the civil rights of Labor.

6. For drastic taxation upon excess profits of all employers and corporations connected with national defense program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Officers of the State Federation of Labor, to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt; the Labor Committee of the U. S. House and Senate; the Minnesota Representatives and Senators to the Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Expressing Appreciation of Government Employees to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohal, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees, Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of

North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Private Hospitals

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in September 1940, acting at the request of local unions of building service employees, place themselves on record in favor of employees in private hospitals being covered by old age pensions and unemployment compensation, and

WHEREAS, This objective can only be obtained through Federal Legislation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the amendment of the Social Security Act to include this type of workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Religious and Charitable Organizations

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many members of the printing trades unions are in the employ of publishing houses owned and operated by religious and charitable organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security laws exclude old age and survivors benefits and unemployment compensation to these members employed by such publishing houses, and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned employees have no assurance of protection in their old age as a result of being excluded under the act, and

WHEREAS, These employees are subject to periodic lay-offs and unable to collect unemployment compensation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, November, 1940, goes on record in favor of the necessary amendments to the Social Security Act so as to include employees of this type.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Extension of Social Security Act to Include Public Employees Covered by Established State and Municipal Employees Pension Funds

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Congress of the United States a bill that has as its purpose the amendment to the Social Security Act, which, if enacted into law, would place employees of the States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies under the provisions of the Old Age and Survivors' sections of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, There are now in this nation many States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies that have established pension systems which have been in operation for many years and should these amendments be enacted into law they would thereby set up a dual pension system, which would without question prove harmful and confusing and might tend to destroy these established pension funds and thereby defeat the purpose for which they were established, and

WHEREAS The public employees pension funds now in existence have been established in most instances through the efforts of organized labor by many years of effort and thousands of members of the organized labor movement are contributors

to these pension funds and in many cases beneficiaries thereof; Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby declare as its policy the extension of the Social Security Act and in particular its Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies now have no established pension funds but that the policy of the American Federation of Labor shall be to unalterably oppose the inclusion in any manner by the Social Security Act of the States, Political Subdivisions or their Instrumentalities in the said Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where established public pension funds are now in operation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Employees in Hospitals, Private and Parochial Schools

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The present Social Security Act of the United States fails to cover large groups of hospital, private and parochial school employees, and

WHEREAS, The failure of the Act to protect these public service employees will ultimately work great hardships on them, and

WHEREAS, The present situation may be easily remedied by amendments to the Social Security Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor here and now call upon all members of Congress known to be sympathetic toward the objectives of organized labor to use their offices to promote adequate legislation to correct the deficiency of the present Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Extension of Social Security Act to Cover Employees of States and Their Political Subdivisions

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Union of Operating Engineers are employed by states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions or civil agencies, and

WHEREAS, Under the present text of the Social Security Act, those members are not afforded the protection of unemployment insurance and old age benefits provided by the Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to have the Social Security Act so amended as to bring within its provisions all employees of states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions and civil agencies, except in cases where such employees are now protected by an existing pension system.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act Which Would Conflict With Established Pension Systems for State and Local Government Employees

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Approximately ten million citizens of the United States were not granted the protection of the Old Age Pension act up in the original Social Security Act of 1935 including a considerable group of local and state government employees, among whom were many teachers in rural areas and smaller cities, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has followed its established sound policy of furthering social legislation helpful to wage earners individually and to the American standard of living in general, in giving its support to Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 to remedy the discrimination against any group of workers in being excluded from all old age protection, and

WHEREAS, This legislation covers approximately one million state and local employees, including city police, fire, school employees and others, who have contributed for many years to pensions which will pay more than will the minimum social security payments, and

WHEREAS, This excellent legislation as presented in Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384, unless amended, will undoubtedly conflict with already established pension systems and deprive firemen, policemen, engineers, janitors, teachers and many other civil service workers of rights and benefits that they have worked for and earned over a long period of years, and

WHEREAS, Federal civil service employees and the military and naval establishments are already exempted from the provisions of this legislation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Federation of Labor urge the American Federation of Labor to take immediate steps to have

Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 amended, so that they shall not include state and local employees who ask for exemption because of previously established pension systems.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Legislation to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act to Fire Department Employees

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, There have recently been introduced in Congress two bills, one by Senator Wagner, S. 4269, and one by Congressman McCormack, H. R. 10384, which if passed in their present form would include all public employees, including fire fighters, under the provisions of the Social Security Law, and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters of the United States in almost all cities have pension and retirement provisions far more satisfactory than any Social Security Act provisions, and

WHEREAS, It is quite likely that city officials and taxpayers would not long continue these pension and retirement provisions in their present form if their employees were also covered by the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the International Association of Fire Fighters convention in Des Moines, Iowa, during the week of September 16-20, 1940, went on record to oppose the Wagner and McCormack bills in their present form and to, at all times, oppose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this, the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as supporting the International Association of Fire Fighters in its stand to prevent the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council instruct its Legislative Committee to oppose any bills that might be introduced in Congress that may have for their purpose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover fire department employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Organizing Campaign Among Employees of Johns-Manville Corporation

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Johns-Manville Products Corporation is a large manufacturer of building material and other products, with factories in Nashua, New Hampshire; Manville, New Jersey; Jarrett, Virginia; Marero, Louisiana; Alexandra and Richmond, Indiana; Waukegan, Illinois; Oswego, New York, and Pittsburg, Redwood City, Watson, Los Angeles and Lompoc, California; with mines at Lompoc, California, and Chrisotyi, Arizona, and with a mine and factory at Asbestos, Quebec, Canada, employing approximately 9,000 workers; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor create a nation-wide drive for the purpose of securing a nation-wide union shop contract with the Johns-Manville Corporation, and eventually the union label on their products.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Full A. F. of L. Aid in Organization of Western Union Telegraph Employees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, The Commercial Telegraphers Union.

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, with the support of the American Federation of Labor, has for the past five years been engaged in a campaign to organize the employes of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and

WHEREAS, Considerable progress has been made, particularly since the disestablishment of the company union on August 9, 1940, by the courts, in the organizing of these workers, and

WHEREAS, New company unions are appearing almost daily calling themselves "independents" which lend confusion and set up obstacles to the successful and early conclusion of the campaign, and

WHEREAS, Sufficient evidence has been obtained to show that the great majority of Western Union employes desire affiliation within the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its assurance to the employes of Western Union, members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, American Federation of Labor, that all necessary legal, organizing, research and legislative aid necessary be furnished in this organizing campaign.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Requesting That A. F. of L. Organizers Be Notified to Consult Molders Union in Organization of Foundry Workers

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor organizers in many places have organized shops and placed all employees in one local under a federation charter, and

WHEREAS, In some cases there have been far more foundry employees than all other employees together, and

WHEREAS, We believe that in such cases it is far better to have them under a charter of the International Molders' Union than under a federation charter; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify their organizers that, where a foundry is connected with a factory where they are organizing, they shall consult an officer or organizer of the International Molders' Union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Withdrawal of Jurisdiction of Laundry Workers International Union Over Cleaning and Dye House Workers

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates W. S. Gross, H. E. Greenwald, M. Minadin, John Zitello, Cleaning and Dye House Workers International Association.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers International Union at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, was granted jurisdiction over the Cleaning and Dye House Workers employed in laundry plants, and

WHEREAS, Subsequently thereafter on January 21, 1937, the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers, was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There now prevails a condition where two international organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor have jurisdiction over an identical class of workers, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers has encountered many difficulties in their organization work, due to the dual jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, It has been determined and disclosed that because of the dual jurisdic-

tion, conflicting agreements are entered into with employers by the affiliates of the two International Unions and to the detriment of the members thereof. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor withdraw jurisdiction from the Laundry Workers International Union over any and all Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers, irrespective of their place of employment, and grant said jurisdiction to the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The manufacture and erection of wooden tanks has always been considered a branch of the cooperage trade; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union has for years organized shops engaged in the manufacture of all types of wooden tanks; and

WHEREAS, In certain cities the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has by its numerical strength prevented coopers from erecting tanks in breweries and on buildings; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record to stop this infringement by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the trade rights of the Coopers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union of North America has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for fifty years and has always had jurisdiction over coopering and insuling of chariers to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the cooperage trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is continuing to make agreements with cooperage firms in Seattle, and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, and Toledo, Oregon; and Eureka, California, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Coopers' International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on its trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Indiana; Atlantic City, New Jersey; and Tampa, Florida without success, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor request

the Executive Council to make investigation and adjustment of the complaints of the Coopers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Wall Paper Craftsmen vs. Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Rudolph Heint, United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America.

WHEREAS, The employees in the Clopay Corporation Mill, in Cincinnati, working on the production of and printing of wall paper rightly belong in the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These same employees print window shades and other printed papers using the same machines, and applying the arts of their crafts, in the same and identical manner in which they apply them in printing wall paper, and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, because of the identical characteristics of crafts and equipment used in the production and printing of wall paper, window shades and other like printed papers, feel that not only the manufacture of wall paper, but also these kindred industries, come under the jurisdiction of said International Union, and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America International Union has endeavored, for approximately a year, to arrive at a settlement of this matter, by direct conference and contacts with the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, the other International involved, and

WHEREAS, At the most recent conference of representatives of the respective Internationals, Vice President S. A. Stephens, spokesman for the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, quoted his International as disputing the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America's claim of jurisdiction over these employees, engaged in these kindred industries, in the Clopay Corporation, and

WHEREAS, Because of the unwillingness and refusal of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to release said employees and have them transferred to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, where they rightfully belong, and whose jurisdiction the latter International claims, Be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at its earliest session, take the proper consideration and action, to bring about an amicable settlement of this jurisdictional dispute, so that these employees will be transferred to the International to which they rightly belong.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Metal Polishers vs. Jewelry Workers

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, On May 10, 1922 an agreement was entered into between the Jewelry Workers International Union and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union at a conference called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This agreement was signed by the International President and two Vice Presidents representing the Metal Polishers and the International President and two Vice Presidents representing the Jewelry Workers, also by Secretary Frank Morrison representing the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This agreement provided that all Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers who were then members of the Jewelry Workers could remain as members providing they desired to do so but in the future all Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers should become members only of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union, and

WHEREAS, The Jewelry Workers International Union has violated this agreement, particularly so in the city of Toronto, Ontario Canada, where they openly advocated the acceptance of metal polishers and now have in their organization members who come within the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union. This has also occurred in many other places, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Jewelry Workers International Union be ordered by the American Federation of Labor to live to that agreement, failing to do so they shall stand suspended from this American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Metal Polishers vs. Machinists and Electrical Workers

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has granted jurisdiction of various crafts and trades to various National and International Unions and their affiliated local unions, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists and their affiliated local unions and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and their affiliated local unions have violated, and are violating the jurisdiction of local unions affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; the

United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters; the Sheet Metal Workers International Association; the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; the Automobile, Carriage, Car and Equipment Painters Union and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, in having among their membership, and claiming to represent some 1500 workers of the City of Chicago at the present time, and

WHEREAS, Such violations of jurisdiction constitutes a menace to the well-being of the aforementioned aggrieved Unions, and causes ill-will and dissension in the Local Metal Trades Council, and

WHEREAS, Such violations of jurisdiction retards the organizational efforts of the aforementioned aggrieved unions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary to abolish infringement of jurisdiction of the heretofore mentioned National and International Unions and place in such organizations all present enrolled members of the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who labor at crafts or trades not under the jurisdiction of these two International Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That adequate measures will be taken so that there will be no future infringement of jurisdiction in the enrollment of members by the International Association of Machinists or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Protest of Operating Engineers Against Encroachment of Jurisdiction in Motion Picture Industry

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Industry has become one of the major industries of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It employs members of all crafts or trades which, as national or international unions, are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Within the Motion Picture Industry has been manifested a strong tendency toward an industrial form of organization which tendency has proved definitely detrimental to the interests of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, It has been earnestly attempted to cause the International Union of Operating Engineers to be recognized as the organization in which those employees of the Motion Picture Industry, coming within its jurisdiction as defined by the American Federation of Labor, should be members, and

WHEREAS, That attempt has in large measure been defeated by the tendency above mentioned, and

WHEREAS, There are now members of other national or international unions who are employees of the Motion Picture Industry and who by jurisdictional rights, as defined by the American Federation of Labor, should be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary to check encroachment by other national or international unions in the Motion Picture Industry upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention direct the immediate release by national or international unions of those of their members in the Motion Picture Industry, who come within the defined jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, to that organization.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Operating Engineers vs. State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was granted rights by charter by the American Federation of Labor to organize employees of State, County and Municipal Governments, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has attempted to organize all such employees without regard to the chartered rights of other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, By the pursuit of that policy, employees have been included in the membership of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees who should, under rights fixed by charter, be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, The pursuit of that policy has tended to weaken and break down local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, President Zander of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees did on date of May 26, 1938 distribute to the local unions, comprising that organization, a release or circular in which were clearly defined the limits of the charter rights of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal

Employees with respect to those employees who come within the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, The intent of President Zander, as therein set forth, has never been followed out by member local unions of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to release all those of its members who by charter rights should be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Machinists vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Harvey W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, W. F. Robinson, John D. Lengel, A. M. Jurrus, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, There exists an agreement entered into October 25, 1928 by and between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the International Association of Machinists, which reads as follows: "

"It is hereby agreed between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America will release at the expiration of their present Agreements all claims to men working strictly at machinists' work, or men who are devoting a majority of their time to machinists' work of the various Street and Electric Railways of America where the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America makes contracts and in the future, the Amalgamated Association will not insert or cover in any manner in their agreements, the wages and working conditions of machinists, and at the next meeting of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, which will be held in February of 1929, the General Executive Board, at this meeting, will send out a circular letter to all local divisions of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, informing the membership of this agreement reached with the International Association of Machinists, and will advise in compliance with this agreement that all members who are working at machinists' work, for Street and Electric Railway Companies, that they become members of the International Association of Machinists.

"It is understood and agreed that men working in barns, stations, garages and at all other classes of work, *except as herein provided*, including men doing temporary repair work, are still eligible and will remain members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

"In any locality where a dispute may arise over the provisions of this agreement which cannot be adjusted by the local representatives of the two organizations, there shall be sent by the International Presidents of the two organizations, a man from each of the International Organizations to bring about a satisfactory understanding and if they cannot agree then the two representatives shall lay all the facts in connection with this dispute before the President of the American Federation of Labor and both organizations agree to abide by his decision"; and

WHEREAS, For a number of years the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America had the above-mentioned agreement printed in a booklet containing its Grand Lodge Constitution for announcing its policy to its general membership, and

WHEREAS, The A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. has, at least during the past eight years, shown a total disregard for this agreement and has enrolled, as members of its union, machinists, auto mechanics and machinist helpers, and in further violation of the above-mentioned agreement has embodied wage rates and working rules for machinists, auto mechanics and machinist helpers in contracts with its employers and in many instances the said wage rates are considerably less than the wage rates the International Association of Machinists established for similar work with other employers in the same community, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Council, during a session held May 15, 1939, made the following declaration:

"The Executive Council grants jurisdiction over inter-urban and long distance passenger bus operators to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

"Workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations or garages, come under the jurisdiction of the International Unions already granted to them by the American Federation of Labor."

The second paragraph of this declaration announces in clear, understandable language that the Amalgamated has no jurisdiction in the departments indicated, and

WHEREAS, Letters of protest have been addressed to the General Office of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A., conferences were held with its officers, (President William Green arranged one of these conferences and participated therein), but with all these efforts, the A. A. of S. & E. R. E.

of A. has refused to abide by the provisions of the agreement above mentioned, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America be, and is hereby, instructed to discontinue trespassing upon the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and is further instructed to cooperate for adherence to the provisions of the agreement entered into October 25, 1928 by and between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists, attested by President Green, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent and purpose of this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Requesting Affiliates' Cooperation in Having B'nai B'rith Magazine Printed Under Union Conditions

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of our unions that the B'nai B'rith magazine, whose head office is located at Omaha, Nebraska, and which was formerly printed in a union shop at Cincinnati, Ohio, is now being printed by the Webb-Linn Printing Company of Chicago, a notorious non-union shop, and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made to persuade the management of the Webb-Linn Printing Company to unionize their shop, but regardless of our efforts in this matter, this non-union concern has refused to place their shop or its employees under union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The management of the B'nai B'rith has been approached to transfer the printing of their monthly magazine to a union shop, but to date they have failed to respond to our request, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to contact the management of the B'nai B'rith through Mr. Henry Monsky, its President, who is located in the Omaha National Bank Building, Omaha, Nebraska, and respectfully request him to have the B'nai B'rith magazine printed under union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Condemning Montgomery Ward Distribution of Unfair Products

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The two great chain and mail order concerns, namely, Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward Company constitute mighty economic forces in the United States owing to the colossal volume and diversity of commodities sold, and

WHEREAS, Obviously owing to the tremendous amount of goods purchased and distributed by these concerns they wield a considerable influence upon Labor, and

WHEREAS, The expressed attitude of the Montgomery Ward Co. now is and has been, that it has no interest in labor controversies, and

WHEREAS, This means the policy of this company is to ignore completely the protests of organized labor against unfair products and it is now handling many unfair lines of merchandise to the detriment of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the International Molders Union of North America in convention assembled, this ninth day of September 1940, that the policy of the Montgomery Ward Company with respect to purchasing and distributing merchandise unfair to organized labor and disregarding their protests, be condemned and the company notified to this effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless the Montgomery-Ward Company decides to discontinue its present unfair attitude towards organized labor, that the International Molders Union of North America participate in a movement to launch a nation-wide campaign on the part of organized labor against this company.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Proposing Pensions for Workers Who Constructed Panama Canal

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Labor Council, California.

WHEREAS, The construction of the Panama Canal in the early 1900's not only joined two oceans together but was the greatest engineering feat of its time, and

WHEREAS, This great job could not have been completed without engineering and planning but such engineering and planning would have been of no avail had it not been for the workmen who did the work after the plans were made, and

WHEREAS, The Army and Navy and Public Health officials and employees who participated in the construction of this project have, after their life of usefulness, been taken care of by the United States Government through pensions and otherwise, but no such recognition has, as yet, been given by the Congress of the United States to the men who did the actual job, many of whom contracted tropical diseases during their stay in the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, There are approximately fifteen (1500) hundred of these men, mechanics of various trades, who are the veterans of this construction job and who are yet alive, and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress at the present time Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674 which, if enacted into law, would provide a pension for these former workers on the Panama Canal and give some recognition to their services in that undertaking, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Convention in New Orleans in November, 1940, that it go on record as endorsing the two companion bills above mentioned, and lend its support to secure the passage thereof.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Restrict Government Employees on Leave Taking Outside Employment in Competition With Unemployed Workers

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The United States Government by reason of existing legislation, Civil Service regulations and classification laws, has extended to its employees the best of working conditions, both as to hours and wages, and leave, and

WHEREAS, These conditions are such as to render it unnecessary for such employees to accept outside employment to the detriment of the vast number of unemployed, and

WHEREAS, It has been reliably reported that some of such government employees accept employment as retail clerks while enjoying leave from the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Such practice is a detriment to the gains which labor has made in its struggle to establish a five-day, thirty-hour work-week, and

WHEREAS, This practice strikes at the very roots of the principles which led to the establishment of the short work-week as enjoyed by the majority of government employees, and

WHEREAS, The hiring of government employees by retail employers hinders the opportunities of our bona fide union members who are in good standing but are permanently or temporarily out of work, and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to secure work for its less fortunate members whenever possible, by advocating the thirty-hour work-week for all employees to overcome the curse of unemployment, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Sixtieth Annual Convention condemns the practice of employers hiring government employees for intermittent labor and also any government employee for accepting such work as being destructive to the employment policy of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to remedy this situation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, War, Navy, Interior, Labor, Commerce, State, and Treasury, to the Attorney General, and to the Postmaster General.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Repeal of Woodrum Amendment Eliminating Prevailing Rates of Pay On Relief Work

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The so-called Woodrum amendment eliminated prevailing union rates and conditions on WPA work and this section of the appropriation bill providing for relief has never been eliminated, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every effort to have this provision in the relief appropriation bill repealed.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Prevent Awarding of Government Contracts to Unfair Employers

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate J. J. Handley Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor is the bulwark of our democratic form of government, and

WHEREAS, The principles and objectives of organized labor make for happy and healthy people, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement is first to defend our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, There are employers who are tearing down the principles and policies for which we stand, and

WHEREAS, The department of contracts of the United States government is giving contracts running into millions of dollars to employers who refuse to enter into labor agreements with organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Those employers are working their employees under conditions that are below the standards of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek ways and means and if necessary legislation to prevent the awarding of government contracts to employers who are unfair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing Granting of Government Contracts to Firms Violating Labor Laws

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Connecticut Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, went on record as opposing the granting of government contracts, especially those given out under the ten billion dollar national defense program, to firms which violate such labor laws as the Walsh-Healey Act, the War Hour Law, and the Wagner Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Connecticut Federation of Labor to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to work for the passage of this resolution at the National Convention.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Retirement Legislation For Air Line Pilots

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate David L. Behncke, Air Line Pilots Association.

WHEREAS, The Air Line Pilots employed by commercial air lines throughout the United States are engaged in a pioneering industry, and through their efforts, skill, and courage air line safety and flying in the United States has surpassed that of every nation in the world, and

WHEREAS, It takes long years of training, constant study and research, and the demand is for employment of men as air

line pilots of comparatively young years, and

WHEREAS, In the event of a fatality to an air line pilot, his wife and children who have been totally dependent upon his earnings are without means of support, and

WHEREAS, Insurance companies throughout the United States have uniformly refused to accept air line pilots for more than a nominal amount of insurance at a premium rate that is exorbitant and unable to be kept up by most pilots, and because of which most pilots are not able to secure proper insurance coverage, and

WHEREAS, The air line pilots of the United States are an important part of our first line of defense in the event of war and that approximately seventy-five per cent of the said pilots are trained as officers of the National Guard Army, Navy, and Marine Air Reserves of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The present social security laws are inadequate to take care of the needs of pilots as presently constituted and

WHEREAS, Their active earning lives are relatively short, it being quite probable that pilots will not continue their careers, except in rare instances, beyond 50, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this Sixtieth Convention does hereby unanimously recommend that legislation be enacted by Congress to provide for the retirement of pilots at an age not later than fifty-five (55) years of age, and a pension of a monthly minimum of \$200., and because of the fact that the pilot is a first line of defense and a good right arm of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, that the United States and the air line companies of the United States contribute jointly to the cost of retirement for air line pilots. In addition to the above, the legislation should contain provisions for eligibility for wife's benefits and child's benefits in general following the eligibility requirements of old-age and survivors' insurance, and such other provisions as will adequately meet the peculiar problem confronting the air line pilots of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Campaign of National Federation of Post Office Clerks to Secure Progressive Pay Increases For Substitute Clerks

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing the campaign of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure raises in the hourly rate of pay

for substitute clerks, so that the rate of pay after the first year of service would be equal to the pay received by a regular clerk, and to advance each year until the rate of pay is based on \$2.100 per year, divided by 1,904 hours of work.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Seniority Legislation for Post Office Clerks

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing the enactment of seniority legislation for post office clerks, as outlined in the provisions of the Flannery Bill H. R. 3937, 76th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Endorsement of H. R. 4904 for Annuity Legislation for Widows of Post Office Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a Widow's Annuity for post office employees, as outlined in the provisions of the Randolph Bill, H. R. 4904, 76th Congress, which provides for annuities for widows of retired post office employees, and for proportionate annuities for widows of employees who die while in the postal service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Legislation Reducing Hour Requirements of Substitute Post Office Employees Qualifying For Annual Leave

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Substitute post office employees are required to work 2,448 hours in a fiscal year in order to obtain sick and annual leave equivalent to that obtained by regular employees, who are required to work but 1,904 hours to secure the same leave, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing legislation that would reduce the number of hours required

before substitute post office employees are entitled to the full quota of sick and annual leave from 2,448 to 1,904 hours per year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Endorsement of H. R. 5406 Amending Retirement Law For Government Employees

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of retirement legislation for government employees, the provisions of the Randolph Bill, H. R. 5406, 76th Congress, which provides for optional retirement after 30 years of service and compulsory retirement at age 60, for all groups regardless of roster title.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Approving Pay Increases For Postal Employees On Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law a bill granting post office employees an increase in pay of \$100 per annum after the first 10 years of service, and \$100 per annum for each succeeding 5 years of service, up to and including 30 years of service, as embodied in the Mead Bill, S. 487, 76th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Campaign to Secure Enactment of S. 490 to Conform Overtime Rate of Pay to Shorter Work Year

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to secure the enactment into law of the provisions of S. 490, 76th Congress, relating to adjustment of the overtime rate of pay to conform with the 253-day work year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a bill providing for the establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, as embodied in the Pearson Bill, H. R. 3113, 76th Congress, which provides mainly that the Court be composed of a representative of the Civil Service Commission, a union representative selected by the appealing employee, and a third to be selected by the first two.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Extension of Civil Service to Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 74—George L. Warfel, Delegate, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees, and

WHEREAS, The members of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers of the United States Postal Service remain unclassified. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 60th annual convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will extend the civil service so as to include the Special Delivery Messengers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue to cooperate with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or Executive Order, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Legislation to Protect Sugar Industry Workers

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan John R. Owens, Michael J. Dwyer, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men and women affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who work in the seaboard refining states handling, storing, refining, and distributing cane sugar, and

WHEREAS, Jobs have been lost by these men and women in the last several years because Federal Sugar legislation has caused less cane sugar to be handled, stored, refined, and distributed by these workers, and

WHEREAS, This legislation has restricted refining work through quotas and has otherwise permitted competition from unorganized and cheaply-paid workers in the tropical refineries to take jobs away from our seaboard cities, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting Congress to enact sugar legislation in 1941 which will exclude entry of any refined sugar into the United States which has been made by tropical labor and at the same time will not permit the expansion of production by any group receiving Government subsidies so that American organized workmen can regain their lost employment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation Recognizing Right of Government Employees to Collective Bargaining

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A cardinal principle of American democracy is the right of citizens to organize in unions and bargain collectively, and

WHEREAS, Legislation recognizes the right of government employees to become members of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, Government officials often decline to enter into agreements affecting working conditions of government workers on the grounds that no express authorization has been made by the constituted legislative authority, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, favor the enactment of legislation giving to government workers the right to enter into collective bargaining agreements.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has as one of its major objectives, the establishment of an impartial Court of Appeals in the Federal Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, There is no law in the Service which makes positive provision for

granting to civil service employees the right of a fair hearing before an impartial body in event of charges leading to dismissal, demotion, or suspension, and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy of the existing provisions of law may give rise to arbitrary action by officials or react unfavorably against organization by intimidation of union activities, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in New Orleans, La., request the national legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a legislative bill designed to accomplish this purpose and make every effort to secure its passage in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing General Legislative Program for Government Employees

Resolution No. 78—By James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend that legislative steps be taken to establish a Court of Appeals for all Federal institutional employees. Such a Court would be a safeguard to the rights of all concerned.

RESOLVED, That the custodial-mechanical merger as established by the United States Bureau of Prisons be dissolved and abolished, and that all mechanics be restored to the status held by them before said merger of duties was put into effect. This merger is contrary to the principles of Organized Labor and unfair to mechanical officers. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor recommends corrective legislation that will effect a severance of these two branches of service, i. e., custodial and mechanical.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation that will establish the working period for all Federal institution employees as a forty (40) hours, five (5) day week, with compensatory leave or time and one-half for overtime.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation to establish a twenty-year optional retirement and twenty-five-year compulsory retirement for all prison service employees, due to the extra hazard connected with this work.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation which shall limit the hours of duty for any prison service employee, on emergency duty, to twelve hours, which must be followed by an eight-hour rest period before said employee may be called for further duty. This is a safety measure necessitated by the extreme strain of emergency duty.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation which shall establish compensation during training for all employees

of the Federal prison service or training on government time.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation to provide all employees of the Federal prison service with uniforms in those cases where the wearing of uniforms is compulsory.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the requisite legislation that may be required to place the employees of the Federal prison service under the scope of the "Automatic Promotions Within Grade" regulations now in effect in other branches of Government service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Higher Pay For Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Substitute workers of the Postal Service are required to work under very irregular conditions, and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of how many hours he will work and how much money he will receive imposes an additional hardship upon him, and

WHEREAS, The work he must perform is identical with that of the regular employees, he must qualify on the same examinations, without receiving any increase in compensation, regardless of the length of time he is a substitute, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the 1940 Convention request the national legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced into Congress legislation designed to remedy this discrepancy in the wage scale between regular employees and substitute employees by the enactment of a graduated pay scale bill affecting all substitute workers.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Govern Selection of Site for New Abbott Vocational School, District of Columbia

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There is to be constructed in the District of Columbia a new Vocational School, to be known as the Abbott Vocational School, and

WHEREAS, Many children of members of organized labor in the District of Columbia attend this Vocational School, and

WHEREAS, It is proposed to build this Vocational School in a very undesirable and remote section of the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union has protested against the building of this Vocational School on such an undesirable and remote location and has suggested that it be built on a site owned by the District of Columbia centrally located, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States legislates for the District of Columbia because the citizens of the District of Columbia are denied the right of suffrage, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor to petition the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to provide that the new Abbott Vocational school for the District of Columbia be built on a site owned by the District of Columbia centrally located and within reach of the large majority of the children of the District of Columbia who will attend this Vocational School.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Extension and Improvement of the Civil Service System

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Hornor, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. E. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system as distinguished from the spoils or patronage system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system

guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its Sixtieth annual convention reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Thirty-Year Optional Retirement Plan for Government Employees

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gai nor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficial Law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Labor Representation On the U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gai nor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United

States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Approval of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burus, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged

with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation Laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Seniority Principles for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Fed-

eration of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers, J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vaca-

tion leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages, equitable upward pay revision equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry, Be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Approving Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; W. A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General and other policy forming officials of the Post Office Department have repeatedly

declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesmanship through their duly elected representatives, and

WHEREAS This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of The American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Approving Pay Increases for Postal Employees On Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for

postal employees as embodied in a bill introduced by Honorable James M. Mead, Senator from New York, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated postal organizations to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Higher Pay for Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked, and

WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years, and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Higher Standards of Employment for Rural Letter Carriers

Resolution No. 90—By I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

RESOLVED, That rural routes in densely populated areas requiring more than forty hours per week to service and under forty-five miles in length, should be adjusted and reclassified, as to pay, on a parity with the regular city delivery service, with a

five day week in all cases where it is possible.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That no rural carrier should receive less than \$2.00 per day equipment allowance.

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our opposition to the practice of extending rural routes of unreasonable lengths and we seek Department cooperation or legislation if necessary, for a correction of this disparity.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the mileage pay status of rural carriers as prior to July 1, 1934, be fully restored with an equipment allowance for all rural carriers of six cents per mile per day.

RESOLVED, That we seek passage of H. R. 9272, providing Civil Service Status for all rural carrier substitutes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing Granting of Government Contracts to Concerns Violating National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Bialis, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is now the law of the land, and

WHEREAS, Certain large corporations who bid on government contracts have flagrantly and wilfully violated the law by employing coercion and intimidation and even by resorting to violence to impede or prevent workers from exercising their rights granted to them under the law, and

WHEREAS, It is intolerable that such employers who have wilfully and deliberately violated the law of the land shall be enabled to make profits on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act has already established the policy of granting government contracts only to employers who have complied with conditions as to wages and hours established under the Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention goes on record in favor of extending the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found by a recognized government agency to have violated the Federal statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and that every effort be made to bring about the enactment of an amendment which will embody this change.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment of Sugar Act

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin W. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Section 301 of the Sugar Act of the United States provides that no benefits shall be paid to any planter who employs children under 14, and

WHEREAS, The years of 1937, 1938 and 1939 the large plantation owners employed children and therefore were denied the benefits of the act, and

WHEREAS, Congress voted, in effect, to set aside the law after it had been violated and to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to these exploiters of child labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled deplores this anti-social legislation and calls on all city, central and state federations to help in preventing such action to occur again in the future.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and

Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Navy Yard Employees Substituted in Supervisory Positions Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John F. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Eliminate Pay Rate Discriminations in U. S. Navy Department

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Several previous Metal Trades Department Conventions and American Federation of Labor Conventions have adopted resolutions bearing upon the elimination of the intermediate and minimum rates of pay as established under the Schedule of Wages for Field Service Employees of the United States Navy Department, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department and the officers of the American Federation of Labor have not been successful in their efforts to have this condition eliminated. and

WHEREAS, The President of the Metal Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor have not been able to see the President of the United States as instructed by conventions to confer with him regarding the sustaining of one rate of pay for employees of the Navy Department, and

WHEREAS, The President of the International Molders' Union of North America has on many occasions attempted to have this condition eliminated for foundry employees, U. S. Navy Department, and has conferred with the Acting Secretary of Navy, Charles Edison, on this subject without the desired success, and

WHEREAS, Conditions of employment in the Navy Department have undergone several important changes since the National Defense Program was instituted and the several foundry departments of the Navy are having a difficult time in securing competent employees for the work being produced, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has recently appointed a new Secretary of Navy, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the International Molders' Union of North America immediately request a conference with the Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of discussing the elimination of the intermediate and minimum rates of pay for foundry employees in the Navy Department Service, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Molders' Union introduce a resolution dealing with the above subject at the coming convention of the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Molders' Union request that proper legislation be drafted or that the A. F. of L. endorse any proposed legislation that may be pending before Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Calling for Legislation to Prohibit Requirement of Physical Examinations of Applicants for Employment

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi,

James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The workers of this nation are being forced into physical examinations by the Insurance Companies for the protection of the finances of those companies insuring manufacturing firms against laws giving compensation to the workers, and

WHEREAS, These examinations are so drastic that they prevent workers that are capable of doing a full day's work, from obtaining employment because of minor defects and who are fully competent to look after their own physical condition, and

WHEREAS, These physical examinations throw workers out of opportunities to secure employment because of an age limit put on by the insurance companies and it is proving a hardship to the workers in being able to provide for their families, yet they are still in the prime of life, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record to submit to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor those resolutions calling upon those bodies to call on all State Federations of Labor to have laws passed in the various States prohibiting physical examinations of human beings when seeking employment or while employed by any manufacturing concern that is operating for profit, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention when they return to their local unions introduce resolutions to their Central Bodies calling on the State Federations of Labor to introduce amendments to the laws of the various states prohibiting physical examinations of human beings as a condition of employment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Prevent WPA Displacement of Employment Opportunities for Qualified Non-Relief Building Trades Workers

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Relief Appropriation Bill as enacted by Congress has eliminated the proviso which limited W.P.A. appropriations on construction projects to \$52,000, and

WHEREAS, This was undoubtedly to encourage local sponsors to undertake major construction projects under W.P.A. regulations, and

WHEREAS, The W.P.A. program has for the past several years seriously affected employment opportunities for non-relief construction workers by approving W.P.A. construction projects without properly determin-

ing the trade qualifications of the persons on relief, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officials of the American Federation of Labor and its departments use their full influence in preventing W.P.A. construction projects being approved, excepting only in places where it has been clearly established that qualified construction workers are on relief and available in sufficient numbers to complete the project.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Protesting Awarding of State Contracts for Construction and Remodeling Work On WPA Basis

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become a general practice throughout Ohio for state and local governing bodies to award construction and remodeling work in conjunction with WPA, thereby depriving bona fide building craftsmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor of an opportunity for employment on such projects because of the sub-standard wages paid in connection therewith, and

WHEREAS, Such general practice of awarding public construction and remodeling work on a WPA basis has a demoralizing effect on the wage structure of building craftsmen, in many instances less than half the prevailing union wage rates in the larger cities, and

WHEREAS, It is the contention of those most affected that the time has arrived when such practice of letting public construction and remodeling awards must be discontinued if building craftsmen are to be safeguarded in their established union wage rates and conditions, and if they are to be assured reasonable steady employment, and that building contractors will be enabled to establish themselves on a basis of expectancy to survive, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor do hereby go on record as vigorously opposed to state and local governing bodies awarding building construction and remodeling contracts on a WPA basis and insist that such awards now in effect be curtailed and that no further awards on a WPA basis be made by any such governing bodies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the Ohio State Federation of Labor be directed to use all possible means to enlist the aid of all Ohio local unions and central bodies in a concerted drive aimed at the abuses outlined in this resolution, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the consideration and approval of that body.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Favoring Legislation to Finance Extension and Continuity of Low Rent Housing Program

Resolution No. 99.—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, During the last decade, the Federal government, through several federal agencies particularly the United States Housing Authority and through local housing authorities, has entered upon a program of providing decent housing for families of low income, and

WHEREAS, The country is still faced with a serious housing shortage of more than 5,000,000 units, and

WHEREAS, In nearly all our communities, housing has fallen below the standard at which family life, health, and morals can be maintained, and

WHEREAS, The appropriation under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended in April, 1938, has now been expended, and

WHEREAS, The activities carried on under the Housing Act of 1937 gave a total of 600,000,000 man hours, in direct and indirect employment at prevailing wages, and

WHEREAS, At present families of low income cannot secure decent living accommodations at prices they can afford to pay. Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to secure the passage of Senate Bill No. 591 in its original form, thus providing an additional \$800,000,000 for low rent housing construction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the continuation of a Federal and local program of slum elimination and low rent housing until all families have secured decent and safe housing accommodations.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Proposing National Conference On Housing

Resolution No. 100.—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The country is now faced with a serious housing shortage, and

WHEREAS, There is an ever increasing need for adequate housing for families of low and moderate incomes, and

WHEREAS, The danger exists of a recurrence of the experience during and after the last war when unwarranted increases in rent occurred, putting a serious strain upon the purchasing powers of our members, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor keep in close contact with the housing situation in all parts of the country and advise the American Federation of Labor, as well as the State and local federations, on steps to be taken to secure adequate housing facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give consideration to the desirability of having a National Conference called to consider all aspects of the housing situation and to discuss the problem thoroughly with the purpose of working out adequate national and local plans.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Urging Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 101.—By Delegate Harry B. Parks, Central Trades and Labor Council of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The objects of the Central Trades and Labor Council are to mould public opinion in favor of labor, to aid and encourage the labor press, and to educate the masses as to the advantage of the purchase of union labor's products, to act as a board of arbitration in labor disputes, to discuss and examine all questions affecting the interests of the working classes, and

WHEREAS, There are quite a number of American Federation of Labor Unions in the jurisdiction of this Labor Council who are not affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council of Allentown and Vicinity, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention here assembled request the officers of all the International Unions to urge their Local Unions to affiliate with the Central Trades and Labor Councils in their jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment to Increase Per Capita Tax Payable By National and International Unions

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, James Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, International Brotherhood Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

WHEREAS, The delegates representing the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers introduced a resolution at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Cin-

cinatti, Ohio, last year, to increase the per capita tax of international and national unions from one cent a member a month to two cents a member a month, and

WHEREAS, This resolution, although defeated, received considerable support from the delegates to that convention, and

WHEREAS, Happenings in the world of labor during the past year demonstrate more than ever the necessity of increasing the revenue of the American Federation of Labor, not by an assessment of one cent a member a month, but by an increase in the per capita tax. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That part of Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, pertaining to per capita tax from national and international trade unions, be amended by striking out the words "one cent" a member a month and substituting therefor the words "two cents" a member a month.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of President

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Since his election to the office of President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green has served in that capacity diligently and faithfully, and

WHEREAS, During all these years of service the membership of the Federation has greatly increased, increasing immensely the work and responsibilities that go with this office, and

WHEREAS, Labor at all times rightfully demands adequate compensation for work performed, and

WHEREAS, There can be no question that the work and responsibilities of the chief executive of the Federation have greatly increased, it seems fitting that in some substantial form recognition of these facts should be shown by this Convention. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article VI, Section 4, of the Constitution be amended by striking out the figure \$12,000 and inserting the figure \$20,000.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of Secretary-Treasurer

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, George Meany in accepting the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation did so without any increase in salary over that paid him as President of the New York State Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the work of the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation, with its increased membership and responsibilities, is such that substantial recognition of these facts should be shown by this body. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article VII, Section 7, of the Constitution be amended by striking out the figure \$10,000, and inserting the figure \$15,000.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Amendment to Article XI, Section 11, A. F. of L. Constitution Regulating Basis of Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The present Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article XI, Section 11, provides that:

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof," and

WHEREAS, Organizations of members up to 50 are entitled to 2 delegates, and up to 100 to 3 delegates, that the said figures represent a great injustice to larger local unions, as for example: a local union of 13,000 members is entitled to only 30 delegates to the Central Labor Union while 10 small local organizations of 100 members each, totalling 1,000 members in all, are allowed the same representation, namely, 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 50 members each, totalling 750 members, are allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; or 15 small local or-

ganizations of 10 members each, totalling 150 members in all, would be allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; as the one organization of 13,000 members; therefore the 10 local organizations of 100 members each with a total of 1,000 members have thirteen (13) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members, and

WHEREAS, A comparison of the per capita tax paid shows that 10 local unions of 100 members each, totalling 1,000 members in all, pay \$20.00 per month for per capita tax, totalling \$240.00 per year, that they have the same representation in the Central Labor Union as the one local with 13,000 members that pays \$200.00 per month or \$3,120.00 per year per capita tax, and

WHEREAS, In practical operation the said Section 11 has worked to the detriment for the effective affiliation of organizations in the Central Labor Union, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the said Section 11 be amended to provide that all local unions whose membership consists of 100 or less shall be entitled to 2 delegates to the Central Labor Union and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Additional Funds For U. S. Office of Education

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin W. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need that the U. S. Office of Education be manned and equipped to gather, compile, present and interpret educational data and statistics on subjects which would aid the several States in their conduct of education, and

WHEREAS, This federal government has thus far failed to appropriate sufficient funds to enable the U. S. Office of Education of itself and in cooperation with the several States to perform this service, which is vitally essential to the proper development of the conduct of education within each of the several State and Territories by each of the several States, respectively, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled calls upon the Congress of the United States to appropriate adequate funds to enable the U. S. Office of Education to establish, conduct and maintain a service of fact-finding and research of itself and in cooperation with the several States to assist these States and their citizens in the conduct of education.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing Support For Teachers' Organization Defending American Education System

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The teachers of America desire to make the school serve most fully and effectively the ideals of American democracy, and

WHEREAS, Ill-considered efforts may be made to divert the resources of the school to short-sighted and anti-social purposes, and

WHEREAS, Reactionary interests may seek to curtail the educational services under a false conception of national defense, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, call upon all state and local bodies of the Federation to cooperate with the American Federation of Teachers in the defense of the integrity of the American educational system and in support of a further extension of that system as an essential part of the program of national defense.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Reaffirming Support of Principle of Federal Aid to States For Education

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has supported the cause of federal aid to the States for education since 1917, and

WHEREAS, The need for such aid is made more urgent by the existing emergency, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled reaffirm its support of federal legislation designed to equalize educational opportunities among the States and within the States for all persons regardless of race, nationality, religion or economic condition.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing Adoption of Six (6) Hour Work Shifts in Plants Employed On National Defense Contracts

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Official statistics show that national defense contracts let during June and July total only \$1,961,900,000 out of \$10,087,000,000 appropriated or authorized by Congress for immediate expenditures, and that actual expenditures, which reflect the delivery of defense material, were only \$330,230,000 during the same period, and

WHEREAS, Congress made available to the Army in June about \$400,000,000 which was to provide for approximately 4,250 planes, including 200 bombers and 1,700 training planes, and seven weeks later the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, reported that the Department had been able to sign contracts for only 33 planes, yet the industry had been exporting about 400 new planes a month, and

WHEREAS, Admiral Furlong testified before the Committee on Appropriations that some manufacturers and sub-contractors were refusing to accept Navy contracts because greater profits could be had from British orders, and

WHEREAS, All of the foregoing would indicate that a powerful group of profit-seeking industrialists are seriously hampering the national defense program, and are waiting to be coaxed by the Defense Commission to accept Government contracts, instead of being subjected to authoritative measures as applied by the Federal Administration's attitude in favor of drafting manpower in peacetime, and

WHEREAS, The need for organizing for defense within the shortest possible time is recognized on all sides, though there is the ever present hue and cry on the part of anti-labor groups for the lengthening of the workday, when the fact, that the shorter workday for the individual laborer, skilled and unskilled, is more productive than the long workday, has become an axiom with all rational men and women of the Nation who consider the excess payment for overtime at the rate of "time and one-half, or double time" in exceptional cases of great emergency as an effective measure—because of its being costly—to check the greed of selfish and money-mad individuals, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of adopting a universal six-hour work day within a thirty-hour work week in all plants under the supervision of the Federal Government by changing from working three shifts of workers, each shift working eight hours per day, to four shifts working six hours each within each twenty-four hour day so as to not only speed the training of unskilled mechanics, but also increase the production of equipment, supplies and materials in the event of war, and that all overtime work be eliminated as far as possible, and that the wages of those working six hours per day be raised to the equivalent of the wages now being paid for eight hours' work.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Proposing Legislation to Apply Six (6) Hour Day and Thirty (30) Hour Week to Rearmament Program

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek is recognized as one of the basic reforms to combat unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has appropriated many billions of dollars for a rearmament program, and

WHEREAS, The 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek is not specified in contracts let to private industry, and not practiced in U. S. Arsenals and Navy Yards, and

WHEREAS, Practicing the 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek on U. S. Government contracts and in U. S. Navy Yards and Arsenals should be an example for private industry, and, above all, it is the most opportune time to invoke the basic reform to combat unemployment, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the necessity of practicing the 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek in the rearmament program shall be recognized, and legislation by the U. S. Federal and State Governments be invoked to relieve unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Endorsing 40 Hour Week For Workers in Navy Yards and Arsenals

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States, has proclaimed that until such time as the unemployed skilled workers of the United States are placed back to work no attempt will be made to increase the hours of employment over the present 40 hours per week as prescribed by law, for employees of Navy Yard Stations, Arsenals, etc., and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department irrespective of the thousands of unemployed foundry workers in this country has instituted the 48 hour week for foundry employees, and

WHEREAS, This condition has prevented many of our members from gaining employment in the Navy Yard Stations, Arsenals, etc., and

WHEREAS, This condition also increases the cost of production to the general public, and

WHEREAS, There are sufficient skilled foundry employees unemployed in the United States, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor and Metal Trades Department go on record as opposed to Navy Yard Stations or Arsenals working in excess of the 40 hour week, until such time as the unemployed foundry workers are given opportunities to be employed under the National Defense Program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders Union of North America cooperate to the fullest extent with the National Defense Program in successfully maintaining the required defense of our country.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Merit Rating Under State Unemployment Insurance Laws

Resolution No. 112—By Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record in opposition to what is generally designated as employers' experience rating systems in connection with the administration of the various State unemployment compensation laws, and

WHEREAS, Some 40 states have legislative provisions in their respective State laws which provide for employers' experience rating in one form or another, and these employers' experience rating provisions will come into operation in practice

(RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED AND ACCEPTED FOR CONSIDERATION BY UNANIMOUS CONSENT)

Favoring Legislation to Protect Social Security Rights of Workers Who Enter Military Service

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Alex Rose, H. J. Glover, A. Mendelowitz and S. Herszkowitz of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Workers who are withdrawn from civilian pursuits to serve in the armed forces of our country, or who leave their positions with private enterprises to serve in Government operated establishments set up in connection with the present national defense program, lose their rights to unemployment insurance benefits, and will have

cally all of said 40 states within the period of the next two years, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has pointed out that the provisions of such experience rating laws may result in either making the existing benefit payment provisions less liberal or will act as a brake in the future against further liberalization of the benefit payment provisions in State laws and, in addition, may in many cases endanger the solvency of the State funds, out of which benefits are paid and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, with a view to safeguarding the existing benefit payment provisions in State laws, and with a view further to liberalizing the existing benefit payment procedures in State laws, prepared a bill which would if passed, amend the Social Security Act so as to set up certain "minimum standards" with respect to benefit payment procedures, and

WHEREAS, Said bill was introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States on January 9, 1940 by Congressman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts (H. R. 7762), and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record in opposition to employers' experience rating provisions as a part of State unemployment compensation acts, and

WHEREAS, Some 43 State legislatures will hold legislative sessions in the year 1941. Be it hereby

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor send out a statement on behalf of the American Federation of Labor recommending to each State Branch of the American Federation of Labor that such State Branch introduce a bill into its State legislature for the repeal of any provision providing for employers' experience rating which has been heretofore written into the State unemployment compensation act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

their right to old age and survivors' benefits seriously diminished or impaired; and

WHEREAS, No provision has as yet been made for the dependents of those called on to serve in the armed forces during the period of their service, or for their dependents and relatives in the event of death occurring while engaged in such service; and

WHEREAS, The preservation of the rights made available to workers by social security legislation and an assurance that while in their country's service their dependents will be adequately cared for, constitute an inseparable and indispensable part of a proper national defense program; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon

the respective legislative bodies charged with the responsibility of making such provision the enactment of legislation along the following lines:

1. Securing to employees who have entered the military service of the United States the continuation without impairment of all benefit rights after their discharge from the service, as provided for in the Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance laws;

2. Extending to all persons who, under the national defense program, have found employment in Government enterprises, such as navy yards, arsenals, etc., the same rights to which they are now entitled under old age, survivors' and unemployment insurance systems;

3. Providing adequate protection to the dependents of those serving in the armed forces of the nation during such service and in the case of death occurring in the course of, or as a result of, such service;

4. Granting to soldiers who have been honorably discharged adequate support until such time as in the normal course of events they can reestablish themselves in civilian life.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Cemetery Employees

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Security Act has exempted all religious, charitable and non-profit institutions from its provisions, and

WHEREAS, Certain cemeteries come within this exemption and the employees are deprived of the benefits of this Act, and

WHEREAS, All these institutions engaged in the disposal of bodies have as their dominant intent one of profit, and hence should be bound by the provisions of this Act, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, now in session assembled, that it instruct its Law and Legislative Committee to prepare and introduce a measure to amend the National Security Act so as to include cemetery workers within the benefits and provisions of this Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Legislation to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act to Police and Fire Department Employees

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Tom Cairns, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the Senate of the United States extending coverage of the Social Security Act to groups of workers not now so protected, and

WHEREAS, We have full appreciation of the effects of Senator Wagner and other friends of labor to so extend this protection and although we approve of the action of the A. F. of L. in supporting such legislation but,

WHEREAS, Such bills as now worded will endanger existing systems of pensions of Police and Fire Departments which offer more generous benefits than the Social Security Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the West Virginia State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled September 26th, 27th, 28th, 1939, in Huntington, West Virginia, feel concerned for the effect of such legislation on Policemen's and Firemen's pension systems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this problem be presented for consideration of the November annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in New Orleans with a view towards safeguarding the interests of existing Police and Firemen systems of pensions that are superior to the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Calling For All Possible Aid to Great Britain

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Louis P. Marciaute, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The totalitarian nations are everywhere imposing their rule of violence and terror, and

WHEREAS, The successes of the totalitarian nations have everywhere been followed by the destruction of democracy and the free trade union movement, and of all the moral, ethical and religious values upon which our civilization rests, and

WHEREAS, The outcome of the war now being fought by the totalitarian powers against the Democracies will affect the lives of members of free trade unions and the generations to succeed us, we believe that, to protect our security and our way of life, Great Britain and her Allies must

win and Democracy survive. Therefore be it
RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the President and Congress to take steps to provide all possible moral and material aid to Great Britain and her Allies.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Health Examination of Printing Trades Mechanics in Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of Labor has appointed a special committee to gather information as to why the United States Civil Service Commission demands rigorous health examinations and an arbitrary age limit as applied to the skilled mechanics of the allied printing trades employed in the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that a few years ago no health certificate was required, or no age limit was necessary to secure employment in the Government Printing Office, and

WHEREAS, There is no restriction placed by commercial employers of the printing trade when they hire craftsmen, and

WHEREAS, Such requirements are discriminatory inasmuch as older persons are barred from employment, although from long experience they have skill and ability, and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that electrotypers are not required to lift heavy weights, and to bar them and other allied craftsmen from obtaining work does not spread employment. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the abuse of power as exercised by the United States Civil Service Commission to the end that the Honorable Secretary of Labor may be able to remove the restrictions now imposed on allied printing trades craftsmen so that they may be employed for ability instead of health certificates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Discrimination Against Older Workers on Government Subsidized Ships

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the practice in private and government shipping departments to discriminate against old age; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government through the medium of the United States Maritime Commission is subsidizing private shipowners, which subsidy is derived from the American tax payers; and

WHEREAS, Deck officers over forty years of age who are tax payers of the United States, on becoming unemployed, have difficulties in obtaining re-employment on account of their age; and

WHEREAS, This system of discrimination cannot keep him a content and satisfied citizen of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Happiness can only be secured by giving all men an equal opportunity to work and live the American way; and

WHEREAS, There is in general little correlation between age and ability, because both experience and superannuation are functions of age, the result of such conflict is usually dependent upon the individual involved; and

WHEREAS, That ability, not age, must be maintained as the criterion for employment. Not only is ability a more realistic basis, but age can be arbitrarily used as a weapon of discrimination against members of various labor organizations; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor petition the President, Congress and United States Maritime Commission to take steps to enact legislation that this discrimination, especially on subsidized vessels, be discontinued.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Wider Distribution of Government Contracts for National Defense

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the obligation of all good citizens and of the Government of our United States to provide a maximum of security against the infringement of our welfare and safety; and

WHEREAS, These privileges are rapidly becoming involved in the situations abroad; and

WHEREAS, These situations and their consequent menace are not confined to the Atlantic, but appear also on our other borders; and

WHEREAS, Good judgment and foresight point out the urgency of providing a supply of labor trained in producing the requirements necessary to our security, and also of providing plant facilities therefor, at strategic points sufficiently distributed to furnish the supplies with a minimum of risk of destruction in large units and in whatever quarters required; and

WHEREAS, There has for years existed a condition of unemployment not only in specific areas, but all over the United States, both in the ranks of union labor as well as among the unorganized; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor Convention, in meeting assembled at New Orleans, does hereby oppose the concentration of Government awards to be manufactured in single large plants or areas to the exclusion and detriment alike of employees and employers in other areas; and be it

RESOLVED, On the contrary, that it does approve and endorse the principle of allocating to the greatest practicable extent, purchases in those areas nearest to and in volume proportionate to the final consumption; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these contracts be awarded only to firms operating under union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Barring of Communist Party From Ballot

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor Movement is active in its opposition to communism and the infiltration of Communism into our Communities, State, and Nation; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor believes that the Communist Party does not represent a party out is an agency of a foreign Government whose avowed purpose is the overthrow of our form of Government by force and violence, and whose party objectives are contrary to and opposed to the fundamental democratic principles of the California State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, does hereby go on record favoring the enactment of such laws as may be necessary to outlaw the Communist Party as a political party and to prohibit it from appearing upon the ballot in any State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Calling for Conference of State, County and Municipal Employees And Other Interested Organizations to Deal With Jurisdictional Questions

Resolution No. 121—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Billings, Montana.

WHEREAS, The State, County, and Municipal Employees Union, a National Union

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has recently granted a charter to the city and county employees in and of Yellowstone County and the city of Billings, Montana, and

WHEREAS, An officer of this union while in the process of organizing, told the city and county employees that they could take into their union people who have been expelled and/or suspended from other American Federation of Labor Unions, without regard for the reasons for such suspensions or expulsion, thereby causing unrest in other unions which are affiliated with the various international unions, and

WHEREAS, Said employees are taking into their membership members from other crafts whose jurisdiction is definite and has been granted by the A. F. of L. a long time ago, and

WHEREAS, Such activities have a tendency to disrupt favorable working conditions already existing in the city of Billings and in the State of Montana, and

WHEREAS, These encroachments upon other unions are a definite violation of established jurisdiction, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to arrange for a conference between the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union and the various other craft unions involved for the purpose of adjudicating jurisdictional disputes and to establish definite jurisdiction for the above mentioned National Unions, and that its decision be binding upon all the unions involved, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council instruct the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union to cease and desist from deliberately taking in suspended or expelled members from other unions, which is a violation in this respect of the rules and laws of the National Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Selection of Mobile, Alabama for the 1941 Convention

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Mrs. Ida Lee Merchant, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama.

WHEREAS, Each year the American Federation of Labor selects as its Convention City a place strategically located to the end that the growth of the American Federation of Labor will be encouraged and promoted; and

WHEREAS, Conventions have a tendency to educate the public and employers as to the greater aims and aspirations of the legitimate Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, While we have accomplished much in organizational activity in the deep South, there is still a great job to be done along an educational line and an organizational line; and

WHEREAS, Mobile, Alabama is, in our opinion, the best organized community under the banner of the American Federation of Labor in proportion and ratio to its population; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor movement in the City of Mobile and its immediate vicinity has done an effective job of thwarting the efforts of the dual and rebellious C. I. O. in their efforts to capture the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that the leftist element in the C. I. O. is making an intensive drive to capture the Labor movement in vital and strategic areas which are important to our National Defense Program, particularly the Gulf Area; and

WHEREAS, Within the coming year adequate housing facilities will have been developed to house a convention of large proportions; and

WHEREAS, More than \$200,000,000.00 is being spent on Industrial and National Defense Building Programs within a hundred mile radius of Mobile; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades Council of Mobile does urge upon the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, the selection of Mobile as its next Convention City; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades Council make every legitimate move to bring this convention to our rapidly growing community and that all civic agencies interested in the development of Mobile be contacted to the end that some inducement be presented to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, for the purpose of bringing the greatest representative group of the man who toils to Mobile for the Convention in the year 1941; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Building and Construction Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council for their concurrence and active effort; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Central Trades Council and a copy be forwarded to the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to be submitted to the proper committee which handles such matters at the Convention and that copies be turned over to the daily press and the Mobile Labor Journal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Calling For Re-Employment of Trade Union Officials Called to Military Service

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United

States has passed, and the President has signed a Selective Service Bill that compels registration of all males between the ages of 21 and 35 for military service, and,

WHEREAS, Some unions have been demanding recently in their contracts that if any of their members are called for war service that their seniority in their jobs must be held open for them upon their return, and,

WHEREAS, Many employers have voluntarily announced that it is their intention to re-employ, in their former positions upon their return, any employee who is inducted into the armed forces of the country, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approves of the policy that any man called for military service by the government should be assured of re-employment at his old position upon return to civilian life, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the international Unions and local unions of the American Federation of Labor to give assurance to any of their employees and officers that should they be called to military service during the present emergency that they will be returned to their old positions upon return to private life.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Neutrality Act to Extend Credit to Dominion of Canada

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Milton Doll, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, Hitler was financed and promoted to power by Thysson and his associate, in order to destroy the legitimate trades union movement in Germany, and

WHEREAS, A victory by Hitler will mean the destruction of Democracy and the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, These great United States are now giving all aid possible under the present United States Neutrality Act to Great Britain to hold the aggressor Nations at bay, and

WHEREAS, This Cash Section of the present Neutrality Act has made it necessary for the Dominion of Canada to exert rigid control over the finances of her country in order to conserve American funds for the purchase of war supplies in these United States, and

WHEREAS, This control of financing has completely cut off the Canadian tourist traffic to these United States, and

WHEREAS, The credit of the Dominion of Canada ranks with the highest in the United States, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the United States Congress to have the Cash Section of the Neu-

trality Act eliminated, in order that the credit of the Dominion of Canada may be used for the purchase of war materials, which in turn will result in the relaxation of the present foreign exchange control, thereby allowing Canadians to resume their former freedom of travel to the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation to Provide Nation-Wide Program For Public Health

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The problem of public health, its cure and prevention, has been receiving serious public attention for years; and

WHEREAS, Much progress has been made in the direction of the care and treatment of disease among those able to pay for hospitalization and medical care; and

WHEREAS, But little progress or attention has been made toward the prevention of disease except in relation to the social and pulmonary diseases, among those in needy circumstances who are unable to afford regular or periodic medical examinations; Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to sponsor any and all legislation necessary to provide for a nation-wide program of the prevention, elimination or cure of disease among the needy or destitute workers of the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Observance of Jurisdictional Rights of National and International Unions by A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed under the principle of craft unionism; and

WHEREAS, It has been and is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize federal locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These federal locals admit into membership workers who come under the jurisdiction of established craft unions; and

WHEREAS, In most instances union dues are substantially lower in federal unions than in craft unions, making it dif-

ficult for craft unions to compete with federal locals; and

WHEREAS, Paid and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor are actively engaged in encroaching upon craft unions' jurisdiction even going so far as to organize plants belonging to the Molders craft union, and signing contracts for a lower rate of wage than exists in signed shops in the same district and circularizing other shops with these lower wage rates thus disturbing conditions in the district and disrupting the harmony which should exist among all workers, members of the American Federation of Labor; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a strong notice to all of their organizers to obey the laws of this Federation; and that no charters shall be issued to a federal local unless application for a charter is accompanied by a complete breakdown of all employees and specifying the departments in the shop, or plant in any industry listing types of workers employed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter shall be issued to a federal union which contains employees that rightfully should belong to a National or International Union, unless within thirty (30) days after said charter is issued, craft union members shall be transferred forthwith to their rightful designated International or National organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizers or others working for the American Federation of Labor be notified that any person or persons accepted into membership coming under the jurisdiction of any craft union and all present members of federal chartered unions, that come within the jurisdiction of craft organizations be forthwith transferred to said craft organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers be instructed to cooperate with local organizers and business representatives when starting organizing work in any shop, shops or plants, so that proper cooperation in organizing activities can be had for the purpose of organizing all the workers in the proper way and in their proper organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Atlantic City for 1941 Convention

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The overwhelming majority of members of the American Federation of Labor in New Jersey are desirous of bringing the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, for 1941, to the

State of New Jersey, and Atlantic City; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Labor has extended to the American Federation of Labor its cordial invitation to meet for its 1941 convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, Atlantic City is undoubtedly possessed of the finest convention facilities to be found in any section of the country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Government Tax on Machinery

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates James M. Duffy, E. L. Whentley, Dales Allison, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, Improved machinery is continually being introduced, causing employees to be unemployed and unable to find employment. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the introduction of improved machinery which causes employees to be unemployed be taxed by the government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Demanding Legislation to Protect Labor Organizations From Application of Anti-Trust Laws

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the past year, the U. S. Department of Justice, through Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, has taken upon itself the criminal prosecution of many labor unions and their officers under the Sherman and Clayton Anti-Trust Laws, from the provisions of which, for many years, organized labor had deemed itself exempt; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice has taken unto itself the power of declaring what activities of labor are "reasonable" and which are "unreasonable restraints of trade", and thus has arrogated unto itself the powers of legislation, and has caused great confusion, dissatisfaction and misunderstanding among the ranks of labor; now Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation goes on record as demanding the immediate passage of Congressional legislation designed to clarify the meaning of the Sherman and Clayton Acts, and to prevent their appli-

cation to legitimate, time-honored and proper labor union activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is directed to forward a copy of this resolution to President Roosevelt, to Attorney General Jackson and his assistant, Thurman Arnold, and to each member of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Formation of National Council of Cannery Workers' Unions

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The canning and processing of fruits and vegetables constitutes one of the major industries of the United States, employing thousands of workers, and

WHEREAS, Through an intensive campaign extending for the past three years federal chartered locals, with a membership of over sixty thousand workers, have been firmly established in this important industry, and

WHEREAS, During the past three years these federal chartered locals have paid per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor of approximately \$225,000, and

WHEREAS, There are still large numbers of unorganized workers in the industry whose standard of living will be greatly improved through organization which fits the needs of the industry, which experience has demonstrated to be of the industrial type, with the greatest possible latitude in the direction of autonomy. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session in New Orleans, hereby approve the following organizational set-up for fruit and vegetable cannery workers and preserve workers:

1. That an autonomous National Council of Fruit and Vegetable Cannery Workers Preserve Workers and Dried Fruit and Nut Workers be established, and that all federal chartered locals in these classifications be required to become part of such Council.

2. That such workers be charged with the responsibility of managing their own organization, subject to supervision by a representative of the American Federation of Labor only to the degree that the American Federation of Labor may be kept informed of the progress of such unions and be in a better position to assist when necessary.

3. That a financial accounting system be installed designed especially for these cannery and similar unions, taking into account the peculiarities in employment in canneries as to seasonal work, and that a definite proportion of the per capita tax, paid by these unions, be allocated back to

the Council to be used directly by it and disbursed by an executive committee to be elected by and from the membership of the unions, for the purpose of extending organization. There also should be regular accountings of such funds made directly to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Endorsing Higher Employment Standards for Panama Canal Pilots

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Legislative Committee, assist in preparation and introduce legislation for the Panama Canal Pilots, who are now endeavoring to secure fair wages and working conditions, after 25 years of futile struggle with the Administration of the Canal Zone. Action by the Legislative Committee is desired at the earliest opportune moment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment to Walsh-Healy Act Requiring Compliance With Labor Laws on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain concerns which have openly flouted the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing are permitted to bid on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, Concerns which violate the law of the land should be prohibited from benefitting from government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Act has already established the policy of the government to grant contracts to concerns provided they meet specified conditions with respect to wages and hours, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Walsh-Healy Act be extended to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found to have violated the Federal Statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Merit Rating Under State Unemployment Insurance Laws

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always opposed the adoption of any merit rating

plan for reasons too often expressed to need repetition here, and

WHEREAS, We do not oppose horizontal reduction of contributions where the Reserve Fund has been so built up as to eliminate any possibility of its insolvency in the future, and

WHEREAS, There are now pending in Congress legislative proposals designed to prohibit any State merit rating plan, out to permit, in appropriate cases, horizontal reduction of contributions, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby goes on record as favoring and demanding Congressional legislation designed to prohibit merit rating in any State, but to permit, in appropriate cases, and only after complete elimination of employee contributions, the horizontal reduction of employer contributions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Wagner Bill to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act

Resolution No. 134.—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Senator Robert Wagner of New York has introduced into the U. S. Senate, legislation designed to extend Old Age benefits, under the Social Security Act, to agricultural and domestic workers, to state, municipal, and non-civil service federal employees, and to employees of non-profit religious, charitable and educational institutions, and

WHEREAS, This legislation is also designed to require full U. C. C. coverage of all employers, regardless of the number of workers employed, and of non-civil service government employees and workers in charitable institutions, and

WHEREAS, Labor has for years urged the passage of such legislation. Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as fully endorsing these legislative proposals of Senator Wagner, and urging passage thereof, and it is further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to Senator Wagner.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Condemning Government Controlled Hiring Halls For Seamen

Resolution No. 135.—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A bill, H. R. 10316, called the Bradley Bill, has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, This bill sponsored by the ship-owners and the Maritime Commission is one of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever directed against American seamen, and

WHEREAS, This bill has for its purpose the re-establishment of slave markets under the auspices of the United States Government in the form of government-controlled hiring halls for seamen, and

WHEREAS, The seamen, after years of bitter struggle have done away with private and government hiring halls and have through direct bargaining with the ship owners, established their right to sell their own labor through their own unions, and

WHEREAS, This same type of legislation has been attempted before, and has been defeated by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record giving the Sailors Union of the Pacific 100 per cent support in their fight against the passage of H. R. 10316.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing Senate Bill 4299 Establishing Training Ships For Seamen

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Maritime Commission was created by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 under the present administration for the specific purpose of rebuilding the American Merchant Marine, and

WHEREAS, Ever since the establishment of the Maritime Commission it has gone out of its scope and deliberately attempted to introduce legislation against the interests of the seamen, and its policy up to the present has been towards regimenting the seamen, and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has also established so-called training schools and training ships on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard for the specific purpose of training seamen for the American Merchant Marine, and

WHEREAS, The Sailors Union of the Pacific has constantly and bitterly fought the establishment of these training ships for the reason that they are breeding grounds for scabs, who can be used against union seamen in the event of a strike, and

WHEREAS, There is absolutely no necessity for training American seamen, due to the fact that today there are thousands upon thousands of American seamen unemployed because the Maritime Commission has permitted the ship owners to sell American ships by the hundreds to foreign countries, thus selling the American Merchant Marine short, and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission, in cooperation with the State Administration in California, have signified their intentions of establishing a training ship in the port of Huenehme for the purpose of training "greenhorns" to become seamen, while thousands of skilled, trained American seamen are "on the beach" unemployed, and

WHEREAS, At the present time Bill S. 4299 has been introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Overton of Louisiana which has for its purpose the building and establishing of more training ships and schools to train "landlubbers" to become seamen, and

WHEREAS, This looks like a deliberate plan is being concocted to train thousands of "landlubbers" for the Merchant Marine Service, so that in time the anti-labor bureaus in Washington, in cooperation with the shipowners, will be able to replace the present day union seamen with Maritime Commission trainees, and does break up the strong Seamen's Union movement which now exists, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record backing up the Sailors Union of the Pacific in the fight against Senate Bill 4299, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record opposing the establishment of a training ship for seamen in the port of Huenehme, California, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record to back up the Sailors Union of the Pacific in their fight against the attempts of the national Administration to regiment the American seamen through the United States Maritime Commission.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation Providing Civil Service For National Cemetery Employees

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government is contemplating the establishment of a national cemetery in San Mateo County, California, and

WHEREAS, The rate of pay for workmen employed in national cemeteries is far below the wage scale provided for in the working agreement of the cemetery employees union in this area, and is detrimental to organized labor and the Cemetery Employees Union, and

WHEREAS, All United States Government employees, with the exception of armed forces and cemetery employees are classified in their respective crafts under civil service, and

WHEREAS, Men working in the national cemeteries should have the protection of civil service and be classified as cemetery employees and enjoy a wage comparable to that earned by organized cemetery workers. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the minimum wage payable under civil service for said national cemetery employees shall be One Hundred and Fifty (\$150.00) Dollars per month, with two weeks' vacation with pay per year, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and communicate with its representatives in Congress in the endeavor to place all national cemetery employees under civil service at a minimum salary of One Hundred and Fifty (\$150.00) Dollars per month, with two weeks' vacation with pay per year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing Higher Wages for Mare Island Navy Yard Employees

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A Wage Board hearing was recently held at Mare Island, California, to consider wages of all federal employees in classes 1, 2, 3 and 4-n, and

WHEREAS, Committees of the various crafts coming under these classes presented data according to the procedure laid down by the Secretary of the Navy and the National Wage Board, and

WHEREAS, These committees representing nearly seventy per cent of the Navy Yard personnel presented wage data on a comparable work basis showing that an upward revision was in order, and

WHEREAS, Although this increase ranged from ten cents an hour on up, the local Fact Finding Board recommended an increase of only three-tenths to eight-tenths of a cent an hour, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living in the vicinity of the Navy Yard has been greatly increased by the national emergency, and there has been very little increase in wages, and

WHEREAS, The need for a continuous fight must be waged in order to realize the fruits of our work in the preliminary wage hearing. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention at New Orleans, go on record as supporting us in our fight for higher wages by requesting the National Wage Board to bring in a recommendation for an upward revision of wages.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Restrict Use of Temporary Employees in Post Office

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the United States Post Office Department the temporary employees and acting clerks are employed for extended periods of time when emergencies do not exist, and

WHEREAS, Such a policy is a menace to Civil Service, being an unnecessary evasion of the principles of Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, The employment of temporary employees and acting clerks, except for the month of December, has lowered the morale of classified substitutes by deterring their appointment to regular positions. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, urge the passage of legislation by the Congress of the United States prohibiting the use of temporary employees and acting clerks, except during the month of December, and during any real emergency, provided that such an emergency cannot be said to exist for more than two weeks in any three month period, and that where it is necessary to increase the force of greater periods than this, that regular civil service appointments be made.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Secure Unemployment Insurance For Agricultural Workers

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are among the worst sufferers from unemployment by virtue of the seasonal nature of their work, and

WHEREAS, The wages of agricultural workers are so low that it is impossible for them to accumulate a reserve, while employed, to tide them over periods of unemployment and, in fact, many of them are barely able to subsist on wages paid during this period of employment, and

WHEREAS, To the penalties of seasonal work and low wages the Legislature of California and the National Congress have added the further penalty of denial of the benefits of Unemployment Insurance by excluding agricultural workers from the protection of the Act, and

WHEREAS, The chief beneficiaries of such exclusion are the large-scale industrialized farms, field packers and shippers. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, hereby instruct the Executive Council to prepare and introduce legislation for the purpose of having enacted into law the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Requesting Enforcement of Fair Labor Standards Act in Garment Industry, Southern California

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of organized labor, the Fair Labor Standards Act was enacted by the Congress of the United States to prevent the use of the channels of interstate commerce to spread and perpetuate labor conditions detrimental to the health, efficiency and well-being of workers, and to wipe out unfair methods of competition, and

WHEREAS, Largely through the efforts of the thousands of organized clothing workers in this country a minimum wage and maximum hours provision applicable to the apparel industry, setting forth higher standards of pay and granted under the law to workers in unorganized industries, has been made part of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and

WHEREAS, Through the insidious efforts of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and other opponents of the war against poverty and insecurity, of which the Wage and Hour Law is a part, thousands of workers in the garment industry in Southern California have been denied the living wage and decent hours of work guaranteed to them by law, and

WHEREAS, This open defiance of the law has not been subject to the penalties provided as part of the law, and

WHEREAS, In times of great national and international stress it is doubly important that the lot of the working man and woman be protected against the inroads of reaction and greed. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, call upon the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor, entrusted with the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, to take immediate steps to bring the garment manufacturers of Southern California into compliance with the minimum standards of the law and to bring to the garment workers of California the reality of a living wage and decent hours guaranteed by the law of the land, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge the Congress of the United States to increase the appropriation granted the Wage and Hour Division so that it may more effectively carry on its appointed task; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution become part of the official proceedings of this Con-

vention and that the Secretary of the Convention be instructed to send copies of this resolution to Madam Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C. and to Colonel Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment to Walsh-Healy Act Requiring Compliance With Labor Laws on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain concerns which have openly flouted the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing are permitted to bid on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, Concerns which violate the law of the land should be prohibited from benefiting from government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Act has already established the policy of the government to grant contracts to concerns provided they meet specified conditions with respect to wages and hours. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in New Orleans, pledges its support to lend its strength and resources to extend the Walsh-Healy Act to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found to have violated the Federal Statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Congressional Investigation of "United States Merchant Marine Association"

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is evident that due to their importance to the life of the Nation, the unions in transportation industries are particularly vulnerable to attack by forces opposed to unions and collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The beginning of such an attack has already begun against the Masters, Mates, and Pilots organization, and

WHEREAS, High ranking Navy Officers and men holding high and important offices in both financial and industrial institutions of great prominence have appeared as sponsors for an organization named "United States Merchant Marine Association", and

WHEREAS, This association has for its object the breaking up of the union in the marine transportation industry, and

WHEREAS, This organization is now engaged in distributing false and misleading propaganda to the public about our merchant marine, its personnel and organizations, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to submit this or a similar resolution in order that the American Federation of Labor Executive Committee give all possible aid so that a Congressional investigation of the United States Merchant Marine Association and its sponsors be immediately undertaken.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring S. 3268 Regulating Numbers of Licensed Deck Officers on Ocean and Coastwise Vessels

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America are sponsoring Senate Bill 3268 to amend revised statute of the United States for the better protection of life and property, Section 4438, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that section 4438 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"Any ocean or coastwise vessel, propelled by machinery and required to be manned by licensed officers when being navigated, when not under way, but in service and not in a laid-up status, shall have on board at all times a licensed deck officer in charge of the deck department and a licensed engineer officer in charge of the engine department. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to apply to any motorboat, as defined in the first section of the Motorboat Act of April 25, 1940. Any officer authorized to enforce the navigation laws shall enforce the provisions of this paragraph." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to give all possible aid for the passage of this amendment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Enactment of H. R. 3113 Providing For Court of Appeals For Postal Employees

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a law granting postal employees the right of appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving removal from the service,

reduction in salary, or other severe disciplinary action; and

WHEREAS, Injustices may frequently be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measure; and

WHEREAS, The right to be heard before an important tribunal is an inherent right; and

WHEREAS, We believe it to be unfair and undemocratic to permit one to hear the facts and mete out the punishment without granting the employee the right to be heard; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at New Orleans, go on record as favoring the enactment of the terms of the Pearson Court of Appeals Bill H. R. 3113 by the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Approving Pay Increases For Postal Employees on Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Senator Mead in the Senate, and Representative Flannery in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, have introduced bills to establish a principle of longevity pay for postal employees; and

WHEREAS, Periodic increases in pay bolsters the morale of the employees and promotes greater efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The seniority principle embodied in longevity pay bills gives tangible recognition and reward for continuous meritorious service, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, do endorse the principles of longevity pay for Postal Employees and urges the Congress of the United States to adopt a system of longevity pay for postal employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Ruling of Comptroller-General Depriving Fishermen of Marine Hospitalization

Resolution No. 147 by Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The fishermen, according to Federal laws, are classed as seamen and have always enjoyed the benefits of marine hospitalization; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary ruling by the Comptroller-General has caused untold hardships on fishermen who are now without the

protection and benefits of medical service which other seamen are receiving; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its officials to vigorously protest this discrimination, and that the officials are hereby directed to bring all their efforts possible to remove these restrictions; be it further

RESOLVED, That President William Green and the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor be requested to make every attempt to change this decision of the Comptroller-General.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Pensions For Workers Who Constructed Panama Canal

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The construction of the Panama Canal in the early 1900's not only joined two oceans together, but was the greatest engineering feat of its time: and

WHEREAS, This great job could not have been completed without engineering and planning, but such engineering and planning would have been of no avail had it not been for the workmen who did the work after the plans were made; and

WHEREAS, The Army, Navy and Public Health officials and employees who participated in the construction of this project, after their life of usefulness, have been taken care of by the United States Government through pensions and otherwise, but no such recognition has as yet been given by the Congress of the United States to the men who did the actual job, many of whom contracted tropical diseases during their stay in the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, There are approximately fifteen hundred of these men, mechanics of various trades, who are the veterans of this construction job, and who are yet alive; and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress at the present time Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674 which, if enacted into law, would provide a pension for these former workers on the Panama Canal and give some recognition to their services in that undertaking; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Convention at New Orleans, go on record as endorsing the two companion bills, Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674, and lend its support to secure the passage thereof.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Check WPA Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For several years, the Works Progress Administration of the Federal Government, in pursuance of the laudable purpose of giving employment to employable persons in need of relief, has entered into the field of building and construction work, and

WHEREAS, At first the WPA confined itself, in the building and construction field, to the making of incidental repairs and alterations of public buildings, and adopted regulations limiting such activities to jobs not to exceed \$25,000.00, but

WHEREAS, More recently, these regulations have been ignored and the WPA has entered into the construction of new buildings, and the making of alterations of tremendous nature, substantially equivalent to new construction, in many instances the cost of which runs into the millions of dollars, notwithstanding the insurable assurances given to representatives of industry and of organized labor to the contrary, and

WHEREAS, This type of WPA activity is in effect a subterfuge which avoids the necessity of conforming with the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, and other Legislation for the enactment of which organized labor fought for so many years, and

WHEREAS, This activity results in the deprivation of private industry of its profitable existence, which could be assured by the performance of such building and construction work by private contract, and

WHEREAS, Such activity further results in the tearing down of bona fide labor organizations, in that the work is now being done under the auspices of WPA by untrained, unskilled mechanics, at the expense of thoroughly trained, experienced workers who are now out of work, in a wasteful, inefficient manner, at great and unnecessary expense, and to the immediate and ultimate detriment of organized labor and the building industry, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress has eliminated the requirement for the payment of prevailing rates of wages to skilled mechanics employed by WPA, and

WHEREAS, The performance of such work under private contract would guarantee, by the operation of the Davis-Bacon Act, the payment of the prevailing rate of wage to persons employed to perform the work. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the only effectual manner in which further incursions by the WPA into the realm of private building and construction industry and further interference with the successful establish-

ment of a fair prevailing wage can be prevented is by the passage of legislation to that effect by the Congress of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and it is hereby directed to sponsor and urge the passage of legislation by the Congress of the United States designed to require that all building, construction, repair or alteration work, in any amount exceeding \$2,000.00 to be done or performed by or on behalf of, or with the use of funds supplied or the repayment of which is guaranteed in whole or in part by an executive department, independent establishment or other agency or instrumentality of the United States, or by the District of Columbia, or by corporations all of the stock of which is beneficially owned by the United States, shall be done or performed in pursuance of a contract, advertised and let in accordance with the laws of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Proposing Adequate Housing in Defense Industry Areas

Resolution No. 150—By Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing conditions in the industrial areas of New Jersey and other States of this country are by no means adequate to provide properly for industrial workers, resulting in crowded, unsanitary conditions constituting a menace toward public health and morals, and

WHEREAS, The projected large increase in defense industries in these areas threatens to increase this overcrowding to a point where epidemic conditions will be certain to follow. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the Federal Government to take all steps necessary to erect sufficient, sanitary dwellings to house all workers in defense industry areas, so as to avoid the dangers incident to such overcrowding and urges the adoption of legislation designed to effectuate such housing developments.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

United States Housing Authority

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is urgent need for adequate new housing facilities to be constructed in connection with military and naval bases and defense industries, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority has demonstrated its ability to finance and supervise the construction of decent, safe and sanitary public housing facilities efficiently and economically, and

WHEREAS, The labor standards and policies of the United States Housing Authority require payment of prevailing wages and fair labor practices, and

WHEREAS, Duplication of agencies, effort and personnel is wasteful and confusing and should be avoided, particularly in times of emergency. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the record of the United States Housing Authority is approved and the President and Congress of the United States are requested to direct the United States Housing Authority to construct or finance and supervise the construction of all public housing necessary in connection with the national defense emergency.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Condemning W. P. A. Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor as represented by the California State Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Unions has continuously worked for and established hours, wages, and conditions of employment on public buildings, highway and engineering construction and through the prevailing wage law of the State of California, and the Bacon-Davis Law of the Federal Government, and the acceptance of fair wage standards by private employers, and

WHEREAS, The construction of public schools, city, county and state buildings and other projects such as armories, airport buildings, army, navy and marine corps housing, training, maintenance and repair buildings constitute a major portion of the volume of building upon which organized building trades craftsmen depend for employment, and

WHEREAS, The construction of roads, streets, bridges, storm drains, flood control channels, sewers and water supply systems, airports and other highway and engineering public works have provided another large field for the employment of independent organized workmen, and

WHEREAS, The construction of the federal, state and local public buildings and highway and engineering work is an important factor in the steady employment of building and construction trades workmen, and

WHEREAS, Throughout California, the State, County, City governments and subsidiary boards and commissions are rapidly

discontinuing the long established policy of constructing California public works under their own auspices and transferring many of such projects to the control of the Federal Government under the management of the Work Projects Administration, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of organized labor that if this trend continues the whole public works program of the Federal, State County and City governments will be transferred to WPA in a short time, completely eliminating organized skilled building and construction workmen from all opportunities upon Federal, State, County and City public works projects, and

WHEREAS, The present requirement of the National Defense Program requires the patriotic support of all citizens, particularly public officials, and

WHEREAS, A large volume of National Defense construction is being undertaken in the Pacific area offering an opportunity for those on relief, who are qualified to do construction work, to rehabilitate themselves through employment on an efficient, practical, full-time work basis relieving the taxpayers of the burden of their support by returning to private employment and obtaining for themselves the benefits of satisfying jobs, higher wages and greater purchasing power, which are not obtainable on a relief wage basis, and

WHEREAS, The dual financing and management of WPA projects involving local sponsors and the Federal Government have improperly combined the administration of relief and the construction of public works in such a manner as to constitute the misuse of public funds by the application of water and power revenues, gasoline taxes, flood control and sanitary district revenues, school taxes and other State and local revenues, for relief purposes, for which they are not intended, upon such an extravagant, inefficient basis that local officials are endeavoring to shift the responsibility to Federal Government, and Federal officials are endeavoring to place the blame upon local government, and

WHEREAS, The subterfuge of carrying on a construction program on a relief basis is a false promise because under WPA these projects cost approximately twice what they should, therefore, the 25 per cent sponsor's contributions in fact, represent approximately 50 per cent of contract cost, which is about doubled for WPA projects, reflecting the most callous and selfish use of political expediency, inasmuch as 100 per cent of these costs can come only from public tax revenues whether it be City, County or Federal tax, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Work Projects Administration is to render unemployment relief and not to take over public works construction requiring the best architects, engineers, contractors and entitled to consideration of their views by all Federal, State and local officials responsible for this system, and

workers and supplied with workmen lacking experience in construction, and

WHEREAS, The volume of WPA construction projects in California now amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars and has shown a very rapid increase during the current fiscal year, and

WHEREAS, WPA building and construction projects are operated upon wage levels far below the standards of independent skilled building and construction trades craftsmen, and, therefore, constitute unfair competition and threaten the wage structure and standards of living of the organized workers, and

WHEREAS, This policy is depriving thousands of skilled building and construction trades craftsmen of California of employment which they are entitled to, and discriminates against the independent workman through low wage levels, the abolition of the skilled classification which organized building tradesmen have developed and the requirement that he must be destitute, and

WHEREAS, The great majority of WPA workmen assigned to construction projects have had very little experience in construction work and are not adapted physically or by experience, or other basic standards for this type of employment, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor represents a great many Unions whose membership specializes in building and construction work and through these Unions have constantly conducted a program of apprentice training which with the many years of experience of their journeymen members in specialized work has developed a well trained group of building and construction craftsmen with great skill and efficiency, and

WHEREAS, It is the policy upon WPA construction projects to reject the efficient methods developed in the private construction industry and revert to the greatest possible extent to hand labor and obsolete extravagant methods which makes the cost of WPA construction projects far greater than when built by the usual methods of competitive contract and union workmen, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the California State Federation of Labor that local taxpayers are paying at least twice the cost of public work for the privilege and luxury of having them constructed by WPA, and

WHEREAS, The workmen and families of building and construction trades mechanics and other members of the California State Federation of Labor represent a large part of the population of California and as such through direct and indirect taxes bear a very substantial portion of the tax burden necessary to finance relief which through the WPA program is being used to discriminate against them, they are, therefore, entitled to consideration of their views by all Federal, State and local officials responsible for this system, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of organized labor that this whole combination is a very serious threat to its members, a very expensive extravagance to the taxpayers and is actually a step backward in our democratic civilization, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send copies of this resolution to and request the support and co-operation of the national offices of the American Institute of Architects, American Society of Civil Engineers, the Associated General Contractors, the American Society of Road Builders Associations, the Chambers of Commerce, and any other groups affected, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 1940 Convention in New Orleans lend its support to this resolution, and request the President and the Congress of the United States to take steps through executive order and legislation to prohibit unfair competition of the WPA by requiring all public building and construction work to be constructed under the provisions of the Public Works Administration.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Urging Support of Six Hour Day And Thirty Hour Week to Offset Unemployment

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the three past decades the United States has witnessed a tremendous increase in the efficiency production of goods and services due to the supplementing of manpower by machines which has resulted in loss of employment for millions of our citizens, and

WHEREAS, During the same three decades the social and economic progress of our country has not been sufficient to offset the trend toward unemployment, and

WHEREAS, It is conceded we are facing one of the most critical problems ever to confront the American people, which must be overcome if we are to endure as a democratic nation, and

WHEREAS, The lead to the solution of this problem has been taken by the American Federation of Labor at its 1939 Convention when it went on record as favoring a six-hour day and thirty-hour week as a practical means of solving the national unemployment problem, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby lend our support to the six-hour day, thirty-hour week movement as the only practical solution to the unemployment problem yet devised, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be informed of this action

and that copies of this resolution be sent to State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils, Building Trades Councils, Metal Trades Councils and all Office Employees Unions throughout the Western Division of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Calling For Representation of Local Building Trades Councils in A. F. of L. Convention, State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 154—Central Labor Union, Gadsden, Alabama.

WHEREAS, Building and Construction Trades Councils over the country have, for many years, voiced the desire to be represented by delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and Building and Construction Trades Council, and the respective State Federations of Labor, and to be represented by delegates to the regular meetings of the respective Trades and Labor Central Bodies, and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Unions are allowed delegates to same, it appears that Building and Construction Trades Councils should be allowed delegates on the same basis, inasmuch as said councils are virtually the "backbone" of the A. F. of L. today, and

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Council of Jefferson County Alabama and vicinity, went on record the first day of August, 1940, urging the construction and Building Trades Annual Convention and the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to act favorably on this proposition to allow Building and Construction Trades Councils delegates at said assemblies, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this action be given widespread publicity among other Building and Construction Trades Councils in order that a large number of resolutions may be sent to the Building and Construction Trades Department and the A. F. of L. immediately, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Coyne of the Building and Construction Trades Department and to Secretary Meany of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be requested to place this resolution before the proper committees at the coming conventions of the Building and Construction Trades Council and A. F. of L. soon to convene at New Orleans, La., and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Executive Board of both bodies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates at the convention of the Building and Construc-

tion Trades Council and the Convention of the A. F. of L. soon to meet at New Orleans, La., be, and are hereby requested to vote to amend the Constitution of the A. F. of L. to conform with the request of the Building and Construction Trades Councils.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase For the Office of President

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates James Maloney, Dale Clutter, William Wallace, W. W. Campbell, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, In our judgment the salary paid to the President of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to properly reimburse him for the great services he renders to the labor movement, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 4, Article VI, of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council when necessary and shall provide over their deliberations and shall receive for his services \$25,000.00 per annum, payable weekly.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of Secretary-Treasurer

Resolution No. 156—By Delegates James Maloney, W. C. Campbell, Dale Clutter, William Wallace, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, In our judgment the salary paid to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to properly reimburse him for the great services he renders to the labor movement, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 7, Article VII, of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council,

and for his services he shall receive \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Proposing Legislation to Check WPA Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Roy N. Pearce, Central Labor Union, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

WHEREAS, The WPA was originated to provide work for the unemployed for whom work was not available in private industry, and

WHEREAS, At the present time WPA has gone far beyond this point and has even usurped the functions of private industry, and even work in connection with the National Defense Program is under construction or being planned under the WPA, and

WHEREAS, This condition has taken much public work away from the skilled building trades craftsmen of the nation and confronted them with the un-American alternative of either working for subsistence wages or leaving their homes to seek employment in other States, and

WHEREAS, The public records prove that WPA building construction is wasteful and inefficient and imposes on the taxpayers construction costs that are from two to eight times greater than under private contract with skilled labor, and

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that WPA flourishes to this extent in the various States only because it suits the selfish purposes of powerful politicians, who are able in this way to control the votes by exploiting the misery and the helplessness of the unemployed, and

WHEREAS, There are many WPA projects which can be carried on legitimately outside of building construction which can provide sufficient work for the unemployed citizens of this country, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana

1. That all major WPA building construction projects in this category in the United States are hereby declared unfair to organized labor, unfair to industry and to the taxpayers of this nation, unfair to the public interest, and a violation to every decent American principle and tradition.

2. That this condition be brought to the attention of every agency of government, including the President of the United States, the Department of Labor, the National Defense Council, and the Senators and Congressmen of every state in the union.

3. That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor boycott all

WPA building construction projects in this category.

4. That all State Federations, Central Bodies, Construction Trades Councils and affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, receive a copy of this resolution and be earnestly requested to take action thereon, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every honorable means at their command to prevail upon the Congress of the United States for the purpose of securing legislation to correct this evil which is undermining the construction trades crafts.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Proposing Extension of Social Security Act to Include Employees of Religious and Welfare Organizations

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Miss Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was enacted by the Federal Government to bring security to the aged and relief to the workers employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, A number of workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose business is of a national scope are exempt from the benefits of this Act, and

WHEREAS, The said religious and welfare organizations are engaged in part or in whole in commercialized industries and in some instances competing with private industries, yet through the exemptions in the Social Security Act these organizations are exempt from providing the benefits which the Act intended for all workers in this and other industries, to wit, old age pensions and unemployment insurance, and

WHEREAS, This condition is discriminatory to this class of workers and is most unfair to the private employers engaged in similar industries. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers and delegates to recommend and sponsor an amendment to the Social Security Act in the next session of Congress, whereby the workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose products are sold to the public at large, be included in the benefits of the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Establishment of Six Hour Day and Thirty Hour Week in Industry

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Miss Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, For almost ten years the United States and Canada have been confronted with one of the greatest economic depressions in their history, and

WHEREAS, This condition has left in its path millions of people totally unemployed and in addition many millions are employed on a part time basis, and

WHEREAS, All sorts of experiments have been put into practice to get the people back on the job through the creation of numerous governmental agencies, such as the Conservation Civilian Corps, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, etc., and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the above experimentations have proven futile in solving the problems of the distressing situation of unemployment, little has been done by legislation to compel the shortening of the work day or the work week, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its President has proclaimed that it is necessary to shorten the hours of labor in order to relieve the unemployment situation. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of New Orleans go on record favoring the establishing of a universal six-hour day and five-day 30-hour week in industry.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Opposing Requirement of Physical Examination for Workers Employed on National Defense Projects

Resolution No. 160—By Central Labor Union, Lake County, Indiana.

WHEREAS, Our National Defense Program is the program of our Nation as a whole, and

WHEREAS, Many workmen are definitely being discriminated against because of some physical defects that in no wise hinder their ability, either as mechanics or laborers. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being vigorously opposed to workmen being required to pass physical examinations on governmental defense program projects, in order that equal work rights may be obtained by

many of our citizens that are now being discriminated against simply because they may have some physical defect that in no wise interferes with their ability to perform the work necessary for our National Defense Program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Approving Policy of Federal Committee On Apprentice Training

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Thorough mechanical education of apprentices is essential to the development of competent mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has given full support to the program for apprentice training provided by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training is to have in its personnel equal representation of management and labor, and to carry this policy into effect on all state boards for apprenticeship, and to maintain equal representation of management and labor on all industry apprentice committees, so that both management and labor will have equal responsibility for supervision over the training of all apprentices in the industry, and

WHEREAS, Due to demands made upon industry and labor in the interest of providing for national defense, and

WHEREAS, During the past year through the efforts of State Federations of Labor a number of additional States have adopted legislative measures providing for State participation in the training of apprentices, such legislation being in substance the form which has been approved by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship meets with the high standards of public service expected of a public agency by the American Federation of Labor, and by employers who believe in a high standard of training for apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, assisted by the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. was of assistance in securing additional appropriations from Congress so that the field force of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship could be increased, and

WHEREAS, There has been the fullest cooperation by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training with the American Federation of Labor. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the action taken by previous con-

ventions approving the work being done and the policy carried out by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, and be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request State Federations of Labor, not now having satisfactory laws governing apprenticeship, to use their best efforts to secure legislation in line with the apprenticeship laws already enacted by a number of states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve of the action taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor during the year to strengthen the effectiveness of the work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing Establishment of Local Advisory Committees On Vocational Education

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There has existed since 1935 an Advisory Committee to the Bureau for Vocational Education upon which there is equal representation of management and labor, and

WHEREAS, This advisory committee established the policy of an Advisory Committee in every city where, under the public school system, vocational education is carried on, over 1,500 of such local Advisory Committees being in existence, and

WHEREAS, It is highly advisable if the legitimate interests of labor, of management, and of industry are to be properly advanced and protected to have such local Advisory Committees appointed where they do not exist. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the policy of equal representation in connection with every local vocational training school under the public school system, so that the voice of labor and of management may have a controlling influence in the curriculum of vocational training schools, and in the oversight of the work being carried on in such schools, so that all of the benefits which should come to labor, to industrial management, and to the public, may be established, and no methods permitted to intrude which would adversely affect those directly interested and affected.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing A. F. of L. Approval of Molders' Change of Title

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the International Molders' Union of North

America, it was decided to change the name to International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, and

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1939, in revoking the charter of the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, and ordering its membership to affiliate with the Molders' Union, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recognize the change in name, and also grant jurisdiction that was formerly covered by the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees to the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Metal Trades Department vs. Glass Bottle Blowers Association

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association is a union representing workers skilled in the making of glass bottles, and

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association is attempting to extend its jurisdiction to cover workers engaged in the making and repairing of plant machinery and equipment, and

WHEREAS, The work involved in the making and repairing of plant machinery and equipment properly comes under the jurisdiction of unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor protests the action of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association for trespassing upon the work jurisdiction of unions of International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor make early arrangements for a conference between the International Unions of the Metal Trades Department affected and the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor attend this conference and use their friendly influence to the end that the questions of jurisdiction involved may be adjusted.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Proposing Products of Remington Rand Be Placed On Unfair List

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Remington Rand, Inc. by its own decision has seen fit to sever its relations with American Federation of Labor Unions; namely, International Association of Machinists; Metal Polishers,

Buffers, Platers and Plater Helpers International Union; International Molders Union of North America; and Federal Labor Unions of the A. F. of L., and by its own acts has unscrupulously endeavored to destroy the said A. F. of L. unions, and has been found guilty of viciously violating the law of our country, all of which has been attested by a decision of the National Labor Relations Board. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor place the products of the Remington Rand, Inc., on the "we don't patronize list", and that all International Unions; State Federations of Labor; and Central Labor Councils, be advised of the convention's action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Navy Department Wage Schedules

Resolution No. 166—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, In 1928 a Schedule of Wages for Employees in Navy Yards was established, and

WHEREAS, This schedule remained the basis for wages except for the general reduction created by the first and second Economy Acts so that the Schedule for Wages paid since the reduction created by the Economy Acts were restored, has been the same as paid in 1928, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Wage Review Board, after four months of consideration prepared a Schedule of Wages to go into effect November 18, 1940, which, in the case of skilled mechanics, has advanced wages a fraction of one cent per hour, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department expects the affiliated unions to assist in securing for the Navy some 50,000 additional mechanics within the next six months, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion that the present Schedule of Wages completely fails to establish a Schedule of Wages which is justified by the present situation in which the Navy Department, the War Department and private industry engaged in production for national defense are all endeavoring to secure competent mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department should establish a Schedule of Wages which will measure up to wages paid for skilled mechanics in private industry, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to cooperate with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and other International Unions affected, so that the Schedule of Wages going into effect November 18th may be reopened so that adequate increases in wages may be provided for, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested

to take up this matter immediately after the adjournment of this convention, with the Secretary of the Navy, and if necessary with the President of the United States, so that a Wage Schedule will be established which will lead skilled mechanics to accept employment in navy yards under wages equal to those which can be secured in private industry.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Appointment of Committee to Settle A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Controversy

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, George L. Gooze, Louis P. Sahuque, Thomas E. Dunwoody.

WHEREAS, The existing controversy between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations presents an order that is dangerous not only to the trades-union movement of America and the processes of recovery in industry, but likewise to the Republic of the United States, and

WHEREAS, There should be no insurmountable obstacles in the adjustment of this important issue contemplating the establishment of solidarity and peace in the labor ranks of the United States and of Canada, Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to appoint a Committee of three (3) members of the American Federation of Labor, who will be clothed with authority to open negotiations with the Congress of Industrial Organizations looking to an amicable and equitable settlement of the pending differences, and that said committee shall have full and complete power to make such adjustments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the president and secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to place at the disposal of the committee all the facts and records in connection with previous negotiations, and that they be likewise instructed and directed to meet such expenses as may be incurred by the committee of three in connection with the negotiations and settlement of the issues.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing United States Housing Administration Program For Low Rent Housing And Slum Clearance

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, William J. Moran, Thos. O'Donnell, Edward L. Nolan, Robert Dale, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union; George Master-son, Thomas E. Burke, George Meaney,

Charles M. Rau, William E. Quirk, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor initiated and secured the enactment of the low rent housing and slum clearance act, known as the United States Housing Act of 1937, and has given its full measure of cooperation and support to the United States Housing Authority in the administration of the program of low rent housing for wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The USHA program has made available to wage earners and their families compelled to live in slums, sound, decent and healthful homes in hundreds of communities throughout the United States at a negligible cost to the government and with full participation of local communities and of private enterprise, and

WHEREAS, The low rent housing and slum clearance projects made possible by the USHA program are built under fair labor conditions and provide employment to thousands of unemployed building trades mechanics and laborers under a plan which constitutes one of the most desirable and practical public works programs in terms of improvement of the welfare of the American people and of its lasting value to the nation, and

WHEREAS, The continuation and expansion of the low rent housing and slum clearance program has been made impossible by the pressure of the special interests opposed to labor which succeeded in blocking the approval of the USHA amendments in the committees of the U. S. House of Representatives and thereby prevented the consideration of these amendments by the House, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declares its unqualified support of continuation and expansion of the USHA program of low rent housing and slum clearance and directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon Congress early enactment of amendments to the United States Housing Act which would authorize construction loans and annual contributions sufficient to continue the USHA program under its present terms at the rate of not less than 100,000 dwelling units annually, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed to call upon all National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, State and Local Building Trades Councils, and the directly affiliated unions to appoint housing committees for the purpose of participation in all phases of the housing program and of full representation and protection of the interests of the American Federation of Labor membership in housing problems, with the aid and under the general direction of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring United States Housing Administration Participation in Defense Housing Program

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, William J. Moran, Thos. O'Donnell, Edward L. Nolan, Robert Dale, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union; George Master-son, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, William E. Quirk, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada.

WHEREAS, An urgent need exists for the provision of adequate housing facilities for workers and families of workers engaged in the national defense program, and

WHEREAS, In the interests of sound public policy as much of the defense housing to be constructed for this purpose as possible should be of sound and durable construction in order to be fully available for rehousing of wage earners at the end of the national emergency, and

WHEREAS, The prevention of speculation and profiteering incidental to the development of such a large-scale program is of vital concern to labor and can be best effected by a public agency thoroughly grounded in experience in residential construction of public housing and operating with full reliance upon representative participation of local public housing agencies, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority and its staff and the local housing authorities which are now functioning in hundreds of communities throughout the United States are best equipped to achieve these purposes with speed, efficiency, economy and full and unstinted cooperation on the part of organized labor, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, hereby directs its officers to urge upon Congress upon the President, the Advisory Commission, to the Council of National Defense, and the Federal Works Administrator, full measure of participation of the United States Housing Authority and local housing authorities in the development and administration of the defense housing program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the adoption of the basic defense housing policy primary consideration be given to the construction of sound and durable housing, whenever possible, of the type suitable for permanent utilization for rehousing of wage earners after the emergency, and that in all construction of defense housing the payment of prevailing minimum wages and the maintenance of all established basic labor standards be made a specific requirement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Study of Consumer Co-Operatives

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates E. M. Milliman, John F. Towle, T. L. Jones, J. J. Farnan, W. N. Clay, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has approved and commended the consumer co-operative movement and the organization of sound consumer co-operative organizations, and

WHEREAS, The basic philosophy of the consumer co-operative movement calls for an increase in consuming power and therefore an increase in the income of the workers, as well as a reduction in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Through the consumer co-operative movement, the workers are given the opportunity to become owners and to participate in the management of their business and thus are given the opportunity to assume responsibilities which they are capable of assuming, and

WHEREAS, The consumer co-operative movement offers the finest opportunity for education of workers, as has been proved in other countries and is also being proved in this country and through these opportunities for education, the organized labor movement should be greatly assisted, and

WHEREAS, The Co-Operative League of the U. S. A. has approved and endorsed the work of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby authorizes its president to appoint a committee of three to confer with representatives of the Co-Operative League of the U. S. A. and to investigate the methods and plans under which consumer co-operatives are organized and developed, and if the committee concludes the plans are economically sound and would be helpful to labor, to recommend to the president of the American Federation of Labor a program for immediate action and through which organized labor will take an active part in the furtherance of the consumer co-operative movement.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Program of the American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program.

1. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of serv-

ice; increased annuities to not less than 50 per cent of the average compensation for those receiving compensation in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at 55; unqualified disability retirement after 55 years of age; joint survivorship annuity privileges for present annuitants; continuance of persons who have recovered from disabilities on the annuity rolls until reinstated; and additional deductions from compensation if necessary, to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

2. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to fully protect the rights of employees.

3. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full time employees.

4. Five day week distributed over five consecutive days with no decrease in pay.

5. Extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to the entire executive civil service.

6. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

7. Elimination of so-called average clause and the substitution thereof of statutory automatic increases in compensation.

8. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

9. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

10. The defraying, by the Government, of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents, and the cost of transportation of household effects whenever an employee is transferred from one duty station to another for the benefit of the Government.

11. Shorter hours, adequate compensation, and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration Facilities, employees in Federal Penal Institutions and employees in the Public Health Service.

12. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such service.

13. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof where applications for re-allocations are pending.

14. Reclassification upward of all guards in the government service so that their grade and pay will be commensurate with duties performed.

15. Pay per diem and piece work employees when holidays are granted by executive Order.

16. Compensatory leave within the next thirty days for classified employees on per annum salary who must perform official duties on Sunday or holidays established by law or Executive Order.

17. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

18. Straight eight hour shifts for all nurses working in government hospitals.

19. Extra compensation of 50% for employees called upon to do flying duty when such activity is not a part of their daily duties.

20. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees.

21. Consideration of length of service, experience and general fitness to be given in all examinations to determine qualifications under Executive Orders extending the classified service. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of New Orleans endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Requesting Conference Between Officers of Building Trades Department and State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 172—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor directed the executive officers of the Department to prepare a suitable resolution calling to the attention of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the encroachment of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of various trades affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was defined when the charter for that organization was granted, providing that there be no infringement upon any now existing chartered A. F. of L. affiliate, and

WHEREAS, Subordinate local unions of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have persistently continued to invade and encroach upon the jurisdiction of various trades affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department after correspondence, conferences

and hearings before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Therefore by it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is requested to call a conference between the officers of the American State, County and Municipal Employees and the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the affiliated National and International Unions of the Department, in an endeavor to work out a solution of the problem of invasion practiced by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, such conference to be held during the sessions of the first meeting of the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1941.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Favoring Adequate Painting For Defense Construction

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 8

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Many Millions of dollars are, and will be, spent by the Government of the United States, through its various Departments in the construction of buildings for the housing of hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of twenty-one (21) and thirty-five (35) years who will in the near future be conscripted for military service and made ready for the defense of our country, and,

WHEREAS, These young men leaving comfortable and sanitary homes are now to be housed in these buildings that have not received proper sanitary protection by the application of paint, and

WHEREAS, The specifications did contain conditions for the proper protection of the health of these young men, but for some reason have now been taken out, and

WHEREAS, The possibility of vermin and disease in these unsanitary buildings may cause our Government serious results, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council take this very important matter up with the proper authorities at Washington, D. C., and request that these buildings be painted thereby offsetting any possibility of unhealthy conditions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor with a request that it be approved.

L. P. LINDELOF,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE,

Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor voice its approval of the recommendation set forth above, and take the action necessary to carry out the intention thereof. Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Prevailing Wages on Defense Construction

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 10

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Many millions of dollars will be expended by the Government of these United States, through its various Departments, in the construction of buildings for the housing of hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of twenty-one (21) and thirty-five (35) years who will in the near future be conscripted for military service and made ready for the defense of our Country, and

WHEREAS, According to plan, approximately nine hundred thousand (900,000) of these young men will be inducted into the military service during the first twelve (12) months; the same number during each suc-

ceeding twelve (12) months until the United States will have in active service and in reserve, approximately, five million (5,000,000) men, and

WHEREAS, This will require constant construction and reconstruction of buildings in order to properly house the men being trained for service who will be entitled to the best and most sanitary living conditions that can possibly be provided for them by our Government, and

WHEREAS, These military camps are and of necessity will be situated at distant points from the large urban centers of our population in localities where the prevailing rates of wages, as established by the United States Department of Labor, are low in comparison, and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of mechanics will be required for the rapid construction of buildings that will be necessary, and

WHEREAS, The construction of these buildings will be carried on either by contract through competitive bidding or by a "cost-plus plan" in which contracts or agreements, the prevailing rates of wages will be incorporated as set forth by the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Even though the prevailing rates of wages as determined by the Department of Labor are slightly higher than the rates actually prevailing in some localities, the contractors will find it difficult to secure sufficient workmen to complete contracts within a specified time because it is fair to presume that mechanics will not voluntarily migrate in sufficient numbers from urban centers, where home conditions and higher rates of wages prevail, to distant points where living conditions and wages are at a sub-level, and

WHEREAS, It is possible that the Government, if unable to secure required labor to rapidly construct the necessary buildings in the various military camps, may use the labor of the many thousands of building trades mechanics that will be among the number conscripted for military service and place them at work on the necessary construction of buildings, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in order to avoid any such contingency, which in effect would be a catastrophe insofar as building tradesmen are concerned, we, the delegates to this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, beginning November 13th, 1940, instruct the incoming Executive Council to request the United States Department of Labor to establish rates of wages for this particular class of work which will be equal to that prevailing in the largest urban center within a reasonable radius from the site where a military camp may be contemplated or where buildings are under construction, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council make this matter up immediately with the proper authorities at Washington, D. C., in efforts to bring about an equitable

understanding in this most vital matter and be in readiness to oppose vigorously—through its own activity and the many units of the Building and Construction Trades Department—any steps that may be taken by any Department of these United States to use or attempt to use any men in military service to do the work of building tradesmen, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor together with a request that the subject matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council of that Body requesting its active and immediate support.

Delegation of Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
L. P. LINDELOF,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE.

Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the action necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Favoring Adequate Labor Standards on Private Plant Construction on National Defense Program

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 11

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has made or is about to make appropriations for the expansion of privately owned industrial plants under the Defense Program, and

WHEREAS, Under this phase of the Defense Program labor has not been assured protection of its prevailing rates of wages and hours of labor as duly established in the various sections of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Many of these industrial plants which will receive a share of such appropriations for expansion for the manufacture of materials necessary for National Defense are known to be anti-union, and

WHEREAS, This policy, if permitted to continue with the use of public funds, will create a condition detrimental to the wage earners in the building industry because of the open shop or anti-union attitude of some companies involved, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., assembled in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, beginning on the 13th day of November, 1940, hereby instruct the incoming Executive Council to contact the proper Authorities representing the United States Government in the city of Washington, D. C.—including the United States Senators, Congressmen and the United States Department of Labor—and petition them to insist that the labor provisions as set forth in PWA and other Governmental Agencies be observed and become a part of all contracts for the building or expansion of privately owned plants wherein appropriations of public funds under the Defense Program are to be used, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor together with a request that it be approved and that the incoming Executive Council of that Body, through all honorable means at its command, lend its aid to the end that the aforementioned provisions be enacted into law at the earliest possible date.

Delegation of Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

L. P. LINDELOF,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor voice its approval of the recommendation set forth above and take the action necessary to carry out the intention thereof.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Protesting Medical Examinations For Workers on Defense Construction

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 13

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, With the advent to the national defense program many problems have presented themselves to the various affiliates of the Building and Construction Trades organizations and to the Building and Construction Trades Department, each of which have gone to much effort in furnishing the selected builders and contractors of the Government with men in the respective trades, oft necessitating the moving of men from an hundred miles to hundreds of miles to the end that the work may be speedily executed, and

WHEREAS, A mistaken effort has been made, written into this employment on the part of the employers, namely the demand of medical examination of the workers, though in open employment this is not the practice. Hence it has caused considerable confusion which is not to the welfare or the expeditious fulfillment of the defense program, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record protesting such medical examinations and that the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the officers of the respective affiliates of the Department use their every effort to have this rule of employment changed and the medical examination eliminated in the employment of men, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department have this resolution introduced before the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

HARRY C. BATES,
RICHARD J. GRAY,
L. P. LINDELOF.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the necessary action to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Favoring Complete Cooperation of Building Trades Councils in Defense Housing

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 14

To the Delegates and Officers of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, A lack of adequate housing for the workers needed for the completion construction will cause unnecessary delay unless housing is provided immediately, and

WHEREAS, The responsibility of providing these much needed projects will be vested in the P. W. A. it will be necessary for this Administration to utilize the U. S. H. A., the F. H. A. and other administrative branches of the Government in relieving this housing shortage at the earliest possible time, and

WHEREAS, From present indications State and Local Housing Councils will be

organized to facilitate planning and building of these housing projects and in addition will assume a large share of responsibility for the type of housing constructed, and

WHEREAS, Labor is vitally interested in this program, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all local Building and Construction Trades Councils, State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions seek active representation on all State and Local National Defense Councils established for this purpose, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Officers of this Department immediately confer with C. F. Palmer, Coordinator of Defense Housing relative to the cooperation of the building and construction workers in facilitating the building of adequate housing for the workers in every community where housing is needed for the successful and expeditious carrying on of the national defense program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Department introduce this Resolution before the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

HARRY C. BATES,
THOMAS H. O'DONNELL,
ROBERT O. DALE,
RICHARD J. GRAY.

Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the necessary action to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Second Day — Tuesday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana.
November 19, 1940,

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, a. m., by President Green.

INVOCATION

JOHN W. DICKENS, D. D.

**(Hospital Visitor and Promotional
Missionary for New Orleans
Baptists)**

Our loving Heavenly Father, we rejoice in the privilege this morning of opening the session, first of all, by turning our hearts and thoughts towards Thee, the source of all wisdom, the God of mercy and grace. We come by Thine own invitation to Thy throne to ask wisdom and instruction and guidance for the duties that are before us. We thank Thee that Thou hast taught us that Thou art a gracious God and in time of need, which is every day of our lives, we may come to Thee and know that Thy throne is open to us and that Thou wilt guide us here to the throne of grace. We thank God for this organization, for the labor movement of America and for the great work it has done for the upbuilding of this country and the prosperity of the nation.

We pray that this opening session may be presided over by Thy grace and that wisdom may be given the officers and delegates and members of committees and all that have special duties, that they may be led by Thy wisdom. We pray in this time of stress and strife throughout the world that there may be a beautiful brotherhood among the people of this nation, that they may work together, every man in his place, that there may be unity and solidarity among our people and all of us aiming to honor God, and help the world so that God can continue to bless us. As we approach this annual Thanksgiving of the year, may our hearts be especially thankful, and may God continue to keep us in peace and prosperity.

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over pain and pine.
"God as yet will lead us yet,
"Love us yet, guide us yet,
"And be with us yet."
Lord God of hosts be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget.

President Green: I desire to announce the appointment of the following com-

mittee to meet and escort the guest speakers to the hall this morning. I ask that Brothers Harvey W. Brown, J. R. Freiderich and R. G. Soderstrom serve as the committee to meet Mr. Altmeyer of the Social Security Board and escort him to the hall. He will address the convention at 10:00 o'clock.

I will appoint Brothers Harry Bates, Herbert Rivers and William McCarthy to meet and escort Mr. Nathan Straus of the United States Housing Authority to the hall. He will address the convention at 11:00 o'clock.

The Chair recognizes Brother Desepte of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report this morning.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Desepte, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Meridian, Miss., Central Labor Union—J. W. Cameron, 1 vote.

News Writers' Union No. 21892, Salisbury, N. C.—James F. Barrett, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 22071, Tulsa, Oklahoma—Thelma Levering, 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Kugler, Chairman of the Committee: Our committee has delegated Brother Alifas of the International Association of Machinists as Secretary, and he will submit the report.

Secretary Alifas, of the Committee, reported as follows:

Greetings:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, con-

vened in New Orleans, La., November 18, 1940, beg leave to make the following report for your approval:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Thursday of this week being Thanksgiving Day, the convention will be in session Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates, the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 11. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 12. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 13. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 15. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 16. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes

from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 17. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

A. J. KUGLER, Chairman
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary
W. R. BROOKS
D. M. GAYTON
W. WARREN SMITH
JOHN B. ROBINSON
JOHN C. MACDONALD
ALEX ROSE
C. D. WALLACE
H. W. SULLIVAN
GEORGE W. JONES
ELIZABETH GRADY
HARRY J. STEEPER
EDWARD J. WINTER
H. E. GREENWALD
GEORGE F. RICHARDSON
JOHN E. ROONEY
JERRY P. COUGHLIN
JENNIE MATYAS
JOHN LOCHER

Committee on Rules and
Order of Business.

Secretary Alifas moved the adoption of the report. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for the reading of messages and greetings to the convention.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

New York, New York,
November 18, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Convention, New Orleans.

Please convey to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention in the name of the Mexican Federation of Regional Workers whom I represent and in my own name our greetings and hopes for the success of the convention and for the strengthening of the International bonds that unite the workers of this hemisphere.

Fraternally yours,

LUIS N. MORONES.

New York, N. Y.,
Nov. 18, 1940.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

My congratulations on the opening of the American Federation of Labor convention and best wishes to you and your membership for a successful year.

ANNA M. ROSENBERG.

San Mateo, Calif.,
Nov. 18, 1940.

William Green,
Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans, La.

California Council of Laundry Workers
wishes you every success.

RUTH M. BRADLEY,
Secretary.

Salina, Kansas,
Nov. 17, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium, New Orleans, La.

On behalf of the Kansas State Federation of Labor, I wish to extend greetings to the officers and delegates of the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and to assure you of our continued support in redoubled efforts to organize every worker in Kansas.

A. V. LUNDGREN, President,
Kansas State Federation of
Labor.

New Orleans, La.,
Nov. 17, 1940.

Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.
American Federation of Labor,
Mr. William Green, President:

Congratulations to your 60th annual convention. Your record as the champion of trade unionism and your constant effort to raise the standard of living of the American wage earners is a glorious one.

Your spirit of equality, your tolerance for race creed and color is very commendable. Your full cooperation to our national defense, your loyalty and devotion to our democracy and your opposition to dictatorship in any form—red, black or brown—is something you may be proud of. Let us hope that you'll succeed to unite the labor factions. In unity there is strength—United we stand, divided we fall.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BRANCH 94,
New Orleans, La., Hyman Barkoff, Sec.,
3019 Milan St.

Hamilton, Ont.,
Nov. 17, 1940.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Civic Auditorium, New Orleans, La.

Members of the Hamilton Trades and Labor Council extend congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. Please express our unswerving loyalty to the policies and principles of the A. F. of L. Our sincere thanks to the officers and United States members of our Federation as well as to American government and people for their support to Canada and our empire in its struggle to protect democracy and the trade union movement against the totalitarian aggressors.

W. L. O'BRIEN,
Secretary,

J. F. CAULEY,
Chairman of Executive.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
Nov. 17, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans.

It is most gratifying to have the privilege of extending fraternal greetings and best wishes to the officers and delegates assembled at the American Federation of Labor convention. Because of the honor and privilege extended to me by our good friend President William Green in former years to address the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, our institution benefited greatly both morally and financially. I therefore, in the name of our National Trade Union Committee for the Support of the Expatriates Tubercular Home of Denver Colorado extend our deepest appreciation to President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, the Vice-Presidents and Delegates for the marvelous support given to our institution. With fraternal greetings and best wishes for a most successful convention and a sincere hope that in 1941 the entire labor movement will be united under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Very gratefully yours,

RUBIN SCHWARTZ,
Supervisor Expatriates Tubercular
Home of Denver, Colorado.

Monroe, La.,
Nov. 16, 1940.

A. F. of L. Convention Headquarters,
Room E, Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

The officers and delegates of this council send you greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

Fraternally,
**MONROE CENTRAL LABOR
COUNCIL,**
F. E. Welch, Secretary.

Spartanburg, S. C.,
Nov. 19, 1940.

American Federation of Labor,
Convention Headquarters,
New Orleans, La.

We wish for you a most successful convention. And we trust that among the multitude of problems confronting you, you will find time for serious thought to the end that an equitable means may be devised for healing the breach within the ranks of labor. We would that both the typographical union and the CIO groups would return to the house of labor. We hold that an internecine war within the ranks of labor is withal the most foolish.

**SPARTANBURG CENTRAL LABOR
UNION,**
C. L. Guthrie, Secretary.

President Green: The messages just read will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of names of convention committees.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Secretary Meany read the following list of convention committees:

Resolutions

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Thomas L. Hughes, Wm. E. Maloney, P. J. Morrin, David Dubinsky, John B. Haggerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, Henry Strickland, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold Zander, W. C. Birthright, Joseph P. Ryan, Frank Kasten, D. A. Manning.

Executive Council's Report

Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, John M. Gillespie, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, Frank Coleman, Irvin Barney, Arthur Huggins, A. C. D'Andrea, A. M. Jurrus, Selma Borchardt, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Edw. Weyler, Louis Stulberg, Wm. Schoenberg.

Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Dennis Lane, William Quirk, J. J. Farnan, Charles Sand, Dales Allison, James Killen, William Tracy, William J. Gorman, Edward J. Volz, John F. O'Connor, J. J. Fitzgerald, Herbert Rivera, J. Edgar N. Davis, J. P. McCurdy, William McCarthy, John J. Egan, Morris Bialis.

Organization

Harvey W. Brown, Frank Duffy, V. O. Gardner, John P. Burke, Frank Gillmore, Patrick H. Reagan, Jess Fletcher, Edward Caravan, Wm. J. Eicht, James Bove, John J. Scully, John B. Previtt, Earl W. Jimereson, A. Phillip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, J. W. Buzzell, Joe Ozanic, Drie Clutter, John F. Towle, George L. Googe, W. G. Thomas.

Labels

Edward Flore, Joseph Obergfell, Charles Hanson, Peter Beisel, Anthony Merlino, M. S. Maxwell, Hugh J. Glover, George C. Slater, Tony Gallo, Joseph Addy, James A. Taylor, Joseph C. Orr, E. L. Whetley, John Zittello, Anastasia Becker, Wm. Wallace, R. E. Van Horn, Charles A. Sumner, Chas. Zimmerman, Joseph Draley.

Adjustment

T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Othmer Mische, T. L. Jones, E. J. Brock, Frank Brewster, E. J. Brown, D. J. Mahoney, Geo. P. Delaney, W. R. Robinson, George W. Lawson, Gus Van Heck, Arthur Wallace, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, Z. D. Nichols.

Local and Federated Bodies

Felix H. Knight, George E. Browne, C. C. Coulter, Joseph M. Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, R. E. Woodmansee, Thos. E. Dunwoody, Wm. J. Moran, Frank B. Powers, Alfred Rota, Lawrence Foley, G. J. Levron, Wm. McGuern, Chas. A. Schreiber, Nat Messing, P. J. Cullen, Thomas C. Cashen, Arthur J. Strunk, Samuel Hershkovitz.

Education

George M. Harrison, E. E. Millman, Clarence C. Swick, Thomas E. Burke, Max Zaritsky, L. E. Swartz, William I. Horner, Kenneth I. Taylor, A. Rex Riccardi, W. M. Rea, B. A. Murray, William Cooper, Harry H. Cook, Benjamin Kapien, Irvin Kuenzi, Irvan Cary, Harry Lundeborg, Robert Bruck, Hugo Ernst, James J. Doyle, Lilian Herstein.

State Organizations

G. M. Bugliuzet, Wm. E. Walter, Louis P. Saluque, Carl H. Mullen, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Leo Abernathy, Berniece B. Heffner, Thomas Donnelly, Charles T. Crane, W. S. Gross, Thos. J. Lyons, Clifford B. Noxon, Phil E. Ziegler, Gust Anderson, Roy Brewer, Louis Koenig, E. H. Williams, Bernard Quinn, W. N. C.ay.

Industrial Relations

Wm. L. Hutcheson, Gordon Chapman, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Walter Matthews, Thomas Allen, Myles P. Murphy, John O'Rourke, Joseph J. Kehoe, John D. Lengel, Charles N. Paulson, E. J. Foster, W. W. Britton, John Lundergan, John R. Owens, William Donovan, Thos. Cairns, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, Louis Krouse, James W. Close.

Building Trades

John P. Coyne, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Wm. M. Welsh, John H. Lyons, James J. Ryan, George Masterton, Edw. L. Nolan, Paul A. Givens, John Oliver, John J. Daly, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, George Wilson, James L. McDevitt, D. E. Nickerson, C. A. Fink, R. E. Roberts.

Shorter Workday

E. J. Gaior, Jos. Tremblay, James P. Meehan, Harry Stevenson, Helen Caren, John Gelo, John Pelkofer, Walfred Smedberg, Joseph Hauser, Louis P. Marcicante, Sal B. Hoffmann, C. F. Strickland, Milton P. Webster, John F. McCann, Harry J. Hagen, Elmer P. Meinz, John M. Fewkes, Patrick E. Gorman, G. X. Barker, Ralph Whitehead, Lillian Peterson.

Legislation

I. M. Ornburn, Leo E. George, Emanuel Kovcleski, B. M. Jewell, C. L. Rosemund, C. M. Harvey, James M. Duffy, Robert Dale, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, James B. Burns, Thomas V. Green, George S. Counts, M. T. Finnan, James E. Petrillo, Don M. Burrows, Christian Madsen, David Behncke, James Myles, Robert Lester, T. J. Stephens.

International Labor Relations

Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, Edward J. Gaior, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Millman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, Wm. J. McSorley,

Edward Canavan, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix Knight, James Maloney.

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees: I move that President Green's name be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair requests that the Chairmen of the respective committees arrange for meetings of the committees at your earliest opportunity and your earliest convenience.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, for an announcement.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will go into session immediately in Parlor G, Roosevelt Hotel. I wish to ask the delegates who desire to be heard by the Resolutions Committee to arrange for their hearings immediately. Hearings will begin at once in Parlor G. We have so much work before us that hearings will have to close by tomorrow evening, so delegates desiring to be heard by the Committee on Resolutions will please arrange to come before that committee immediately, or as soon as possible.

There will be a special meeting on social security legislation tomorrow morning.

President Green: Now I am privileged to present to you the guest of our convention and the speaker scheduled for an address this morning. I know that all of you who were in attendance at previous conventions recall with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction the visit of Mr. Altmeier to those conventions. You will recall the highly educational and inspiring addresses which he delivered.

He is here this morning. He is an authority and an expert on Social Security. Even before the Congress of the United States and the state legislatures enacted social security legislation he was recognized as an authority upon the subject, pioneered in the preparation of social security legislation. He comes from the progressive state of Wisconsin and you know in the early days Wisconsin led in the promotion of this fine social and progressive legislation.

Mr. Altmeier came all the way from Washington to bring a message to the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. We appreciate his visit very, very much, and we are happy to have him with us this morning.

I am pleased indeed to present to you Arthur J. Altmeier, Chairman of the Social Security Board for an address this morning—Mr. Altmeier.

MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMEYER (Chairman, Social Security Board)

Mr. President and delegates to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—This is the fifth time in as many years that I have had the pleasure of

addressing you. In fact, I am beginning to feel like a victrola record. However, Social Security is such a big thing and so varied in its applications that I feel each year brings new problems and new phases of the subject to which your attention should be called.

I note, however, in reading your annual report a very comprehensive discussion of the whole subject of Social Security, and I can say truthfully that the Social Security Board and your Committee on Social Security see absolutely eye to eye, so far as the objectives of social security as expressed in your annual reports are concerned. In fact, we see so much eye to eye that I am wondering whether I should even speak to you today, because it is pretty largely in the nature of a re-affirmation of most of the things that appear in your annual report.

I am reminded of a story in that connection of a man whose wife was insisting that he talk with their fourteen or fifteen-year-old boy about the problems he would face as he grew older. She said, "John, you simply must talk to the boy and have an understanding with him and tell him about these things that he must know." So John sat with John, Junior one day and said, "Son, there are some facts of life I think we ought to discuss frankly and fully." And John, Junior said, "Well, Dad, what is it you want to know?" And so I feel somewhat like John, Senior talking to John, Junior.

Today, national defense is uppermost in our minds. We see dangers to our people and to our democracy, as we watch the terror abroad, and we are preparing to defend them, if necessary, with all the physical forces at our command. But while those preparations are under way, and we are making ourselves safe physically, we must not overlook the dangers of a more subtle kind which are arising behind the lines of our armaments. We hear already demands that the Government relax its labor standards and sacrifice its social services. And those who make these demands are, of course, not enemies from without, but voices from within—some selfish, some sincerely afraid that we cannot maintain our peace-time standards if we prepare for armed defense. "The cost is too great," some say. "We need the money for guns and ships and airplanes to defend our country's life." Others say that we cannot achieve maximum production if we must observe the provisions of the various labor laws.

Some may say that the danger I cite is purely imaginary, that no one would think of sacrificing the social gains we have made. However, I hold in my hand a typical letter received from a business man who no doubt is utterly sincere, patriotic, and unselfish, according to his lights. This letter reads in part as follows:

"Don't you think we have come to the time where some of the Administration's social experiments should be abandoned and those funds diverted to national defense. In that connection what position would the Government find itself in if the unemployment compensation part of the Social Security Act were immediately abandoned and these tax payments that industry is now making, and industry alone, should be diverted to a National Defense Fund. I point out specifically this one tax as industry has learned to absorb the tax and I believe would gladly approve the diversion of this money to National Defense, and to make this step it would pave the way to diverting much of the funds for other social experiments, such as housing, slum clearance, rural electrification and so on down the list to national defense for I am firm in my belief that our country is at the cross-roads and must choose between the national security or social security. To choose national security will preserve the integrity and defenses of our land; to choose social security we might find ourselves the unfortunate victim of a conqueror."

I quote this letter because I think it has a ring of sincerity to it which must be recognized. This man really believes that we must choose between national security and social security—believing undoubtedly that the two are mutually exclusive. I know that we will all share with this man his deep concern for our national security. We must all recognize that with a flaming continent across the seas we cannot today count ourselves secure. We must all recognize that we must be prepared to defend our country, our liberties, and our homes, with weapons of war. However, we must recognize above all else that our country's defenses must be strong within as well as without. We cannot afford to sacrifice those gains which will help us to become a strong nation—particularly those laws which protect the working man and his family from exhausting toll, starvation pay, the hazards

of unemployment, dependency in old age, and industrial accident.

All of these things, rather than weakening our efforts toward total defense, strengthen immeasurably those efforts. The President has made it very clear that there shall be no retreat in the social gains that we have made. When he laid the Government's program for national defense he said: "There is nothing in our present emergency to justify making the workers of our Nation toil for longer hours than now limited by statute . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a lowering of standards of employment . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a breaking down of old-age pensions or unemployment insurance . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify retreat from any of our social objectives."

"We must make sure in all that we do," he said, "that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years."

I should like to discuss with you today not only those phases of the Social Security program which are specifically related to the National Defense Program, but also those general developments in the field of social security which are necessary in order that social security may make its maximum contribution to national security.

The United States Employment Service

First in your minds, perhaps, and certainly not second in importance from any point of view, are the problems of our expanded United States Employment Service.

Fortunately, the advent of unemployment compensation has meant a tremendous expansion in the facilities of the United States Employment Service and the use of those facilities by the workers and employers of this country. Certainly we must all recognize that men, skilled men, men of every degree of skill and superskill are as important to our great national defense effort as is war material. Men of skill and training must be mobilized before we can have munitions. Modern warfare, in terms of man power, is a struggle not so much between soldiers as between mechanics.

The task—I may say the supertask—of the United States Employment Service is to supply competent mechanics and laborers in large enough numbers, in steady enough streams, to meet both defense and peace-time needs.

This division of our Bureau of Employment, the United States Employment Service, is now a defense agency, designated as such by the President of the United States, working with the National Defense Commission. Throughout the States, and operated by the States with the aid of the Federal Government, are some 4500 local free public employment offices through which 2,300,000 workers were placed in jobs during the first nine months in 1940.

Cooperation Necessary

The United States Employment Service touches every one of your organizations directly or indirectly—for the manning of defense jobs affects other jobs, relating them in one way or another to defense projects. In order to make the national defense program a complete success, the United States Employment Service should have the complete cooperation of employers and labor. Without that cooperation a vital link in the defense chain—labor supply—will break, and our total aims be defeated.

I can report that in many communities this cooperation between your organizations and the State public employment offices has been achieved. But there are instances throughout the country, some of them involving projects like camps, barracks, schools, and powder mills, where the cooperation has been lacking. Where the absence of team play has been due to neglect or oversight of the employment offices, we shall do our best to remedy any shortcoming. Where the absence of team play may be due to neglect or oversight on the part of your local unions, we urge them to familiarize themselves with employment service procedure. Our regulations in reference to relations with unions have recently been revised to make certain that the procedures followed are in accordance with the intent of Federal legislation. We have recently sent to the headquarters of your national, State, and city organizations copies of regulations to be followed by State employment service agencies in establishing and maintaining a national system of Public Employment Offices.

In those regulations it is provided that under no conditions are men to be referred

by the State employment offices to jobs involved in labor disputes. Moreover, these regulations permit respect for union agreements, both closed and preferential shop agreements. Non-union men are not to be referred to jobs where closed shop union contracts are in effect. Our aim, of course, is to follow Federal law, and in so doing to build up the necessary and proper relations with labor organizations.

I may add that this aim, to our way of thinking, in no way excludes good relations with employers. The United States Employment Service, as we view it, is a public enterprise. It exists to serve the whole public, not a special group. The proper handling of man power, whether on defense projects or peace time jobs, is a service charged with the public interest.

The workings of the United States Employment Service, however, are not a simple matter, as you probably know from experience as well as from bulletins sent you by our Labor Information Division. We try for one thing to prevent the unnecessary hardship and disappointment likely to come to workers who move to some new place because rumor tells of jobs there. Every State Employment Service has local free employment offices all over the State. We urge all workers to go to the nearest of those free public employment offices first. There they can find out about jobs anywhere in the country. If the local office does not have at hand just the information wanted at the moment, it can immediately telephone its State headquarters or the national clearance office which serves that State. These national clearance offices—13 of them—have just been set up to handle these problems more efficiently and enable the worker to know whether jobs are open before he travels to some distant place, where he might be disappointed.

The rule of the United States Employment Service, which includes the State Public Employment Service, is to place local men on local jobs before looking elsewhere. Therefore, the first chance for anybody looking for a job is in his own home town.

Insurance Coverage

The national emergency brings us new problems in respect to unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance. Or perhaps I should say it intensifies problems we have had all along. There

have always been certain gaps in the coverage of our insurance programs as provided in the Act of 1935. A few of these gaps were filled by amendments adopted in 1939. Those that remain are increasingly important.

Agricultural workers and domestic workers, numbering many millions, are still excluded from the benefits of unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance. So are employees of educational, charitable, religious and other non-profit organizations, numbering perhaps a million more. So are the thousands of self-employed. So are maritime workers in the case of unemployment insurance. And, as the defense program develops, uncounted thousands of men and women will move out of jobs which are covered by our insurance programs into Federal civilian defense jobs and into the military services, which are not covered by the Social Security Act as it stands.

The last two classes—the civilian defense workers employed and to be employed by the Federal Government, and the young men who go into military service—these require our immediate attention, lest they lose the insurance rights they now have.

Defense Workers

Let us consider the situation of your men in the metal trades, the building trades, and other crafts or callings, who take jobs in Government establishments such as the Navy Yards and Arsenal, moving out of private industry into Government employment. On their jobs in private industry they have built up wage credits which would mean to them weekly benefit payments in case they should be out of work, which would mean monthly payments when they are old, which would mean monthly payments to wife and children or dependent parents should the breadwinner die.

Unless the present law is changed, these men will not get credit in their social security accounts while they are in Government employment, because the law as it now stands excludes from unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance employment by the Government of the United States, and by any State, county, or municipality.

And not only would wage credits stop when the man moves from private to public employment. If or when he returns to private employment after the defense emergency is over and his social security account is reopened, the amount of his old-age benefits, and the amount of the benefits to his wife and children will be reduced by the present method of calculating his payments. Clearly, something must be done about all that. But how to do it is a difficult problem.

In order to propose a method of protecting the insurance rights of these men under the Social Security Act we have to find a way to do it without colliding with the insurance rights of hundreds of thousands of mechanics, postal workers, and employees of all the other branches of the Federal Government who have built up insurance rights under the Federal Civil Service Retirement system. This as it now stands is the result of some thirty years of organized effort by the unions in Government Service. We must protect the insurance rights which have been earned under the Social Security Act without hurting anybody's rights or interests acquired under the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act. The problem is to find the best way. And that is one thing we have been working on—your National Social Security Committee and the Social Security Board.

The "In-and-Out" Problem

Let me point out, also, that this problem of the defense workers is merely an enlargement of one which your representatives have brought to us many times before—the "in-and-out" problem, we call it. All over the country are men, in the building trades especially, who work at times on jobs covered by the insurance programs and at times for the Federal, State, or city government, or on some construction job for a university, a public hospital, or some other institution not covered by the unemployment or old-age and survivors insurance systems as the law now stands. These men, going in and out of covered employment, find it difficult and often impossible to earn either unemployment insurance coverage, or old-age and survivors insurance coverage. While we are working out a plan for the defense workers who go from private employment into Government service, we should also take care of those who go "in-and-out" of short-term jobs.

State and Local Public Employees

Tied up with the problem we have just been discussing—how to protect the insurance rights of defense workers who go from private employment into the Federal Government service—is the coverage problem which has been brought to us from organizations of State, county, and municipal employees, who want to come under the Social Security Act.

In some places the cities and States have established retirement systems for their teachers, their police and firefighters, and other public servants. But many cities and States have not. In fact, I believe the statistics show nearly 3 million State and local public employees in all. Of these about 1,280,000 are not covered by any retirement system.

Just as Federal Civil Service employees must be protected against any loss of their benefits under the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act, so the police and firefighters, the teachers and other State, county, and municipal employees who are now covered by State and local systems must be protected against loss when other public employees are provided for. That goes without saying, it seems to me. Nevertheless, the situation poses a problem of how to do it—and as I said before your Social Security Committee and the Social Security Board are working together to find the right answer. You will yourselves consider it in this convention, I understand.

The Men in Military Service

For the men who leave jobs to go into military service, either because they enlist or because they are called under the Selective Training and Service Act, there arises a similar problem of insurance rights under the Social Security Act. The problem exists for young men who have jobs they must leave and for those who go into military service before they have yet had a job.

We must find the best way to protect these young men against loss of insurance rights both for themselves and their families. Under the present selective service regulations those first called will be men without dependents. But they will be losing, as the law now stands, unemployment insurance credits they might be earning in civil life, and when they are mustered out

of military service, they may need the weekly benefits while they are looking for a job. They will have lost, also, credits toward their old-age insurance and the protection of their future families.

Something must be done about this also. And you will be considering this problem in the course of your deliberations here.

Agricultural and Domestic Workers

Agricultural and domestic workers are the largest classes of workers so far not covered by the insurance programs under the Social Security Act. There are so many of them—around 4 million agricultural workers and 2½ million domestic workers, and the conditions of their employment present so complex a problem that Congress felt, in 1935, that we needed time to study the matter. We have studied it, and we believe that the administrative task can be handled when Congress gives the word.

Employees of Non-Profit Institutions

The printing trades, the building trades, the nurses, dietitians, cooks and waiters, office workers, and other workers employed by non-profit institutions such as hospitals, colleges, churches, and charitable institutions, have protested to us against their exclusion from unemployment and old-age and survivors insurance. As you know, the Social Security Board has recommended their inclusion, and legislation is now pending in Congress to bring it about.

It seems to us that these programs—insurance against the loss of wages by unemployment, old age, or death—should extend to all workers who face those risks.

More Adequate Unemployment Compensation Benefits

As you know, last year Congress amended the Federal old-age insurance system so as to begin the payment of benefits on January 1 of this year instead of January 1, 1942. It also revised the benefit provisions under this system so as to pay more adequate benefits in the early years of the system and also to provide benefits for the survivors of workers who die, as well as for workers who retire in their old age. So today we have an old-age and survivors insurance system, instead of only an old-age retirement system, which protects the worker and his family throughout his lifetime instead of only the worker himself in his old age.

However, in the case of unemployment compensation there has not been any great

advance in providing more adequate benefits to workers who are unemployed through no fault of their own. The benefit formulas that were written into the early State laws did not represent what were then considered adequate benefit payments, but represented only the benefits that it was thought a 3% payroll tax could finance.

It is becoming clear that there probably was an overestimate on the side of safety and, of course, it was wise to be on the safe side. However, a reserve of 1½ billion dollars has been built up and current collections of contributions are double current benefit payments. Therefore, it now appears to be possible to pay more adequate benefits without an increase in the rate of contribution. The Social Security Board believes that it is highly desirable to provide more adequate benefits in order that the unemployment compensation system may be more effective in accomplishing its purpose of providing protection to unemployed workers for a reasonable proportion of the wage loss they sustain. The waiting period might be made one week instead of two or three as is the case under most present State laws. The weekly benefit rate should bear some reasonable relationship to full-time earnings, rather than earnings which are low because of past unemployment. The minimum weekly benefit rate should in no case be less than \$3 and the maximum weekly benefit rate might well be raised to \$20. Above all, the duration of benefits should be increased since experience has demonstrated that a large proportion of workers exhaust their benefit rights before getting back to work. In one State 75% of the workers were still unemployed when their benefits ceased. Therefore, benefits might well be paid for a uniform maximum period of at least sixteen weeks. Undoubtedly, some States are financially able to pay for a longer period than that. The benefits should, of course, also be paid for partial unemployment in all States. In those States which do not pay benefits for partial unemployment there is, of course, every opportunity for the evasion of payment of benefits for total unemployment by providing considerable part-time work.

Health and Disability Insurance

Our unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance systems which I have been discussing are vital and far-reaching but they leave a wide gap in the protection of wage-earners against loss of their wages since there is no provision for compensation if the worker is unemployed due to illness or accident not connected with his employment. As you know, State workmen's compensation laws apply only to industrial accidents, and in some States to occupational diseases, and unemployment insurance pays benefits only if the worker is physically able to work. It is most necessary that compensation also be provided for wage-loss due to non-industrial disability, and it is possible to do this through modification of the social insurance systems we already have. Compensation for wage-loss due to permanent disability could be provided in connection with the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system, and compensation for wage-loss due to temporary disability could also be provided in connection with that system, or in connection with State workmen's compensation, or unemployment compensation.

You will note that I have been speaking only of the wage-loss due to disability, but this wage-loss is less than one-fourth of the total cost of ill health. The cost of necessary medical care accounts for the remaining three-fourths of this enormous bill. It is well established that the lower the family income, the greater the amount of disability and the less the medical care obtained. Therefore, it is absolutely essential for us to distribute this cost so that all of our people may have access to reasonably adequate medical care.

There are those who say that any legislation providing for the distribution of the cost of medical care will lead to socialized medicine, by which term, as I understand it, is meant a system whereby the personal relationship between a patient and his doctor is destroyed. In spite of such fears, I am confident that a plan can be worked out that will not interfere with the patient's free choice of a doctor and which will not impair the quality of medical service and the standards of the medical profession. Certainly I am confident that the A. F. of L. which favors health insurance will be most insistent upon protecting the patient's free choice of a doctor in the case of health insurance just as it has insisted upon this right in the case of workmen's compensation. However, if it is impossible to secure agreement on a plan for the distribution of the cost of medical care, that should not prevent enactment of legislation

to provide protection for the wage-loss due to disability.

Public Assistance

Time will not permit me to discuss with you the public assistance programs contained in the Social Security Act providing monthly cash assistance to over two million needy old people, 825,000 dependent children, and 48,000 needy blind people. These cash payments now amount to 50 million dollars a month. Our main recommendation for the improvement of this part of the social security program is that the law be amended to provide variable grants of Federal money to the States, which would be related to the economic capacity of the individual States, instead of the present 50% Federal grant to all States regardless of their economic capacity. Such a change would enable the States with low economic capacity to grant more adequate assistance than they are now doing.

In conclusion, I wish to express to you again the appreciation of the Board for your cooperation which has been expressed not only by your national officers and your research staff, but also by the members of your national committee on social security and the local social security committees which you have established. Let me also assure you that the Social Security Board wants to cooperate with you in every possible way in order that your members may be fully informed as to their rights under the Social Security Act. As you know, we have a Labor Information Division which is especially charged with this responsibility and you will find pamphlets and other material in the lobby of this auditorium which have been prepared by that division.

I know that the problems of national defense vitally concern you and have, therefore, devoted a considerable part of my address to these problems. I salute you as one of the great defense forces of our country, a force which promotes and protects our Democracy from within and keeps our country worth defending and worth fighting for, if fight we must. As for me, I am here as a representative of your Government which works with you and for you to preserve those social gains that we have accomplished in this country of ours, and to advance those gains through a still greater structure of good Government and good living.

President Green: I am sure you all deeply appreciate this highly educational and inspiring address which Chairman Altmeyer delivered this morning. He dealt with a subject that is very close to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and their families. We love the word "social security." We place great emphasis upon the word "security", because one of our objectives from the beginning was to develop a plan of security that would guarantee protection to the workers of America when they reach the age of retirement, a plan of security that would tend to tide unemployed workers over unemployment periods until they found a new job and a new place.

I want to tell you that it does create a different state of mind when we begin to realize that a plan of security is being adopted and applied in America that will take care of workers in every vicissitude of life.

This highly interesting and educational address delivered this morning will be included in our proceedings. We will refer to it and study it. Those who are not here will be supplied with copies so that we will know from the facts and information delivered just what is being done.

In your name and in your behalf I thank Chairman Altmeyer sincerely for his visit to us and his inspiring address.

President Green: Now I am pleased to present to you another distinguished representative of the Federal Government. He comes to us from Washington representing another project that is close, very close, to the men and women of labor, and particularly those connected with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. I have known the Chairman of the United States Housing Authority for quite a long time. He gained a reputation for himself many years ago because of his progressive outlook on life. It seems he was especially fitted for this position when we undertook this great project of slum clearance and house building for the plain people of America.

He is here with us this morning with a message I know will be of educational value and that will inspire us because of the facts which he submits. I want to say for Mr. Straus that he has cooperated heartily with the American Federation of Labor and with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and we are working together, and it has been a fine and happy relationship. I am pleased to present to you this morning Nathan Straus, Chairman of the United States Housing Authority.

MR. NATHAN STRAUS **(Administrator United States** **Housing Authority)**

It is two years since you accorded me the privilege of addressing the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled.

But it is ten times two years since the beginning of my association with the Federation. Just twenty years have passed since I first became interested, as a Senator of the State of New York, in questions affecting labor. It was then that I began to plead the cause of labor on the floor of the State Legislature and on the public platform. And I can honestly say that memories of those activities are among the happiest of my life.

At no time has the American Federation of Labor ever failed me when I needed a friend. As State Senator, as New York State Administrator of the NRA, as Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, the assistance and guidance of the American Federation of Labor has always been given unflinchingly and freely. I have had your confidence, I am proud to say, as you have had mine.

The history of public housing in America is wrapped up in recent years with the work of the A. F. of L. You have labored most persistently and most effectively to make slum clearance and low-cost housing a reality, to transform the 100-year old dream into an established Government program. In the passage of State enabling legislation, in the creation of local housing Authorities, in educating the public to an appreciation of the cost of slums and the way to rid the community of slums, the national and international unions of the A. F. of L., the central labor unions, and the building trades councils have all rendered service of the greatest value. To you belongs lasting credit for the creation of a public housing program to provide homes for workers and employment for workers.

The American Federation of Labor has realized the importance of decent housing conditions to the lives and welfare of the people. But even more important is your realization that a public housing program can create decent jobs at fair wages in productive work. You have been the first large group of Americans to grasp the truth—that a public housing program is the road to steady and productive employment, the road away from poverty, unemployment, and made-work.

This haunting problem of unemployment has been with you in good times and in bad times, in boom years as in depressions. It is with you today, with factories running to full capacity and unfilled orders pouring in. In fact it is safe to predict that there will always be large and troublesome unemployment until we find new industries to translate our productive advances and mechanical genius into the greater good of the whole people.

There are some who believe that unemployment will be permanently cured by expansion of defense industries. I cannot share that optimism. I am the first to admit that we must arm, and arm quickly, to make certain that the fate of Czechoslovakia, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland and France is not our fate. We must arm quickly to assure our security and protect our liberties, not by fighting, but by the peace which can come only from a show of strength. But the

armament program will not in the long run solve the problem of technological unemployment. On the contrary, the defense program will, through sad necessity, in the long run, aggravate and double the problem unless we plan now and act now.

For some day the war abroad will end. This year, or next, or the year after, some day, sanity will return to the world and peace will be reestablished. When the fires of war are extinguished, as we pray they may be soon, the fires in many a steel plant and copper smelter and shipyard and factory will also flicker out unless we prepare now to keep them burning. The effect on our complex industrial life of the sudden shutting down of factories and smelters would be felt by the drug store in Maine, the grocer in Texas, the dress shop in California.

When peace comes to this stricken world, millions of workers now employed, not only in making the materials of national defense, but employed also in building the plants to manufacture the materials of national defense, and in building the homes to house the workers in national defense, will find those particular jobs at an end and idleness staring them in the face. What is to become of the millions thrown out of work? Where are they to look for jobs? How are their skills and energies to be employed?

I am not speaking to you of something theoretical or even problematical. I am speaking to you of an event which is as certain as death or taxes. A week hence or a year hence, or a decade hence—the war will end. What then?

Let me remind you that the greater the temporary relief afforded by the expansion of defense industries, the greater the false optimism generated by this temporary recovery, the greater the permanent problem will be. If, as is now estimated, about 5,000,000 workers are to be absorbed in defense industries, that makes the problem when the defense need is over just so much bigger than if only 3,000,000 workers were to be absorbed in defense industries.

And the problem will not be one simply of creating new jobs. It will be a problem of creating jobs involving skills for which men are prepared. The youths trained to test precision rifles and guide army tanks will not be skilled in the industries of peace. This will accentuate and aggravate the technological problem to which I have referred.

In preparing for war, let us also prepare for peace. Let us plan now to take up the slack in employment that is sure to occur, by a program of useful public works, thoughtfully conceived and carefully worked out now to provide maximum benefits at minimum costs.

What kind of public works offers opportunity for almost unlimited employment without threat of competition to private business? What kind of construction will pay the biggest dividends in human happiness at the smallest cost to the taxpayer? What kind of public works will confer the greatest benefit on our children and on our children's children?

I believe the answer to all of these questions is slum clearance and the construction of low-rent housing. This is one program of public works that fills all of these conditions. Millions of men could be employed usefully and fruitfully in a nation-wide program of slum clearance and home construction for a generation.

I am not thinking of a small program or of small figures. I believe we must plan now to meet a big need in a big way. I believe we must plan to face the possibility that at least 5,000,000 men may be thrown out of work, directly or indirectly, by the reestablishment of a peace-time economy in this country, unless we do something now to prevent it. Plans should be based on the reasonable expectation that employment may have to be provided directly for at least 2,500,000 men. The expenditures for consumption by those so employed will provide jobs for the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker, and all the others.

And the field to cultivate lies ready. The depression in residential construction since 1929, obsolescence and population growth, have all combined to cause a shortage, a need for about 13,000,000 new homes by 1950.

I know there are those who will say that we can wait until the end of the defense period in order to meet the needs that will then arise. But the only valid excuse for the counsel of waiting is that a problem has not yet become clear—and this problem is staring us in the face with all the clearness and inevitability of truth. It is staring us in the face as clearly as an impending depression stared us in the face in 1927 and 1928. If we take the counsel now, as we did then, of those who advised us to wait, we shall be as unprepared as we were then, and we shall suffer the same dire consequences in magnified form.

One of the greatest achievements of the past few years is that we now have through existing government machinery the methods of expanding public employment where private employment is not sufficiently plentiful. I believe that the nation-wide decentralized program of the United States Housing Authority, calling into play all of the 500 Local Authorities as well as the Federal Government, utilizing 2500 or more members of Local Housing Authorities, many of whom are members of organized labor, drawing upon the best elements of community citizenship and community experience, is the best and most substantial single piece of machinery yet devised toward this end.

In 1938, I reported to your Convention on the progress of the United States Housing Authority program. Today I want to bring that report up-to-date. The USHA program is now in operation in 232 communities. More than 110,000 healthful homes are occupied or under construction. These homes will be tenanted by families of low income, all of whom recently lived in slums and insanitary dwellings. The rents average about \$13.00 a month, and in every case are as low as rents charged in the local slum areas. Average costs of construction

are 20% less than average costs of homes erected by private enterprise.

Let me emphasize, however, that all of the homes under the USHA program are built by the same private contractors that are employed by private enterprise. Yet Local Authorities using these same contractors have achieved lower construction costs. Our governments, national and local, have made a record of economy and sturdy construction in the public housing program.

This is what the machinery of the USHA is doing. But no one knows better than you do that machinery must be kept oiled and ready, that even when it cannot run at full plant capacity it must be kept going at half speed unless rust and waste and decay are to set in, unless there is to be delay and cost and suffering in getting it started again.

Now what is the best way to keep this machinery going? What is the job it must do now, what is the job most consistent with the paramount need of our country for national defense? The answer to this question has come in no uncertain terms from the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. On September 20, 1940, addressing the United States Conference of Mayors in New York City, Commissioner Sidney Hillman said:

"Any effort to cancel out the social gains of recent years is a menace to that national morale which is quite as important to defense as runs, tanks, or planes. After all, is it sensible to speak of longer hours when millions are still unemployed? We have in this country abundant man-power and resources and mass production machinery to prepare for defense and to improve the living standards of our people at one and the same time."

I endorse the statement of the Defense Commissioner. What we must do is to keep the slum clearance and low-rent housing program going as a crusade for social advancement in which there shall be no retreat.

And supplementing this, we must keep the housing machinery of the USHA-Local Authority program oiled and running and efficient by using it for defense housing projects. In Montgomery, Alabama, and in Pensacola, Florida, the first two housing projects erected under the defense program of the United States Housing Authority are now open for occupancy. Construction was begun less than four months ago. Net construction costs are low, under \$2,400 a dwelling, and construction is sound and durable. Most important of all, the plan, design, and location of the projects are such that, when the defense emergency is past, these homes can be used and will be used to provide decent housing for families from the slums.

Let me emphasize that there is a wrong way and a right way to build defense housing. If it is built with no thought of the morrow, merely to save pennies now, it will waste dollars in the future. If the new houses are built to be dumped on the real estate market when the emergency is over,

a defense project may depress real estate values in that neighborhood and may thus kill building enterprise at the very time when the cessation of defense activity will be closing up plants and mills.

Moreover, a house costing \$2,500, not suitably located for permanent usefulness, cheaply constructed, with rooms that are too small and too few, and without safe recreational facilities may be expensive, while a house costing \$3,000, located so as to be of permanent use, soundly built, with adequate space for a normal family life and with provision for community facilities, may be cheap. The words "expensive" and "cheap" have real meaning in connection with public housing only in terms of long-range permanent community usefulness. Houses which will be the slums of tomorrow are expensive at any price.

And so I say to you with the deepest conviction that your welfare and the Nation's welfare, today and tomorrow, is closely connected with the immediate continuation and expansion of the program of the Local Housing Authorities and the United States Housing Authority. And yet, and it is good for us to face the facts, this program may be allowed to die. This program for which we all have fought so long and so valiantly may be scuttled. And if it is scuttled, if it is sent to the bottom, the enemies to your welfare and prosperity and your freedom will have scored a direct hit.

Why do I say this? Who is back of this effort to kill a successful program?

Is it the farmer? No, for with the aid and guidance of the Department of Agriculture, the public housing program is being extended right now to provide good housing at minimum rents on the farms. The farm owner and the tenant farmer alike will benefit from this program, and in states such as Georgia and South Carolina, where it has already been inaugurated, they are enthusiastically in favor of its continuation. Under date of July 9 of this year, C. C. Hanson, Secretary of the Association of Southern Commissioners of Agriculture, wrote as follows to a Congressman, about a bill then pending to expand the USHA program:

"This legislation, is the only legislation which carries practical provisions for reaching and giving assistance to our lowest income farmers and decently housing their families."

Is business trying to kill public housing? No. On our Local Housing Authorities we have scores of important industrialists who, far from opposing the USHA are giving of their time and effort to further the program in their own cities. The 1940 Yearbook of the Memphis, Tennessee, Real Estate Board says:

"Probably no more constructive work has been done in the City of Memphis in the last fifty years than the attempt made in the past decade to eradicate local slums. . . . These slum clearance projects will raise the living standards of the City in many ways. First, it eliminates centers where living conditions were subnormal, where disease and crime flourished. . . . Sec-

ond, it eliminates the chance of the remainder of the residents of Memphis coming into contact with disease and crime. Third, by providing a decent standard of living, it produces a more intelligent person and a better citizenry . . . The people of Memphis almost unanimously approved of these developments. Real estate men and property owners both have been strong in their praises of them and have encouraged the work done."

And how do the bankers and financiers feel? As the President so dramatically said on the radio a few weeks ago, the most recent offering of USHA bonds were sold at the lowest rate of interest in the history of Government financing and were over-subscribed eighteen times.

The achievements of the last three years have been hailed by farmers, by labor, by business enterprise, and by groups of citizens of all shades of political opinion, by conservatives as well as by liberals, by real estate boards, as well as by conferences of welfare workers.

At the center of community life in America stands the local government headed by the Mayor. The Mayor is in a rare position to know and understand the needs of the people as a whole. Here is what the United States Conference of Mayors, at its recent convention in New York, said about the public housing program:

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED. First, that this Annual Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors endorses wholeheartedly the slum-clearance and low-rent housing program of local communities assisted by the United States Housing Authority, and urges the immediate expansion of this program.

"Second, That the United States Conference of Mayors, in expressing the urgent need for defense housing projects throughout the country, expresses its measured judgment that municipal housing authorities assisted by the United States Housing Authority have proved themselves to be the most effective machinery for the quick and economical construction of defense housing projects and their integration with permanent community needs; and therefore this Annual Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors recommends that this effective machinery be made the primary instrument in the defense housing program and that adequate funds be made available to it for carrying forward necessary defense housing work."

No, the people and those who speak for the people are not against public housing. The enemies from whom the program stands in such great and immediate danger are in two main groups.

First, there are the owners of the slum properties of the cities and the blighted horrible frame shacks of the small towns. These slum owners are banded together in various organizations to kill the promise of a new day of housing in America.

Even more important among the enemies of public housing is the second group—

made up of the enemies of organized labor. These are the people who are opposed to the public housing program because it runs counter to all of their prejudices and their set pattern of thinking. They are opposed to public housing as the symbol of a movement for fair rates of pay, better working conditions for labor, better living standards for families of low income. Their opposition to public housing is of a piece with their opposition to trade unionism and to all kinds of social reform. These are the people who have fought the reforms sponsored by President Roosevelt and Senator Wagner and Majority Leader McCormack, all through the last eight years.

They are opposed to the public housing program because it helps to redistribute more equitably our national wealth and resources—and they are determined to intensify the concentration of wealth as well as privilege in the hands of a limited few. And in their opposition, they are using every false argument based upon a national emergency to stab both housing and labor in the back. So long as these enemies of the various programs for the people's betterment can remain masked and can act secretly, their financial endowment and strong organization can help them to succeed. But once they are unmasked they can be defeated, because they have no power comparable to the strength of organized labor and the strength of the vast masses of the American people banded together for human betterment.

And so my advice to you is to stand together and work together for the public housing program. Toward this end, I offer the following specific recommendations for your consideration:

(a) The 500 Local Housing Authorities now engaged in slum clearance and low-rent housing should be maintained at a high peak of efficiency. These agencies and the wealth of their training and experience should be utilized now in keeping the slum clearances and low-rent program in operation at the present rate of about 60,000 new homes a year.

(b) The great bulk of the defense housing should be designed and built by these Local Housing Authorities under the USHA program. These 500 Local Authorities throughout the country have demonstrated their ability to plan wisely, construct economically, and act quickly. Any other plan of construction of defense housing is open to dangers and uncertainties.

If the defense housing is planned and built by Local Authorities, with full consideration of long-range community needs, not a home, not a brick, not a penny need be wasted. When the emergency is over, these homes, planned with an eye to this ultimate use, will be used to rehouse families from areas of blight and slums. The local government will then be able to close up an equal number of unfit, insanitary dwellings in the community. So the new homes will continue to be used for national defense, defense against disease and human misery bred in the slums.

(c) Local Authorities should be encouraged and aided by the Government to plan for a much larger program to cushion unemployment after the emergency is over. Only thus can we make certain that there will be no need for "made-work," but that instead, the slack in employment will be taken up in the construction of the best of all national assets—new, sound, well-built low-rent homes. County governments and city councils should aid Local Housing Authorities to plan so that each community knows exactly what unfit dwellings should be put out of use, where new homes should be built, and what rents should be, if the new homes are to be within the means of those who need them most. Much of this preliminary work must be done now so that localities are ready to act promptly when the need arises.

(d) Plans should encompass a public housing program of about 500,000 homes a year at the end of the defense emergency. This is about eight times the current rate of production under the USHA program; but even at this relatively high rate of production, it would be many years before homes were produced for all of the one-third of the nation now ill-housed.

With these recommendations as a basis, I urge you to select what is desirable, reject what you find unsound, add the wisdom of your own experience, and forge a public housing program for which you are ready to fight. And fight you must. The attacks on the public housing program are not new. They are the latest, and perhaps the last, chorus of a song that is very old, the song of entrenched privilege. And the words are "Let us alone." The tune of the slum landlord, the exploiter of labor, and the reactionary, fighting against public housing, exaggerating its costs, maliciously misrepresenting its operations, but echoes the tune of those who fought the free public school system, workmen's compensation laws, who fought collective bargaining, minimum wage laws and laws outlawing child labor. We won those victories. We will win this victory.

It will be won, because the best argument for public housing is public housing itself. No specious argument of words can stand up against the bricks-and-mortar rebuttal of a public housing project, the happy home of useful and contented citizens.

And, as I have said before, the second best sound in the world is the sound of the hammer and the saw of labor engaged in building housing projects, homes for people, but the best sound in the world is the sound of voices of little children, happy in decent, fit, American homes.

I believe that the day of victory of a permanent public housing program, is being brought nearer by the growing strength, maturity and unity of American labor. I look to labor, organized labor, for leadership in good causes and especially in this great good cause—decent American homes for decent Americans.

President Green: That was a real treat. Chairman Straus, of the United States Housing Authority, told a very interesting story. I want to assure him that we deeply appreciate that story and his message. As I look out of my hotel window each day I can see a housing project here in this great Southern city of New Orleans that challenges my admiration.

What we hope for is that this great social experimentation—shall I put it that way, although I think it has passed beyond the experimental stage—shall continue in an increasing and expanding way—homes for American people, for those who need homes and want homes of that kind, built under the direction of a beneficent government, and when people have that kind of a home they will defend America and their homes with increasing vigor.

We are unanimously in accord with the program of the United States Housing Authority, and I want to assure Administrator Straus this morning that he can rely upon the mobilized strength and influence of the millions of working men and women in America in the furtherance of this great social project.

This convention will speak with emphasis upon this question and we will go from here united in support of this great program.

I thank you, Chairman Straus, for your visit here this morning. When you go back you can go with the assurance that this great organization is with you.

Good-bye and good luck!

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S LETTER

President Green: Now I am happy to present you this morning a message directed to you, the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, from the President of the United States.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany will read the message and the reply sent to that message by direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to now read to you the message received from the President of the United States November 13th, and the telegram which was sent in reply thereto by direction of the Executive Council yesterday.

Secretary Meany read the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

November 13, 1940.

Dear Mr. Green:

Please extend to the officers, the delegates and the members of the American Federation of Labor my congratulations and

felicitations upon this occasion of the sixtieth convention of the organization. At the same time let me wish, with all your members, for a meeting out of which will come substantial good and benefit to American wage earners, to American business, to American farmers and to the general public.

I had hoped to be able to attend the New Orleans convention and to speak to my friends there in person; but that was part of a plan I had which included the possibility of a cruise and also the spending of Thanksgiving at Warm Springs. As you know, all plans have to be tentative in these days of crisis, and subject to change according to circumstances of the hour. It still is inadvisable for me to be further away from Washington than a distance which will permit my return in seven or eight hours. Reluctantly, therefore, and with deep regret, I have had to forego the privilege of attending the New Orleans convention.

This nation of ours and its workers have made great economic and social gains since your 1933 convention was held here in Washington. Representatives of organized labor have played an important part in the shaping and carrying out of the progressive program which has meant so much not only to wage earners but to farmers and business men as well.

Now we have come to a period which demands intense and sustained cooperation so that our beloved Republic can present, in any emergency which might be forced upon us, the solid, imposing front of a great and united democracy. In order to do this successfully all of us are called upon to work together in a common purpose and for the common good that these United States shall stand forever free and that the institutions, we as a free people enjoy, shall ever be preserved. To this end labor can make its contribution along with the rest of the American people. I am confident that this contribution will be generously and gladly given without reservation.

Labor will lend its aid in planning for full efficiency of industrial production, in planning for selection, training and placement of new workers, in planning for full labor supply, in maintaining the social

gains of recent labor and social legislation, in maintaining sound and uninterrupted work in the defense industries and in promoting sound employer-worker relationship at a time like this when the steady flow of production may be our greatest need. Sacrifice may be necessary in the future for every one. Responsible action and self-discipline, physical and moral fitness are now required of all of us as our part in the defense of our country and democracy.

Among the things which labor will contribute, is I venture to suggest, an unselfish, a far sighted and a patriotic effort to bring about a just and an honorable peace within the now divided labor movement. Labor leaders, with the interest of the nation at heart and the advantage of their followers in mind can, I am sure, find the way to reach such a peace.

Peace may not be easy to achieve and the intricate problems involved may not be easy to solve. But when men of honor and good intentions sit down together they can work out a solution which will restore the much needed harmony either by unity or by a sensible working arrangement.

We as a people today have the common determination to put our country above all else. Please God we shall always keep it so as to preserve our priceless heritage of the world's greatest democracy which came from the fathers of the Republic. It can only be kept by building upon that sound foundation in the patriotic way, in the democratic way and in the American way. And that is and shall be our way, as a great and as a united people, now and for evermore.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Honorable William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

At the conclusion of the reading of the President's letter the delegates arose and applauded enthusiastically.

Secretary Meany then read the letter sent to the President by direction of the Executive Council, as follows:

Western Union Telegram

New Orleans, La.
November 18, 1940.

To the President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Please accept the profound thanks of all those in attendance at our convention for your most inspiring message. Be assured of the full support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor in the execution of the government's defense plans and policies. You can rely upon us to give freely of our skill, training service and labor to America in order to safeguard and protect our common heritage of freedom, liberty and democracy and in the realization of the common objectives set forth in the fifth paragraph of your appealing communication wherein you state "Labor will lend its aid in planning for full efficiency of industrial production, in planning for selection, training and placement of new workers, in planning for full labor supply, in maintaining the social gains of recent labor and social legislation, in maintaining sound and uninterrupted work in the defense industries and in promoting sound employer-worker relationship at a time like this when the steady flow of production may be our greatest need. Sacrifice may be necessary in the future for everyone. Responsible action and self-discipline, physical and moral fitness are now required of all of us as our part in the defense of our country and democracy."

We deeply appreciate the suggestion you make that "an unselfish, a far-sighted and a patriotic effort be made to bring about a just and honorable peace with the now divided labor movement". Fortunately we can officially make answer to your suggestion in a most definite and sincere way. The Executive Council included in its report to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the following recommendation, "The Executive Council fully understands the need of unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor. It entertains a full and deep appreciation, as well as a complete understanding of the value of united action and of the mobilization of the full strength, power and influence of the workers of the nation into one united American labor movement.

The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that labor in America can be solidified and united through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In order to accomplish this purpose and realize this objective, the Executive Council reports to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it has endeavored to re-establish unity within the labor movement through conferences with representatives of the C. I. O. and has endeavored to bring about a settlement of existing differences during the past year. The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C. I. O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place."

Your suggestion, therefore, that when men of honor and good intentions sit down together they can work out a solution which will restore the much needed harmony either by unity or by a sensible working arrangement is coincidental with this recommendation of the Executive Council to the convention now in session.

I am confident the convention will concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council by officially authorizing the committee representing the American Federation of Labor to meet with a committee representing the C. I. O. around the conference table for the purpose of negotiating an honorable peace and the re-establishment of unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor.

I repeat, Mr. President, that these assurances will be carried out in good faith and with all sincerity whenever opportunity for the American Federation of Labor to do so presents itself.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The message from the President and the reply of the Executive Council will be included in the proceedings of today's convention. I am sure we all appreciate more than words can express the warm, sincere message sent to us by the President of the United States. We consider it an honor for the President to address us as he did. I express deep regret because I know he had planned to come to this convention. I had his personal assurance that he would come here if it was

humanly possible, but the international situation was such as to prevent him from enjoying his annual visit on Thanksgiving Day to Warm Springs, and his attendance at this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I know I can express publicly here and now for you our very deep appreciation of the inspiring message which he sent us to be read on this occasion.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements and for the submission of communications.

Secretary Meany: I have been requested to announce that handbooks on Federal labor legislation and other publications issued by the United States Department of Labor are available to the delegates at the United States Department of Labor exhibit in the right corridor from the main entrance.

Message to Mrs M. J. Colleran

I wish to announce, as a result of the action of the convention yesterday, that the following communication has been sent to Mrs. Colleran:

Mrs. M. J. Colleran,
401 West 263rd St.,
New York City.

By direction of the unanimous vote of the delegates to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor I wish to convey to you our heartfelt sympathy on the loss of your beloved husband and our esteemed colleague, Bro. Michael J. Colleran.

GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer, American
Federation of Labor.

Secretary Meany: The following message has been received from Reverend Frank A. Kilday, Rector of the St. Louis Cathedral of this city:

New Orleans, La.
November 11, 1940.

Mr. George Meany, Sec.-Treas.,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir:

It is my pleasure to inform you that arrangements have been made for the celebration of a Solemn High Mass for the Delegates to your convention and their friends. The Mass will be at 10 a. m. Sunday November 24th in historic St. Louis Cathedral on Chartres Street.

His Excellency, the Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, S. T. D., Archbishop of New Orleans will preside at the Mass.

Please be so kind as to call this service to the attention of the Delegates.

With kindest wishes for a successful convention, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely,
FRANK A. KILDAY, O. M. I.,
Rector.

Secretary Meany: The time is 10:00 o'clock a. m., Sunday, November 24.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Matyas, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Resolution Introduced By Unanimous Consent

Delegate Matyas: I ask for the privilege of the delegation I represent to introduce a resolution. It is non-controversial and refers to a strike we have in San Francisco, California.

President Green: Delegate Matyas was unable to introduce the resolution yesterday and to submit it before the time limit for resolutions had expired. I understand it is a non-controversial resolution and is with regard to a strike situation in San Francisco.

Delegate Matyas: The strike has been in existence for over a year and our organization and the State Council have been pushing it very hard.

President Green: If there are no objections the resolution will be accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Hearing no objections, that will be the order.

Following is the resolution submitted by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers:

Expressing Sympathy for Cause of Gantner Employees of California

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Bialla, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union employed by Gantner of California, formerly known as Gantner & Mattern, manufacturers of swim suits and sweaters, have been locked out since January of this year and the firm has since then obstinately refused to renew its contractual relations with the union and defiantly rejected collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, This lockout was precipitated because the Gantner workers had in October, 1939, refused to pass a picket line established by striking building service workers in the Gantner factory and the firm in a spirit of revenge thereupon refused reemployment to these men and women, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, taking cognizance of the plight of these locked out members of organized labor, have endorsed this fight of the Gantner workers for their jobs and for the elementary rights of organized American wage earners and have placed the Gantner products on the unfair list thereby apprising the entire country of the union-smashing attitude of the Gantner firm and asking members of organized labor to do likewise, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., express its full sympathy with the locked out Gantner workers and place the Gantner products on the unfair list of organized labor until such time as the Gantner firm will reemploy its workers and agree to reenter contractual relations with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on the basis of collective bargaining and the generally accepted trade union conditions prevailing in the knitwear industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: In response to a request of the Local Committee representing the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council and their hosts of friends, I am called upon to discharge a very pleasant duty. The New Orleans labor movement is inspired by the same spirit of fraternity and brotherhood which prevails among all the labor organizations in the country. They appreciate the services of men who gave their lives and their abilities to the cause of labor. In this city an outstanding representative of labor distinguished himself while he was here by giving exalted service to labor. And now this movement in New Orleans wishes to honor him and perpetuate his name and his relatives and friends, so they are presenting to the city a bust of this distinguished representative of labor who served them so well in days gone by. In order that you may know what he did, I am going to read this description and then you will understand it better:

"James L. Reilly, 1889-1940

"Fifty-one years ago on August 28th, 1889, in the then familiar neighborhood known as the Irish Channel, was born to Robert Lee Reilly and Agnes Ryan, a son nee James. His parents bring of the Catholic faith, had him christened at the neighborhood church, St. Alphonsus, which was one of the most populated churches of the city.

"Jim at the tender age of six became a pupil of St. Alphonsus Parochial School where he received his education.

"In 1905, at 16 years of age, he secured his first real job as an apprentice in the A. A. Aschaffenberg Plumbing Company. After serving his apprenticeship, in 1911, he joined Local Union No. 60 of the United

Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, as a full fledged mechanic. He then worked for the C. C. Hartwell Plumbing and Heating Company, and other contractors of the trade. Later he served as Plumbing Inspector for the Plumbing Department of the New Orleans Sewerage and Water Board.

"In 1920, Jim got his first real taste of politics, being elected to the State Legislature, serving in that capacity until 1928. During these eight fruitful years many accomplishments for the working classes of his city and state can be attributed to him, notably, Act 248, known as the Plumbers License Bill which today has proved to be the very salvation of the plumbing trade in our state, but the nearest to Jim's heart and his greatest achievement was the Workmen's Compensation Law of Louisiana, which was originated by him. He fought from time to time successfully for many various beneficial amendments which have made the law a model Act, one of the best of its kind, one that contributed greatly to Louisiana's standing as a state with progressive statutes. Every working man from the lowly laborer to the highly skilled mechanic have been greatly benefited by this Act, which we can truthfully say Jim Reilly was the father of.

"In 1921, he took a position as Plumbing Foreman for the New Orleans School Board, a position he held until 1923.

"The lure to again work with the tools overtook Jim and when the construction began of the Hibernia Bank Building, he secured a job with the Cornell Plumbing Company, of New York, who did the plumbing and heating on that structure which was the largest job ever let in New Orleans up to that time. After the completion of this building in 1925, Jim was offered the position of Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Public Works of the city of New Orleans, a position he developed as one of the most efficient in the history of the city government.

"Jim's department called for several thousand workers for whom he made better conditions and wages from time to time. During the many years that he held this position, Jim's popularity grew because of his never ending charity and assistance to the under privileged classes. The many instances of this man's good work for his fellowmen are too numerous to even mention in this brief narrative of his life.

"On March 28th, 1940, organized and unorganized labor as well, in the city of New Orleans and the state, lost one of its staunchest friends and benefactors, when the Great Master called Jim Reilly to his eternal reward.

"At the time of his death, he still carried the same good union card he had taken out in Local No. 60 of the Plumbers and Steamfitters when he was a mere lad in 1911. During these many years of membership in which he served from the lowest position to President, Jim was rewarded handsomely by this Local that he did so much for.

"May we in organized labor, offer our most profound condolence to Mrs. James L.

Reilly, his widow, in the loss of her beloved husband and our dear friend.

"We, in organized labor, feel that the part this humanitarian of the Louisiana labor movement had played during his short stay on earth, should not be forgotten."

President Green: I am pleased indeed, and I know you are, to join with the labor movement in presenting to the city of New Orleans this bust of our distinguished friend, our comrade, our loyal, devoted member of the American Federation of Labor. It seems most fitting and appropriate that this presentation should be made from this stage of the American Federation of Labor convention and by the President of the American Federation of Labor and the delegates in attendance at this convention.

So now I am pleased indeed to complete the discharge of my duty this morning to present in the name of the New Orleans local labor movement and of its friends this bronze bust of James Reilly, to be kept in perpetuity as a remembrance of the great service this man rendered to the people of New Orleans and to the organized labor movement of the city.

President Green here unveiled a handsome bust of Mr. Reilly by removing from it a flag containing the harp and shamrock of the old Irish flag.

MR. FRED ERHART, Commissioner, Public Property of New Orleans

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the City of New Orleans and in the name of our honorable Mayor, it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to accept this bust of one whom I knew as a child and saw grow to maturity and earn for himself a place of trust among his fellow men.

While Mr. Reilly, more affectionately known to all of us as Jim Reilly, did not live in a community of wealth and affluence, and his educational advantages were limited, he was raised amongst a class of people who believe in honesty of word and deed and because he was true to these beliefs, he served as their state representative for years. While serving in that capacity, he worked untiringly for the passage of laws which dealt justly with all classes, not favoring one class more than the other.

A laboring man himself, he was always the true friend of the laboring class and was

a strong believer in the principles of unionism, for he felt that in union there is strength.

Although he put the betterment of the laboring man before everything else, he believed that every man should give a day's work for a day's pay and was willing to see the employer's side as well as the employee's.

In his capacity as commissioner and leader in his district, he always endeavored to treat those who worked with him with the greatest consideration: To see that those who were employed under him were justly paid and that everyone who did an honest day's work received his proper pay for it. He felt that it was his duty to have a good word for every man, to shake his hand, to wish him well, and to be his friend when he needed a friend.

He was ever true to his religion and honest in his convictions to the best interests of his fellowmen.

This monument should be a reminder to men in public life as well as those in private life that in honoring Jim Reilly, we are also paying tribute to the principles for which he stood, the principles of honesty, loyalty, devotion to duty and above all, a man's word is his bond.

President Green here introduced to the convention the sculptress of the bust, Mrs. Alice Fowler, of New Orleans.

President Green: Now at the conclusion of a most interesting session of the convention, the Chair will announce that the work of the morning session has been completed.

First of all, may I call for announcements.

Chairman Ornburn, of the Committee on Legislation and Chairman Bates, of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, announced the places where these committees would meet.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Have the executive officers made any arrangements for committee rooms in the hotel?

Secretary Meany: Arrangements have been made for rooms on the mezzanine floor of the Roosevelt Hotel. The Committee on Law will be assigned a room.

President Green: The name of Lillian Herstein, representing the Chicago Federation of Labor, will be added to the Committee on Education.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., an adjournment was taken to 2:30 o'clock, p. m., of the same day.

Second Day — Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: The Chair has made the following assignment of subjects in the Executive Council's report to the committees named herein:

SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

Harry C. Bates, Chairman

Official Changes

Change of Title

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

Report of Metal Trades Department

Report of Railway Employees' Department

International Typographical Union

Trade Union Benefits

Conclusion

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Matthew Woll, Chairman

Introduction

The C. I. O.—Its Attitude Toward Peace Negotiations

Respect for Law and the Pursuit of Lawful policies

Conscription

Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941

National Labor Relations Act

Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments

Social Security (Legis)

Immigration, Naturalization, etc.

Defense Production and Living Standards

Productivity and Earnings

An Adequate Living Standard

Wage Increases Commensurate with Productivity

Wage and Hour Administration

National Labor Relations Act

Social Security

Work Projects Administration

Administration of Labor Laws

Labor Standards on Public Contracts

Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive

American Federationist

Publicity and the Labor Press

Research and Information Service

Legal Activities

War in Europe

Defense

German Boycott

Japanese War on China

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor

Referred to Committee on Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Chairman

Suspension of National and International Unions

Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor

Referred to Committee on Organization

Harvey W. Brown, Chairman

Organization

Referred to Committee on Labels

Edward Flore, Chairman

Union Label Trades Department Report

Referred to Committee on Adjustments

T. A. Rickert, Chairman

Printing Trades—Lithographers

**Referred to Committee on
Education**

George M. Harrison, Chairman

Education
Report of Workers Education Bureau

**Referred to Committee on State
Organizations**

G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman
State Labor Organization, 1940

**Referred to Committee on
Building Trades**

John P. Coyne, Chairman

Housing
Housing for Workers
Report of Building and Construction
Trades Department

**Referred to Committee on Shorter
Work-Day**

Edw. J. Gainor, Chairman

Employment, Hours and Wages
Productivity and the Shorter Work-Week

**Referred to Committee on Legis-
lation**

I. M. Ornburn, Chairman

National Legislation
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs
Prison-Made Goods
Ship Construction by Maritime Commission

Federal Employees
Migratory Labor
Wages at Boulder Dam
Transportation Act of 1940
Truth in Fabric Bill
Aid for Blind Persons
Canal Zone
Alaska Railway Retirement Act
Prevailing Rate of Wages for Territories
Extension of "Clean Politics" Act
Reorganization of Government Activities
Reapportionment
Walsh-Healey Act Amendments
Oppressive Labor Practices
Settlement of Disputes with the United
States
Anti-Lynching Bill
Payment of Poll Tax as a Prerequisite for
Voting
Motion Picture Films Distribution
Wire Tapping
Discrimination against Graduates of Cer-
tain Law Schools
Government Printing Office Employees
Sugar Legislation
Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs,
etc.
Maritime Legislation

**Referred to Committee on
International Labor Relations**

Thomas E. Burke, Chairman

International Federation of Trade Unions
International Labor Organization
Pan-American Federation of Labor

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committees
Introduction	Resolutions
Official Changes	Executive Council Report
Change of Title	Executive Council Report
Organization	Organizations
Chemical Workers Union	Organizations
American Editorial Association	Organizations
Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers	Organizations
Aluminum Workers	Organizations
Distillery Workers	Organizations
Grain Processors Council	Organizations
Fabricated Metal Workers Council	Organizations
Office Workers	Organizations
Rubber Workers	Organizations
Textile Workers	Organizations
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers	Organizations
Commercial Telegraphers	Organizations
American Federation of Teachers	Organizations
Miscellaneous Unions	Organizations
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union	Executive Council Report
International Typographical Union	Executive Council Report
Per Capita Tax to American Federation of Labor	Laws
Suspensions of National and International Unions	Laws
C. I. O.—Its Attitude Toward Peace Negotiations	Resolutions
Printing Trades—Lithographers	Adjustment
Respect for Law and the Pursuit of Lawful Policies	Resolutions
National Legislation	Legislation
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs	Legislation
Conscription	Resolutions
Housing	Building Trades
Prison-Made Goods	Legislation
Ship Construction by Maritime Commission	Legislation
Federal Employees	Legislation
Migratory Labor	Legislation
Wages at Boulder Dam	Legislation
Transportation Act of 1940	Legislation
Truth in Fabric Bill	Legislation
Aid for Blind Persons	Legislation
Canal Zone	Legislation
Alaska Railroad Retirement Act	Legislation
Prevailing Rate of Wages for Territories	Legislation
Extension of Clean Politics Act	Legislation
Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940	Resolutions
Reorganization of Government Activities	Legislation
Reapportionment	Legislation
National Labor Relations Act	Resolutions
Fair Labor Standards Act	Resolutions
Walsh-Healey Act Amendments	Legislation
Oppressive Labor Practices	Legislation
Settlement of Disputes with United States	Legislation

Subject	Committees
Anti-Lynching Bill	Legislation
Payment of Poll Tax as Prerequisite for Voting.....	Legislation
Motion Picture Films Distribution	Legislation
Wire Tapping	Legislation
Discrimination against Graduates of Certain Law Schools	Legislation
Government Printing Office Employees	Legislation
Sugar Legislation	Legislation
Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs.....	Legislation
Social Security	Resolutions
Immigration, Naturalization	Resolutions
Maritime Legislation	Legislation
Employment, Hours and Wages	Shorter Workday
Defense Production and Living Standards	Resolutions
Productivity and the Shorter Work Week	Shorter Workday
Productivity and Earnings	Resolutions
An Adequate Living Standards	Resolutions
Wage Increase Commensurate With Productivity	Resolutions
Wage and Hour Administration	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Act	Resolutions
Social Security	Resolutions
Old Age Provisions	Resolutions
Coverage	Resolutions
Receipts	Resolutions
Employment Security	Resolutions
Disability Problems	Resolutions
Defense Production and Social Security Rights	Resolutions
Committee on Social Security	Resolutions
Works Projects Administration	Resolutions
Housing for Workers	Building Trades
Administration of Labor Laws	Resolutions
Labor Standards on Public Contracts	Resolutions
Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive	Resolutions
State Labor Legislation, 1940	State Organizations
Education	Education
Vocational Education	Education
NYA Resident Work-Training Projects	Education
Civilian Conservation Corps	Education
Defense Training	Education
Committee on Education	Education
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	Building Trades
Metal Trades Department	Executive Council Report
Union Label Trades Department	Labels
Railway Employees' Department	Executive Council Report
American Federationist	Resolutions
Publicity and the Labor Press	Resolutions
Research and Information Service	Resolutions
Legal Activities	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits	Executive Council Report
War in Europe	Resolutions
After War—Conferences and Peace Terms	Resolutions
Effects of War on Free Trade Unions in Europe	Resolutions

Subject	Committees
Defense—National Aspects	Resolutions
Defense Administration	Resolutions
Labor Policy	Resolutions
Continental Aspects	Resolutions
Dues Exemption for members of Local Unions called for War Service.....	Resolutions
German Boycott	Resolutions
Japanese War on China	Resolutions
International Federation of Trade Unions	International Labor Relations
The International Labor Organization	International Labor Relations
Pan American Federation of Labor	International Labor Relations
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor	Resolutions
Workers Education Bureau	Education
Conclusion	Executive Council Report

Secretary Meany: There will be a meeting in Parlor G of the Hotel Roosevelt at 4:30 o'clock, p. m., this afternoon, of the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor. This is not a convention committee but is a standing committee of the American Federation of Labor. All those who are interested in the extension of social security benefits to state and municipal employes can appear before that committee.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the addition of the name of Anton Imhahn, delegate of the International Union of Operating Engineers, to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The Chair also desires to announce that the Post Office has established an office in the rear of the hall at the entrance to the meeting place. Delegates can receive their mail there by inquiring of the Post Office.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Desepte of the Credentials Committee for an additional report.

Delegate Desepte, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following:

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following additional delegates be seated:

Thomas Murtha, representing the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, with 84 votes.

Houma, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Onell Labit, 1 vote.

Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—George Grosser, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—Andrew P. Bower, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—Felix Reisdorf, 31 votes.

The report of the committee was accepted and the delegates named seated.

President Green: We have a representative of the National Youth Administration here in the convention, Mr. Dillard B. Lasseter, Deputy Administrator, whom I am pleased to introduce for just a few remarks this afternoon.

MR. DILLARD B. LASSETER (Deputy Administrator, National Youth Administration)

President Green and members of the American Federation of Labor—I appreciate very much the honor of being presented to you. I know you will be pleased when I say that I have not prepared a speech and I only want to extend the greetings of my Administration to you. I have been out in the field for a good many years doing our work formerly in the state of Georgia, and I want to say quite frankly that I could not have initiated a program for the underprivileged young people of that state without the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in that state. I want to acknowledge it here publicly and tell you how much I appreciate it.

I also want to say that from a national standpoint we are very anxious and we are determined to conduct our program along lines that will fit in with the principles and standards of organized labor. With that in view we have asked President Green to assign someone to us or let us have the services of someone who thoroughly understands the labor movement. I am very happy to say he has been generous enough to let us have Mr. Henry C. Iler. Mr. Iler will serve with me in Washington. He will be available for service throughout the United States to assist you in any problems that are mutual to your work and ours and he will also serve to keep us informed of what you want us to do and how we can best cooperate with you.

Thank you very much.

President Green: I am pleased to report to you just briefly that the Administrator of the National Youth Administration, Mr. Williams, and the Deputy Administrator, Mr.

Lasseter, who has just spoken to you, have manifested a very deep interest in the relationship which they feel should exist between the National Youth Administration and the American Federation of Labor, and as a result of it Mr. Williams and Mr. Lasseter asked that we recommend the appointment of some representative of the American Federation of Labor to counsel with them and advise with them, to serve as a sort of coordinator between the National Youth Administration and the American Federation of Labor. I did that and recommended the appointment of Mr. Iler, who has had service with the American Federation of Government Employees. He is a young man of fine attainments and fine ability, and that means that now we have established a closer, a finer and a more satisfactory relationship with the National Youth Administration.

We are pleased to have you with us, Mr. Lasseter, and I thank you for your visit and for your remarks.

We have with us this afternoon Dr. John R. Steelman, the Chairman of the Conciliation Section of the Department of Labor, and I am going to ask him to come up and say something to us. As you know, we are deeply interested in the Department of Labor and particularly in the Mediation and Conciliation Section of the Department of Labor. I am pleased to present to you Dr. John R. Steelman.

DR. JOHN R. STEELMAN
(Mediation and Conciliation Section,
Department of Labor)

President Green, delegates and friends—No one at this convention can have more reason for gratitude and thanks than I have now—gratitude for the wholehearted and friendly way I have been received into the ranks of those who represent and work for labor. Thanks for the courtesies and friendliness which Mrs. Steelman and I have universally experienced during our all too brief stay with you.

I have been requested to repeat two statements which I made here last week to one of the great departments of the American Federation of Labor. One was that in a democracy, by a definition, that group known as labor deserves and requires consideration commensurate with its numbers, and thank God, at long last is getting it.

The other statement was this: The future for organized labor in America is as great as the country itself, but of course only as certain.

Since one or two higher officials of the department are scheduled to address your convention, it is my purpose here only to express sincere appreciation for the fine cooperation constantly received by all of us in the Conciliation Service, your Conciliation Service, because it was the American Federation of Labor that created the Department of the Government with which I am asso-

ciated. In return for the cooperation received from President Green and Secretary Meany and from the International Presidents and all other officers and representatives throughout the years in our work in the conciliation service, we attempt to assist the parties through labor disputes to reach a mutual understanding.

My most cordial greetings and best wishes for the most constructive, the finest convention ever.

Thank you.

President Green: We are pleased with the visit of Dr. Steelman this afternoon and appreciate very greatly his remarks. We appreciate likewise the unselfish, devoted service which he is giving to labor in the settlement of disputes through the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor. Be assured of our cooperation and support.

Now we are going to hear from the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, who I am sure will tell us some very interesting things and who will discuss legal matters in which we are deeply interested.

Judge Padway has rendered very distinct service to organized labor during the past year. He represented us before the Labor Relations Board, before government bodies and in the courts of the land and he has been generally successful in the presentation of cases and arguments in behalf of and for the American Federation of Labor. I can truthfully say that no man ever associated with our movement has worked more earnestly and faithfully and devotedly than has Judge Padway, our General Counsel, ever since he has been associated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have learned to know him well. He is a man of honor, integrity and high legal attainments, a man who is as devoted to the cause of labor as anyone sitting here in this hall this afternoon. I am happy to present to you on this occasion our General Counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

JUDGE JOSEPH A. PADWAY
(General Counsel, American Federation of Labor)

President Green, delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I want to thank you, Mr. President for your very fine and generous introduction. I appreciate it most highly. It is pleasing to one to know that whatever little effort he extends in his line of work in behalf of others is considered done well and appreciated.

As general counsel of the American Federation of Labor it becomes once more my pleasant duty to analyze legislation and court decisions which affect the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

During the past year the American Federation of Labor has obtained several significant and outstanding legal victories in the Supreme Court of the United States and in the Supreme Courts of various states.

The victories obtained by labor pertain chiefly to the fundamental rights of organized labor when in controversy with employers. The decisions involve the power of courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes; the right to picket and boycott and exert economic pressure in furtherance of such disputes; and particularly the constitutional right of workers to exercise freedom of speech in connection with their labor disputes. The decisions involve not only civil cases construing legislation of the type of the Federal Norris-LaGuardia Act which limits the power of judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes, but most significantly, they pertain to criminal statutes commonly known as anti-picketing statutes—statutes which make it a crime for workers peacefully to picket an employer in furtherance of a labor dispute.

In order fully to appreciate the import of these decisions it is necessary to review somewhat the history of the labor injunction in modern times.

History of the Labor Injunction in Modern Times

Prior to 1894 the use of the injunction in labor disputes was not frequently resorted to by employers. It is true that both in England and in this country courts had declared combinations of workers, or the formation of labor unions by them, which had for their purpose the increasing of wages or the shortening of hours, to be illegal. However, as industry developed in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century courts most generally abandoned that doctrine. That is, they refused to hold the mere formation of labor unions for the purpose of raising wages and improving the living standards of workers to be an illegal combination.

But what the courts did do was to declare strikes, boycotts, picketing and other means used by employees in furtherance of labor controversies to be illegal, and courts resorted to the use of the labor injunction in order to prevent employees from engaging in such activities in furtherance of their demands upon employers.

The labor injunction, however, was not brought sharply to the attention of the American worker until it was dramatized in the DEBS case, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1895.

The Debs Case

Eugene V. Debs was president of the American Railway Union. This Union was in controversy with the Pullman Parlor Car Company over wages and working conditions. The members of the Union went on strike, thus preventing trains from being operated and preventing, thereby, delivery of the United States mails. Debs and his fellow officers were charged with conspiracy to prevent the railroad companies from

performing their duties as common carriers in interstate commerce. They were charged with conspiracy to induce fellow workers to leave the employ of the railway company, thus demoralizing railroad transportation. The railroad companies applied for an injunction which was granted, commanding Debs and others to desist and refrain from in any manner interfering with the business of the railroads and from doing anything which would interfere with the free and unhindered control and handling of interstate commerce by the railroad companies.

Debs and his fellow officers defied the injunction. They were cited for contempt of court and Debs was sentenced to a term of six months in prison for violating the injunction. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court which affirmed the sentence.

The opinion of the United States Supreme Court quotes the argument made to the trial court by the workers to the effect that it was the injunction of the trial court which broke the strike:

"As soon as the employees found that we were arrested, and taken from the scene of action, they became demoralized, and that ended the strike. It was not the soldiers that ended the strike. It was not the older brotherhoods that ended the strike. It was simply the United States courts that ended the strike. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken, under any circumstances, if we had been permitted to remain upon the field among them. Once we were taken from the scene of action, and restrained from sending telegrams or issuing orders or answering questions, then the minions of the corporations would be put to work . . . Our headquarters were temporarily demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any messages. The men went back to work, and the ranks were broken, and the strike was broken up. . . not by the army, and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States courts in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of our employees."

to which argument another portion of the decision would seem to constitute the Supreme Court's answer. The Supreme Court said:

"A most earnest and eloquent appeal was made to us in eulogy of the heroic spirit of those who threw up their employment, and gave up their means of earning a livelihood, not in defense of their own rights, but in sympathy for and to assist others whom they believed to be wronged. We yield to none in our admiration of any act of heroism or self-sacrifice, but we may be permitted to add that it is a lesson which cannot be learned too soon or too thoroughly that under this government of and by the people the means of redress of all wrongs are through the courts and at the ballot-box, and that no wrong, real or fancied,

carries with it legal warrant to invite as a means of redress the cooperation of a mob, with its accompanying acts of violence."

The Danbury Hatters Case

The decision in the Debs case startled organized labor, and there was much discussion concerning it at the time; many periodicals wrote about it; and great condemnation was voiced by organized labor. Although a number of other injunctions were issued in the following ten or twelve years, no similar dramatic decision came down from the Supreme Court until 1908, in the case of *LOEWE V. LAWLER*, more commonly referred to as "The Danbury Hatters Case".

The Loewe Hat Company manufactured hats in Danbury, Connecticut. The company sought to maintain an open shop. The Hatters Union sought to unionize the industry and secure a closed shop in the Loewe plant. In order to obtain the closed shop, the union engaged in boycotting wholesale and retail concerns, which handled Loewe Company hats. Loewe Company sought injunctions against the Hatters Union under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and also claimed treble damages, which is allowed under the Sherman Act when a combination is found to have violated the Act resulting in damage to others. An award of damages was granted by the trial court in favor of the Loewe Company of approximately \$80,000. Thus judgment was entered for treble that sum against the Union, its officers and members.

To obtain payment of the judgment the company levied upon the homes of the union workers. Almost a day before the homes were to be sold by the sheriff to pay the judgment a "Hatters Day" was staged by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor—all union members being asked to contribute one day's wages. Through this appeal a large sum was collected, and in 1917 the case was settled for \$234,000.

One writer refers to the activities of the times as follows:

"... The great speculation, the great trial of nerves, was whether the American Federation of Labor or the Hatters' Union would settle to save the defendants' homes from sale or whether the plaintiffs would be obliged to go through the painful process of publicly selling these homes."

An anti-labor paver of the times had this to say of the Danbury Hatters case:

"The case might well be called a cause celebre. It was fourteen years in the courts. It was twice tried by a jury, four times it was before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on appeal, and went three times to the United States Supreme Court... It resulted in the complete abandonment of the unfair list by the American Federation of Labor. It demon-

strated the fact that the protest of the American people against combination of this character, which had first been stimulated in 1902, was not 'idle, impudent and impotent'. Its result found its way into the platforms of at least one of the great political parties, and a great statesman who had formerly sat on the Supreme Court was publicly heckled concerning it when stumping as a candidate for President. Probably no case, except the Dred Scott decision, ever caused greater agitation in legal and political circles, and few, if any, have exercised greater influence on our industrial institutions. It forbade that the closed shop be forced by interstate boycotts."

Thus the *DANBURY HATTERS* case was used by employers and courts as authority for prohibiting interstate boycotts in furtherance of the closed shop.

Buck Stove & Range Company vs. Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell

About three years later, in 1911, followed the *BUCK STOVE & RANGE COMPANY CASE*. The American Federation of Labor had placed the Buck Stove & Range Company on an unfair list. The company sought an injunction against the American Federation of Labor and its officers in the District of Columbia. Justice Rabb of the Federal District Court granted the injunction and prohibited the American Federation of Labor from conducting any boycott against the Buck Stove & Range Company and "from printing the complainant, its business or product, in the 'We Don't Patronize' or 'Unfair List,'" and he further restrained the American Federation of Labor and its officers "from referring, either in print or otherwise, to complainant, its business or product in the 'We Don't Patronize' or 'Unfair List'".

However, the American Federation of Labor continued to include the name of the Buck Stove & Range Company in the Unfair List. Thereupon the three officers were cited for contempt. They were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment. Gompers was sentenced for twelve months, Mitchell for nine, and Morrison for six months.

After considerable litigation in the courts the contempt case was dismissed as moot. However, the legality of the use of the injunction prohibiting organized labor from boycotting in furtherance of a labor dispute, and punishment for contempt for violation of such injunctions, was firmly established.

Thus, by these three cases—the *DEBS* case, the *DANBURY HATTERS* case, and the *BUCK STOVE & RANGE COMPANY* case, government by injunction was dramatized to such a degree as to call forth, not only by organized labor, but by liberal forces in the country, a demand to curb and limit the power of federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes.

The Clayton Act

As a result of this great agitation there was action by Congress in the year 1914, what is commonly termed THE CLAYTON ACT.

The Clayton Act had a two-fold purpose. The first is that set forth in Section 6, which intended to exempt labor unions and their activities from the operation of the anti-trust laws. That Section opens up with the famous pronouncement "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce". The second is that set forth in Section 20, which limited the power of courts of the United States to grant injunctions in labor disputes. It reads as follows:

"SEC. 20. That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employees, or between employers and employees, or between employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do, or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States."

It is clear from Section 20 that courts were prohibited from preventing concerted action on the part of workers in furtherance of labor disputes. Courts were prohibited from preventing workers from advising or persuading others to quit work. Courts

were prohibited from restraining peaceful picketing, boycotting, or paying strike benefits. In other words, Section 20 was a code of conduct which was legalized by Congress and which courts were told in plain terms they must not prohibit.

Upon the passage of the Clayton Act President Gompers, organized labor, and liberal forces, were jubilant. The Act was declared to be labor's Magna Carta. But it soon proved to be a false hope. Employers launched legal attacks upon the Act. When the lawyers for these employers appeared before the Committee considering the Clayton Act they said it was revolutionary, drastic and unconstitutional. However, after the passage of the Act they adopted a new technique. They no longer cried "unconstitutional", but they asked for an application of the Act so limited in form that in the large majority of labor disputes it would prove worthless, and instead of stating that it was revolutionary and drastic they now said there was nothing new in the Act; that it merely restated what was the existing law before the passage of the Act.

In both of these contentions they were successful in the courts. The judges were eager to devitalize the Act, and in a series of decisions they virtually emasculated the Clayton Act. Three decisions are worthy of comment:

Duplex Printing Press Company vs. Deering

The first of these is the DUPLEX PRINTING PRESS COMPANY V. DEERING case. There were four concerns in the country manufacturing printing presses. Three were unionized; the Duplex Printing Press Company was not. The unionized employers informed the Union that they could not continue to conduct union shops because of competition on the part of the non-union Duplex Company. The Machinists Union called a strike and instituted and maintained a boycott against the Duplex Company. The Union also directed its members in other cities not to install Duplex printing presses. It also had induced other unions such as freight handlers and the like, not to handle Duplex printing presses. The company sought an injunction against the Machinists and other unions.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Justice Pitney, writing the opinion for the court, not only granted the injunction, but accepted the contention of the company's lawyers that the Clayton Act prevented courts from issuing injunctions only when the dispute was between the employer and his immediate employees. Insofar as others were concerned, and insofar as unions engaged in a sympathetic strike were concerned, he held the Act inapplicable. The court said:

"Terms or conditions of employment are the only grounds of dispute recognized as adequate to bring into play the exemptions; and it would do violence to the

guarded language employed were the exemption extended beyond the parties affected in a proximate and substantial, not merely a sentimental or sympathetic, sense by the cause of the dispute."

The court went on to say:

"To instigate a sympathetic strike in aid of a secondary boycott cannot be deemed peaceful, lawful persuasion."

There was a vigorous dissent by Justice Brandeis and Justices Holmes and Clark. Justices Brandeis asked the question:

"May not all with a common interest join in refusing to expend their labor upon articles whose very production constitutes an attack upon their standard of living and the institution which they are convinced supports it? . . . Courts, with better appreciation of the facts of industry, recognized the unity of interest throughout the union, and that, in refusing to work on materials which threatened it, the union was only refusing to aid in destroying itself. . . . It is lawful for all members of a union by whomsoever employed to refuse to handle materials whose production weakens the union."

But these were the words of the dissenters. The majority opinion construed the law and limited its application to controversies between the employer and his immediate employees. Thus, by this decision at one fell swoop, the major benefits of the Clayton Act were destroyed.

American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council

In the same year, 1921, another decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court further emasculating the Clayton Act. This case had to do with the American Steel Foundries Company and the Tri-City Central Trades Council of Illinois. The Trades Council had declared a strike against the American Steel Foundries Company. The usual picketing was engaged in following the declaration of the strike. The company sought an injunction, which was granted. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Justice Taft wrote the opinion for the court.

Here we observe one of the peculiar methods adopted by courts when they dislike a law and yet do not wish to declare it unconstitutional. They resort to the method of construing it to death, and that is what was done with the Clayton Act in this case. After Chief Justice Taft had declared the Act valid, and had made a marvelous pronouncement in favor of the rights of labor, he proceeded to pronounce the sort of injunctive decree which should be issued in this case.

Here was a plant of several hundred employees, against which the Trades Council

had declared a strike. There were three entrances to the plant. Justice Taft declared that the purpose of picketing was to observe and communicate information. Therefore one picket at each entrance was sufficient for this purpose. In fact, he did not term the observers "pickets". He stated that he did not like that term; that it was a military term. He therefore used the very soft and euphemistic term "missionaries". He termed the pickets "missionaries".

Courts were not slow to adopt the form of decree issued in the American Steel Foundries case. Hundreds of injunctions were thereafter issued, limiting the pickets to one at each entrance of a plant. Samuel Gompers became so enraged over this decision that he exclaimed:

" . . . This lone individual might be permitted under the Supreme Court decision to proceed with proper chivalric grace and courtesy to announce quietly to the passing multitude the fact that a strike existed. If by any chance or because of superhuman oratorical ability this single picket were able to make himself heard and understood by the multitude he doubtless would also be restrained and thrown in jail."

Bedford Stone Company vs. Journeymen Stone Cutters Association

But in 1927 there came down from the Supreme Court the BEDFORD STONE COMPANY decision which removed any remaining hope labor had of benefiting by the Clayton Act.

The Bedford Stone Company and other stone companies were engaged in quarrying stone near Bedford, Indiana. The Stone Companies operated under agreements with unaffiliated unions and they refused to employ members of the Journeymen Stone Cutters Union. Thereafter the Union notified all of its members to refuse to work on stone "that has been started—planned, turned, cut, or semi-finished—by men working in opposition to our organization". Thereupon the members of the Union in various cities in the United States refused to work on stone which was quarried by the non-union companies. The employers sought an injunction against the Union and against the workers refusing to work on the non-union stone. The injunction was granted. The United States Supreme Court held that if two or more workers agreed not to handle the non-union stone, and agreed to quit work on a building to which the stone had been delivered, they were guilty of an unlawful conspiracy and therefore were rightfully enjoined. Justices Brandeis and Holmes dissented.

Justice Brandeis was so incensed over the holding of the majority that he exclaimed:

"If, on the undisputed facts of this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor which reminds of involuntary servitudes."

Agitation for New Legislation Resulting in Passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act

Not only was organized labor incensed over these decisions emasculating the Clayton Act, but a good portion of the general public was equally incensed over these decisions. The American Federation of Labor, through President Green and the members of the Council and various International Unions, demanded of Congress that a new law be enacted. Extensive hearings were held from 1928 to 1932, at which many labor officials throughout the country testified. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee was Senator Norris, and he was fortified by two able colleagues, Senator Walsh of Montana and Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. It was my privilege to testify before this Committee. In the House the bill was ably sponsored by Representative LaGuardia. Competent advisers were called in by the Committee among whom were Professor Frankfurter of Harvard Law School, and Professor Edwin Witte of Wisconsin University. When the hearings were closed the Committee filed its report in favor of the then pending bill.

These Committee Reports are a revelation. Never before had the judiciary, particularly the highest judiciary in the land, been castigated as they were in this report. Among other things the report said:

"The proposed bill is designed primarily as a practical means of remedying existing evils and limitations are imposed upon the courts in that class of cases wherein these evils have grown up and become intolerable. This is a reasonable exercise of legislative power, and in order that the limitation may not be whittled away by refined definitions of what persons are to be regarded as legitimately involved in labor disputes, the bill undertakes specifically to designate those persons who are entitled to invoke the protections of the procedure required.

"The main purpose of these definitions is to provide for limiting the injunctive powers of the Federal courts only in the special type of cases, commonly called labor disputes, in which these powers have been notoriously extended beyond the mere exercise of civil authority and wherein the courts have been converted into policing agencies devoted in the guise of preserving peace, to the purpose of aiding employers to coerce employees into accepting terms and conditions of employment desired by employers."

The bill passed both houses of Congress in 1932.

At the same time similar bills were before the legislatures of various states. Wisconsin passed an enactment which is a prototype of the federal law, even before Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The Wisconsin Act was passed in 1931. Employers immediately commenced to attack the Act. They proceeded to do so in the same manner as they attacked the Clayton Act, that is, they attempted to limit the application of the Act to dispute, between an employer and his immediate employees, and they declared that the Norris-LaGuardia Act likewise was a restatement of existing law and that there was nothing new in it. However, Congress and the Wisconsin legislature, in adopting the Acts, were careful to preface them with a declaration of public policy. The declaration of public policy is the foundation stone on which an Act rests. The declaration of public policy is to guide the judges in construing the rest of the Act. The declaration of public policy in the Wisconsin Act, which is practically the same as the federal act, reads as follows:

In the interpretation and application of section 103.51 to 103.63 the public policy of this state is declared as follows:

Negotiation of terms and conditions of labor should result from voluntary agreement between employer and employees. Governmental authority has permitted and encouraged employers to organize in the corporate and other forms of capital control. In dealing with such employers, the individual unorganized worker is helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment. Therefore it is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment. Therefore it is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

The employers, at the first opportunity, sought to destroy the effect of the preamble or public policy clause. They felt that if they could remove the foundation stone the rest of the Act would crumble. The first assault upon the preamble came in the case of SIMPLEX SHOE COMPANY V. WISCONSIN STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Simplex Shoe Company vs. Wisconsin State Federation of Labor

This is one of the key cases in the country. It raised the question whether the Norris-LaGuardia Act imposed the duty upon the employer to abstain from coercing his employees in their choice of representatives, and whether he was obliged to recognize the representative of the employees for the purpose of collective bargaining.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act, insofar as the body of the Act is concerned, contains no provisions commanding the employer to refrain from coercion of employees or to deal with their representatives. The duties and obligations in that regard must be spelled out of the preamble. The employers, however, argued that the preamble was not what is termed substantive law.

The Boot and Shoe Workers case involved this question. It can readily be seen, therefore, how important this case was to the life and effectiveness of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Mr. John Mara and Mr. Ed McMorrow, his representative, called upon the Simplex Shoe Company officials at Milwaukee, as representatives chosen by the shoe company employees, to talk over wages, hours and working conditions for their members who were employees of the company. The officials of the company treated Mr. Mara and Mr. McMorrow pretty rough. They virtually ordered them out of the plant. The officials said they were not obliged to recognize Mr. Mara or Mr. McMorrow, and they could do whatever they pleased insofar as coercing the employees was concerned. They had coerced the employees by threatening to shut down the plant, by discharges, and other acts. The company became so intolerant that it was necessary for the Shoe Workers International Union to go into court and seek to prevent the threats and coercive activities of the employer towards the employees. An extensive trial was had in which the employer attacked the Wisconsin Norris-LaGuardia Act and sought to limit its effect. However, the Wisconsin Supreme Court held:

"... Under the Wisconsin Act any interference, restraint, or coercion of individual workmen, as those terms properly should be construed, or with the right of labor freely to associate, self-organize, or designate representatives of their own choosing for the purpose of collective bargaining is unlawful. . . . In refusing to negotiate with a designated representative of a large number of its employees the defendant violated the declared public policy of this state. . . ."

In answer to the contention of the employer's lawyers that the preamble to the act was a declaration of public policy and not the law, the court said:

"Whether the public policy declared in section 263.18 bestows upon laborers any new or additional rights not already given them by the majority, if not substantially all of the courts of this country, need not be specifically considered. In our view, section 263.18 is a deliberate declaration by the Legislature of the rights which labor shall enjoy in this state. When the Legislature declared, 'It is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and the designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection,' it intended, in our opinion, that such declaration should have the force of law. To hold otherwise would amount to saying that the Legislature did not intend what it said, but merely intended to write into the statutes language pleasing to labor. We can ascribe no such motive or intention to the Legislature."

This case, fought through the courts by the International Boot and Shoe Workers, might be termed the key case or the foundation stone on which rests the legality of the rights given labor by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Likewise, it was a declaration that such guarantees written into any enactment as substantive law were valid and binding. It gave validity to provisions which were subsequently written into the National Labor Relations Act and the various Labor Relations Acts of the states patterned after the Federal Act.

I cannot speak too highly of the great fight waged in this case by Mr. John Mara, President of the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union. It may be well to add that although this was costly litigation, as are all Supreme Court appeals, the entire financial burden of it was borne by the International Boot and Shoe Workers alone.

American Furniture Company Case

Having failed in their attack upon the preamble or foundation stone of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, employers proceeded to attack the next vital portion of the Act, that is, the definition of what constitutes a labor dispute.

You will recall my reference to the Duplex Printing Press Company case wherein the court emasculated the Clayton Act by limiting disputes to controversies between the employer and his immediate employees. The reports in Congress dealing with the Norris-LaGuardia Act specifically referred to the Duplex Printing Press Company case, and stated expressly that the present definitions

were intended to overcome the narrow construction of the Clayton Act. The report shows clearly that Congress intended by these definitions to prevent the Act from being "whittled away by refined definitions of what persons are to be regarded as legitimately involved in labor disputes . . .". It therefore specifically inserted the provision that

"The term labor dispute includes any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT THE DISPUTANTS STAND IN THE PROXIMATE RELATION OF EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE."

The first attempt to narrow this definition was made by employers in an attack upon the Wisconsin Act—the American Furniture Company case. The question at issue was whether a union had the right to picket a plant for the purpose of unionizing it, but in which plant not a single employee was a member of the union.

The facts in the case briefly are these: The American Furniture Company is a large retail furniture house in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It employed somewhere in the neighborhood of seventeen drivers and about an equal number of sales clerks. The Teamsters Union and the Clerks Union sought to organize the employees. The employer declared that he was neutral in the matter—in fact, he invited the union officials to talk to the employees in the store. The unions, however, requested the employer to sign a contract, which he refused to do, stating that the decision to join or not to join the unions was for the employees to make. The union officials talked to the employees and they even voted on the question, and the vote was unanimous not to join the union. The union officials visited the employer again, requesting the employer to unionize the plant and to sign a contract. This he refused to do, stating that none of his employees was a member of the union. Thereupon the union commenced to picket. The employer sought an injunction. The trial court refused it. It was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin.

It was apparent that the only hope of winning this case was by a proper appreciation on the part of the court of the economic and social implications of the case. Courts have a way of construing statutes dealing with labor problems either for or against labor, according to their conception of the economic and social questions involved. It was my privilege to handle this case. I proceeded to point out to the court that the wages of drivers and clerks in the furniture industry had been extremely low prior to unionization of some of the furniture houses; that as a result of unionization the wages in some of the furniture houses had actually been doubled. However, the union houses could not agree to continue as union houses or pay union wages unless non-union competition was eliminated. The union houses complained to our people that the American

Furniture Company, a large non-union house, was able to undersell them through the employment of non-union people and the payment of low, non-union wages. I pointed out that the interest of the union in the American Furniture Company, even though none of its employees was a member of the union, arose from the necessity of preserving the wage and living standards of the members of the union employed in the union houses.

This economic argument was developed and it seemed to appeal to a majority of the court. The majority of the court held that the provisions of the Wisconsin Act similar to those in the Norris-LaGuardia Act brought within its definition of a labor dispute the precise controversy involved in the American Furniture Company case. Thus, by this decision the attempt of the employer to limit the application of the Norris-LaGuardia Act to disputes between the employer and his immediate employees was rendered futile.

Senn Case

Thereupon the employers in Wisconsin sought another case which might present a similar issue but on a different set of facts. Although I have previously discussed the SENN CASE before a Convention of the American Federation of Labor it will bear repetition for the purpose of continuity of the subject I am discussing with you today.

In the SENN case the employers believed that they had the ideal set of facts on which to reverse the American Furniture Company case and procure a construction of the Norris-LaGuardia Act favorable to the employer. The facts, briefly, are these:

Senn was a tile contractor. He employed only a journeyman tile layer and sometimes a helper. As soon as the depression started to lift a little the Tile Layers Union, (which had suffered during the depression on account of its members leaving the union and setting themselves up as independent contractors) sought to unionize Senn. He was asked to sign a union contract. He was willing to do so if one clause in the contract was eliminated. That clause provided that the employer shall lay down the tools of the trade and not work in competition with his men. All other union tile contractors in the vicinity, of which there were many, had agreed to this rule. There was a reason for it. It arose out of the necessity of the situation. If the employer could work with his men he would be able to bid his own labor in at very low prices, even though he paid the union scale to his workers. In a small industry, with few workers employed, this would give the employer who worked with his men a distinct advantage in bidding on contracts. Likewise he could work long hours, etc. The evidence showed that Senn, up to this time, had paid low wages—75c an hour instead of the union rate of \$1.25. He worked his men long hours and did not pay overtime. They even worked on Sundays—all of which was contrary to the union rules.

Upon his refusal to sign a contract the union picketed his jobs. He sought an injunction. It was denied by the trial court. It was appealed to the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, which likewise denied the injunction and held that the case involved a lawful labor dispute. It was thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The employers of Wisconsin banded together and retained able counsel to argue the case before the Supreme Court. He made a very dramatic plea. He declared the state Norris-LaGuardia Act and its definitions to be unconstitutional, and the picketing by a union to be illegal. In his argument before the court he referred to the marble friezes above the heads of the Justices, the fine silken drapes and the fine furniture of the court room, and stated, "All this has been produced by labor—the sons of toil". He contended forcefully that no law could be passed by Congress or by any state which would take away from any man his right to work with his hands.

The Justices fired questions at counsel. The case was an important one. The time was extended from one hour to an hour and a half for both sides.

When it was my turn to respond to counsel for the employers I agreed with him that the Constitution prohibited the denial to any person of the right to work with his hands or with the tools of the trade. The Justices wondered what the case was about, since I was in agreement with counsel for the employer. But I argued that counsel had only argued half the case. In fact, that was not the issue before the court. The question was not whether Senn had the right to work with the tools of the trade—I conceded he had that right. I conceded that he had the right to conduct a non-union shop; he had the right to work long hours; he had the right to employ non-union employees and pay them 75c per hour instead of \$1.25 per hour, and that he and his employees had the right to work on Sundays and twelve hours a day. I conceded that the Constitution could not prevent him from doing all these things. But I asked, is there anything in the Constitution that prevents the union from telling the world that Senn is a non-union employer, that Senn works with the tools of the trade in competition with his employees, that he works long hours, pays no overtime? I asked, is there anything in the Constitution which prohibits members of a union from carrying signs on their backs announcing to the world that Senn is unfair to organized labor, and in that announcement making a plea to the public not to patronize Senn but to patronize other employers as long as the public was left free to decide and choose whom it desired to patronize?

Realizing that this was a question of economics as much as it was of law, I prayed that the decision would be written by the best economist on the bench—

Justice Brandeis. My prayer was answered. Justice Brandeis wrote the decision, and it is a clear, distinct, understanding decision—understanding of labor's problems and labor's rights. Justice Brandeis said:

"The Unions concede that Senn, so long as he conducts a nonunion shop, has the right to work with his hands and tools. He may do so, as freely as he may work his employees longer hours and at lower wages than the union rules permit. He may bid for contracts at a low figure based upon low wages and long hours. But the unions contend that, since Senn's exercise of the right to do so is harmful to the interests of their members, they may seek by legal means to induce him to agree to unionize his shop and to refrain from exercising his right to work with his own hands. The judgment of the highest court of the state establishes that both the employer employed and the end sought by the unions are legal under its law. The question for our determination is whether either the means or the end sought is forbidden by the Federal Constitution.

"Clearly—the means which the statute authorizes—picketing and publicity—are not prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. Members of a union might, without special statutory authorization by a state, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution . . .

" . . . The sole purpose of the picketing was to acquaint the public with the facts and, by gaining its support, to induce Senn to unionize his shop. There was no effort to induce Senn to do an unlawful thing. There was no violence, no force was applied, no molestation or interference, no coercion. There was only the persuasion incident to publicity. As the Supreme Court of Wisconsin said:

"Each of the contestants is desirous of the advantage of doing the business in the community where he or they operate. He is not obliged to yield to the persuasion exercised upon him by respondents . . . The respondents do not question that it is appellant's right to run his own business and earn his living in any lawful manner which he chooses to adopt. What they are doing is asserting their rights under the acts of the Legislature for the purpose of enhancing their opportunity to acquire work for themselves and those whom they represent . . . The respondents' act of peaceful picketing is a lawful form of appeal to the public to turn its patronage from appellant to the concerns in which the welfare of the members of the unions is bound up."

" . . . It is true that disclosure of the facts of the labor dispute may be annoying to Senn even if the method and means employed in giving the publicity are inherently unobjectionable. But

such annoyance, like that often suffered from publicity in other connections, is not an invasion of the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution."

Note, my friends, the great pronouncement that: "Members of a union might, without special statutory authorization by a state, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution". In a few moments you will see how important that pronouncement proved to be to organized labor in this country.

But employers still persisted in their efforts to defeat the Norris-LaGuardia Act by emasculating the definitions of what constitutes a labor dispute.

New Negro Alliance V. Sanitary Grocery Company

Therefore they sought a further test case to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. They believed they had the ideal situation, in the case of NEW NEGRO ALLIANCE V. SANITARY GROCERY COMPANY. This case was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. Here was a negro organization which was not a labor union. It was an organization of colored persons organized for the improvement of its members and the promotion of civic, educational, benevolent and charitable enterprises. This organization called upon the Sanitary Grocery Company and asked it to employ negroes as well as whites. The Sanitary Grocery Company refused. Thereupon the negro organization commenced to picket the company, alleging discrimination on account of race and color. The placards read "Do your Part! Buy Where You Can Work! No Negroes Employed Here!" The employer apparently contended that here there was no labor dispute since there was no relationship of employer and employees.

Justice Roberts, delivering the opinion for the court, said:

"Thus the nature of the dispute and the interest of the parties therein bring the case squarely within the Act unless, as suggested by the District Court and by one of the Justices of the Court of Appeals, the case is taken out of the scope of the Act by the fact that the dispute is 'racial'. We think this cannot be so. In the first place, the Act does not concern itself with the background or the motives of the dispute. In the second place, the desire for fair and equitable conditions of employment on the part of persons of any race, color, or persuasion, and the removal of discriminations against them by reason of their race or religious beliefs is quite as important to those concerned as fairness and equity in terms and conditions of employment can be to trade or craft unions or any form of labor organization

or association. Race discrimination by an employer may reasonably be deemed more unfair and less excusable than discrimination against workers on the ground of union affiliation. There is no justification in the apparent purposes or the express terms of the Act for limiting its definition of labor disputes and cases arising therefrom by excluding those which arise with respect to discrimination in terms and conditions of employment based upon differences of race or color."

Justice Roberts went on to say:

"The legislative history of the Act demonstrates that it was the purpose of the Congress further to extend the prohibitions of the Clayton Act respecting the exercise of jurisdiction by federal courts and to obviate the results of the judicial construction of that Act. It was intended that peaceful and orderly dissemination of information by those defined as persons interested in a labor dispute concerning 'terms and conditions of employment' in an industry or a plant or a place of business should be lawful; that, short of fraud, breach of the peace, violence, or conduct otherwise unlawful, those having a direct or indirect interest in such terms and conditions of employment should be at liberty to advertise and disseminate facts and information with respect to terms and conditions of employment, and peacefully to persuade others to concur in their views respecting an employer's practices. The District Court erred in not complying with the provisions of the Act."

Lauf V. Shinnors

Another important case wherein a further attempt was made to emasculate the Norris-LaGuardia Act was in the LAUF-SHINNERS CASE, but since the NEW NEGRO ALLIANCE case was decided after the LAUF-SHINNERS case, and involves the same issue I shall refrain from further reference to it at this time.

New Enactments Changing the Norris-LaGuardia Act and Reframing Its Definitions

It will be observed that the attack by employers upon the Norris-LaGuardia Act failed in its purpose insofar as obtaining relief from the courts is concerned. It became necessary therefore for employers to devise ways and means of defeating the pronouncements of the United States Supreme Court in the decisions I have referred to. Employers realized that this could only be done by enacting new legislation since the Norris-LaGuardia Act had been held valid.

Thereupon the reactionary forces set up fake farm organizations in order to induce

the farmer to vote for the proposals drafted and submitted by employers. An ordinance submitted by employers was passed in Shasta County, California. A state enactment submitted by employers was carried by referendum in the State of Oregon. The Wisconsin legislature passed a similar enactment on the representation that it was a law sponsored by the farmers, when in truth and in fact it was sponsored by a labor-hating dairy distributor and employers who had retained their lawyers to draft the act for submission to the legislature. The measure was put in the hands of legislators who acted as "stooges" for the employers but who claimed to represent farmers. Wisconsin then was dominated by a reactionary legislature, and the Act was passed.

Minnesota and Michigan passed similar enactments, although not as severe as the Wisconsin and Oregon laws. Pennsylvania revised its labor relations act so as to deprive employees and their organizations of fundamental rights.

The acts, though differing in language, generally proceed upon two basic theories: (1) to limit all labor disputes to the employer and his immediate employees; and (2) to require as a condition of a lawful labor dispute that it should be approved by a majority of the employees of the employer. Thus the Wisconsin Act provides:

The term "labor dispute" means any controversy between an employer and the majority of his employees in a collective bargaining unit concerning the right or process or details of collective bargaining or the designation of representatives. Any organization with which either the employer or such majority is affiliated may be considered a party to the labor dispute.

111.06 WHAT ARE UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES. (1) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer individually or in concert with others:

(c) To bargain collectively with the representatives of less than a majority of his employees in a collective bargaining unit, or to enter into an all-union agreement except in the manner provided in subsection (1) (c) of this section.

(2) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer individually or in concert with others:

(e) To co-operate in engaging in, promoting or inducing picketing, boycotting or any other overt concomitant of a strike unless a majority in a collective bargaining unit of the employees of an employer against whom such acts are primarily directed have voted by secret ballot to call a strike.

(f) To hinder or prevent, by mass picketing, threats, intimidation, force or coercion of any kind the pursuit of any lawful work or employment, or to obstruct or interfere with entrance to or egress from any place of employment, or to obstruct or interfere with free and uninterrupted use of public roads, streets, highways, railways, airports, or other ways of travel or conveyance.

(3) It shall be an unfair labor practice for any person to do or cause to be done on behalf of or in the interest of employers or employees, or in connection with or to influence the outcome of any controversy as to employment relations any act prohibited by subsections (1) and (2) of this section.

And the Oregon law provides:

Section 1. Whenever in any statute or other law of this state the term "labor dispute" is used, such term is hereby defined for all purposes to mean and include only an actual bona fide controversy in which the disputants stand in proximate relation of employer and the majority of his or its employees and which directly concerns matters directly pertaining to wages, hours, or working conditions of the employees of the particular employer directly involved in such controversy. . . .

Section 3. It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, association or organization to picket or patrol, or post pickets or patrols, in or near the premises or property owned, occupied, controlled or used by an employer or employers unless there is an actual bona fide existing labor dispute between said employer or employers and his or their employees. It shall also be unlawful to boycott directly or indirectly any employer, or the business of such employer, not directly involved as a party in a labor dispute. . . .

Section 5. It shall be unlawful for any association, or organization, or person by any direct or indirect means to prevent, hinder or molest any person from seeking to engage or engaging his services to any person, firm, corporation or association desiring to employ him.

The purpose of the Acts indicates clearly that they are in truth and in fact anti-picketing enactments. Therefore the question organized labor had to meet was whether laws prohibiting minorities from having a labor dispute with an employer, and from peacefully picketing and engaging in other economic pressure in furtherance of such dispute, are legal.

In the meantime organized labor had maneuvered certain cases into courts dealing with statutes and ordinances prohibiting picketing in furtherance of labor dis-

putes. Such a case was pending in Colorado, another in Nevada, another in Washington, another in Alabama, another in California. The Colorado, Nevada and Washington courts declared their anti-picketing laws unconstitutional. California and Alabama did not. The California ordinance and the Alabama statute reached the Supreme Court of the United States in two notable cases—

The Thornhill and Carlson Cases

It was my privilege to argue the THORNHILL CASE in the Supreme Court of the United States only a few months ago. The case was a simple one. It involved the legality of the Alabama statute which made it a crime for anyone to picket an employer at or near the employer's premises, regardless of the fact that such picketing employee was engaged in a controversy over wages and hours with the employer.

Thornhill was a picket. He peacefully paraded near the employer's plant. He stopped an employee and asked him not to act as a strike breaker. He was arrested for violating the Alabama law, fined \$100 or given the option of serving 60 days in jail. On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States the conviction was reversed and the statute declared unconstitutional.

The SHASTA COUNTY ordinance was argued at the same time, and in a separate opinion the United States Supreme Court likewise declared that ordinance unconstitutional.

The pronouncement of Justice Murphy in both the THORNHILL case and the CARLSON case should be engraved upon the heart and mind of every working man, and every child of a working man. Here is a true Magna Carta for labor.

In the THORNHILL case Justice Murphy said:

"The freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed by the Constitution embraces at the least the liberty to discuss publicly and truthfully all matters of public concern without previous restraint or fear of subsequent punishment. . . .

"In the circumstances of our times the dissemination of information concerning the facts of a labor dispute must be regarded as within that area of free discussion that is guaranteed by the Constitution.

"It is recognized now that satisfactory hours and wages and working conditions in industry and a bargaining position which makes these possible have an importance which is not less than the in-

terests of those in the business or industry directly concerned.

"The health of the present generation and of those as yet unborn may depend on these matters, and the practices in a single factory may have economic repercussions upon a whole region and affect widespread systems of marketing. The merest glance at state and federal legislation on the subject demonstrates the force of the argument that labor relations are not matters of mere local or private concern.

"Free discussion concerning the conditions in industry and the cause of labor disputes appears to us indispensable to the effective and intelligent use of processes of popular government to share the destiny of modern industrial society."

In the CARLSON CASE Justice Murphy said:

"For the reasons set forth in our opinion in *Thornhill v. Alabama*, supra, publicizing the facts of a labor dispute in a peaceful way through appropriate means, whether by pamphlet, by word of mouth, or by banner, must now be regarded as within that liberty of communication which is secured to every person by the Fourteenth Amendment against abridgement by a state."

Oregon Anti-Picketing Law

While the Thornhill and Carlson cases were pending in the Supreme Court of the United States the Oregon anti-picketing law was being submitted to the test in the Oregon courts. The lower court had declared the law constitutional. Thereupon it was appealed to the Supreme Court of Oregon. It was an important case. The American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods and other unions joined with the Oregon State Federation of Labor in its attack upon this law. I was directed by President Green to join with the firm of Green, Boesen & Landye, representing the Oregon State Federation of Labor, in the handling of this case. In May of this year I appeared before the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon, and together with Mr. B. A. Green, argued the case before that court. A re-argument was called for in September, and last month the decision of the court came down.

It is clear that the entire case was decided on the basis of the pronouncements of Justice Murphy in the Thornhill case. The Supreme Court of Oregon said:

"The Supreme Court, has, in the cited cases, announced a broad construction of the guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, and, applying this conception to laws aimed at picketing, has held that publicizing the facts of a labor dispute in a peaceful way through ap-

propriate means, whether by pamphlet, by word of mouth, or by banner, is within the liberty of communication which is secured to every person by the Fourteenth Amendment against abridgment by a state. It was held, further, that the exercise of this right may not be abridged by proscribing it at the scene of a labor dispute. It has declared the streets of a city appropriate places for the dissemination of views on matters of public moment, and that labor controversies come within that category.

"In the statute there is no definition of the word 'picket'. It is a word of 'vague contours', as the Supreme Court said in the Thornhill case, and doubtless may be used to indicate conduct of a noxious character with which the state has power to deal. But it also embraces activities which the Supreme Court holds the state may not lawfully suppress. It includes, we think, the conduct of one who walks or patrols in the vicinity of a place of business involved in a labor dispute, and by word of mouth, banner or placard, undertakes to give information to the public concerning such dispute. . . . But that the activities embraced by the word 'picket' were intended to include such as are free from violence, intimidation and fraud,—what is ordinarily called 'peaceable picketing'—we think there can be no doubt. It follows that the very type of conduct which the Supreme Court held in the Thornhill and Carlson cases to be protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, is denounced by the Oregon statute unless engaged in incident to a controversy relative to wages, hours or working conditions, between an employer and a majority of his employees. Otherwise stated, such conduct on the part of a minority of employees, who may have such a controversy with their employer, is prohibited.

"In considering constitutional questions the courts look through forms to the substance of things. It is not important, therefore, whether we call the statute one of prohibition or of regulation. That it prohibits to the minority the exercise of rights conceded to the majority there can be no question. If there are 500 employees in a plant whose employer is paying inadequate wages, either in fact or in the opinion of 249, the 249 who alone choose to make an issue of the matter may not, under this statute, exercise what the Supreme Court has held to be their constitutional right of freedom of speech, because the 251 prefer to avoid a dispute with their employer.

" . . . There is not inherently a difference in picketing, either with respect to the manner in which it is carried on, or the consequences to those who may be affected by it, based on the number of

employees who may be disputing with their employer. On the contrary, whether engaged in on behalf of a few or many, picketing may be peaceful or otherwise for a lawful or unlawful purpose, by a single individual or en masse, and fraught with either negligible or serious consequences to the employer and the public.

"The fundamental constitutional right which the Supreme Court sustained in the cited cases was declared to be secured to 'every person'. We see no escape from the conclusion that the denial of such a right to the members of a minority is no less and unconstitutional abridgement of the right simply because it is saved to the majority.

"It has now been determined by the highest court in the land, as we read its decisions, that a law of this kind, so broad and sweeping in its provisions, cannot stand as against the guaranty of freedom of speech in the Federal Constitution. . . ."

Decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court

But there is one discordant note among these very fine decisions, and that is the latest decision, rendered only a few days ago by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. The decision involves The Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union which is on strike in Milwaukee. A law passed by the legislature of Wisconsin provides for a misnamed "Labor Peace Board" to determine representation and pass on unfair labor practices. The Wisconsin Act refers to unfair labor practices on the part of the employees as well as employers. The trial court had affirmed a cease and desist order of the State Labor Board restricting the rights of strikers in the matter of picketing, boycotting, advertising, etc., in furtherance of their labor controversy over wages, hours and working conditions. The trial court upheld the validity of the Act, whereupon it was appealed to the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. That court likewise upheld the Act.

The Wisconsin court held that the failure of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union to take a vote on the question of the strike, thereby failing to obtain the consent of the majority to strike, made it illegal for the strikers to engage in peaceful picketing, boycotting, or to take any other peaceful measures in furtherance of their strike. It holds that a minority strike is an unauthorized strike, therefore, even peaceful activities in furtherance of such strike can be restrained. On this basis it upheld the cease and desist order against the union employees.

We of the labor movement in Wisconsin are shocked at this decision. We believed that the Wisconsin Court which had shown a liberal approach to social and economic

laws, and which was the first to uphold the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and to give a liberal interpretation to the definition of "labor dispute" in that Act, would follow the reasoning of the United States Supreme Court in the Thornhill and Carlson Cases. We believed it would follow the Oregon Court in the decision it rendered a few days before invalidating the Oregon anti-picketing statute which embodies the same restrictions as the Wisconsin law.

It did not do so. By a bold and unwarranted assertion that the Wisconsin Act differs from the Oregon act in that it is merely regulatory, it circumvents the principles laid down in the Thornhill and Carlson cases and in the Oregon case. There are few examples of legal opinions with such tortured logic as is contained in the opinion of the Wisconsin court. It is most tragic since it destroys labor's fundamental constitutional rights. The Wisconsin court puts workers in a separate class from all other citizens in the state and denies to workers what is not denied to any other individual or group—the right to "freedom of speech".

This decision places the Wisconsin Court with the few remaining courts in the reactionary column. Its decision in this case is as reactionary as any decision ever rendered by any court in the country. It is another Dred Scott decision. It enslaves the free workers of Wisconsin. It is organized labor's worst court decision in this state. Its weak attempt to distinguish the Wisconsin law from the Alabama, California and Oregon laws, adds insult to injury insofar as the denial of free speech is concerned.

From now on Labor in Wisconsin must face a definitely conservative and reactionary court. Its hope now lies with the Supreme Court of the United States, and to paraphrase one of these Wisconsin conservative judges in another Wisconsin case, we say,

"The practice upheld by the court is un-American, oppressive and intolerable. It is contrary to the concept that I have always had of the fundamental and inalienable rights of the individual citizen secured to him by the Constitution of the United States. I cannot see that concept held for naught by this court without protest. And I will not yield that concept until it is declared erroneous by the final arbiter of that Constitution. My concept of the inherent rights of man under the Constitution may be merely an ideal that I may eventually have to give up, but I am still strong in my faith in it; and I will ever cherish it unless it shall be destroyed by the ultimate authority, the Supreme Court of the United States."

We have been successful in invalidating the anti-picketing laws of Colorado, of Nevada, of Washington, of Alabama, and of California. And I am quite certain we shall be successful in procuring the invalidation of the anti-picketing law of Wisconsin.

President Green: I thank you, Judge Padway, for your scholarly address and for the simple, complete and understanding analysis you have made of these court cases in which labor was vitally interested. I think I can with perfect propriety point out that our counsel, Judge Padway, presented the case before the Supreme Court attacking the validity of the Alabama case. I think he made a great contribution toward the fine decision that was rendered in our favor, quotations from which he made in the presentation of his statement today. We are grateful for his presence here today and for the address which he delivered.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for announcements.

Secretary Meany read the following telegram from the Governor of California:

Sacramento, Calif.,
Nov. 15, 1940

To the members of the American Federation of Labor,

Care John O'Connell

As Governor of the State of California and on behalf of all her citizens it affords me the greatest of pleasure to extend my greetings to the members of the American Federation of Labor in convention in New Orleans. At this session you will select your convention city for 1941 and it is my fervent hope that your members will favor San Francisco next year. Organized labor in California is most desirous of being honored with your National Convention and I personally would be happy to greet the leaders of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled here in 1941.

Cordially,

CULBERT L. OLSON,
Governor of California

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Ornburn of the Committee on Legislation for an announcement.

Delegate Ornburn: In order to meet the convenience of some of the delegates, the Committee on Legislation will meet in the Hotel Roosevelt, in Parlor H, after adjournment. Any one wishing to appear before the committee can do so.

President Green: I wish to introduce at this time the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Brother E. A. Jamieson. He is president of Vancouver-New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council. He comes here as a duly authorized delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I want to present him to you so you will be acquainted with him.

At this time I want to present to him the official badge of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, presented to fraternal delegates who attend our con-

ventions. It is a gold plated badge especially made for our fraternal delegates, and I know all of them cherish these badges fondly as valuable possessions, not only of an intrinsic value, but a sentimental value. So, Brother Jamieson, I ask you to accept this badge of the American Federation of Labor. Later on Brother Jamieson will address the convention in his official capacity.

We are expecting Sir Walter Citrine to arrive in New Orleans very soon. I am pleased to announce that he arrived safely in America. He came on the Steamship Samaria, landed at Halifax, and will journey to New Orleans, perhaps arriving by tomorrow evening. I am not certain that he will be accompanied by any other fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. We have been deeply concerned about the safety of Sir Walter Citrine for the past ten days. We were confidentially advised that he sailed from Great Britain on the Steamship Samaria eight or ten days ago. We could secure no further information until today. Now we have been informed that the steamship has landed safely in Halifax with its passengers and cargo, and Sir Walter Citrine will be here tomorrow evening.

Secretary Meany: Chairman Bates desires me to announce that a meeting of his committee, the Committee on Executive Council's Report, will be held tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock in Parlor H, Roosevelt Hotel.

Chairman Knight, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, and Chairman Flore, Chairman of the Committee on Labels, announced meetings of their committees immediately after the adjournment of the convention, in the convention hall, for the purposes of organization.

The Local Committee on Arrangements announced that a floor show and dance would be held in the Auditorium, at which music would be furnished by eight bands, and requested all who could do so attend the entertainment.

He announced a sight seeing tour for ladies only for next Tuesday. He requested that the delegates give the names of all ladies who accompanied them in order that the committee might provide for their entertainment. He stated that the ride would occupy six hours and that lunch at the Lake

would be provided. He announced a stag party at the American Legion Home for Friday night.

President Green: Our friend Sol A. Rosenblatt, who gave such splendid service to labor during the days of NRA, is in the city and will speak to us tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock.

Also Mr. Otto Beyer will speak tomorrow morning.

I will appoint on the committee to escort Mr. Rosenblatt to the hall Brother George E. Browne, Theatrical Stage Employees, Delegate Petrillo, of the Musicians, and the Secretary of the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council, as the third member of the committee. He has an Irish name, I think it is John O'Connell.

On the committee to escort Ottos Beyer to the convention hall, I will appoint Brother George Harrison, of the Railway Clerks, Brother Alifas, of the Machinists, and Brother Milliman, of the Maintenance of Way Employees.

Is John O'Connell in the hall?

Delegate O'Connell: Yes.

President Green: Well I want you to escort a distinguished visitor to the convention tomorrow morning.

Delegate O'Connell: What time in the morning and who is this distinguished visitor.

President Green: The distinguished visitor is Mr. Sol A. Rosenblatt. He will address the convention tomorrow.

President Green: I have just been informed that Brother Petrillo is not in the convention, and I will substitute Brother Joe Weber, from the Musicians, in his place.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move to suspend the rules and adjourn the convention until tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:00 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, a. m., Wednesday, November 20, 1940.

Third Day — Wednesday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 20, 1940.

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, a. m. by President Green.

President Green: We have with us this morning Rev. A. J. Scherer, Pastor of Trinity Evangelical Church, who will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. A. J. Scherer, Pastor,
Trinity Evangelical Church)

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father. Thou who art the source and the power of our inspiration, we pray that Thou wouldst attend us with the presence of Thy spirit. May Thy spirit dwell richly within our hearts. Especially do we ask Thy guidance and blessing upon this convention, upon the leadership and all who are affiliated therewith, and grant that much shall be achieved here for the security of American life.

We pray Thee in Thy grace that Thou wouldst teach us how, in actuality, to build life upon a stable and secure foundation.

We are thankful to Thee for our glorious heritage. Help us to appreciate anew that our front line of defense, of liberty and of democracy lies in the organization of all the workers of our nation.

We pray Thee, therefore, that much shall come forth from this convention to truly preserve and keep our American liberty. Thus we pray Thee, Father, that Thou who art an inspiration to our fatherhood may guide us so that we may construct an edifice of life wherein a spirit of fraternity and a sacredness of human life are able to exist. We pray Thee Thy holy grace may guide and direct us, that in cooperation with Thee, Thou who art the Creator of the Universe, we shall so build life to the glorification of Thy name and the security of our nation, and in the preservation of our liberty. We ask it in His name, Amen.

Recommendations On Defense Training

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the subject matter under the heading, "Recommendations on Defense Training", is referred to the Committee on Resolutions, along with other

similar subjects for consideration and action.

The subject matter is as follows:

Because we are American citizens and value the opportunities of a democracy, we want to do our full share in this emergency against which we are preparing defense. Our most effective service lies in the field in which we have experience—the field of Labor which is just as fundamental for defense as for progress in peace. Our responsibility for service constrains us to call attention to training proposals which are a serious menace to national ability to produce.

We feel that education is the most fundamental; permanent responsibility of any nation which no emergency should interrupt. We hold that our public school system is the outwork of our democracy and that it is provided with safeguards to assure social objectives. We believe that responsibility for education of our citizens should center in this system and that the setting up of separate agencies not related to this central system tends to undermine it and to make for conflict in objectives.

During the depression relief agencies have set up educational undertakings some of which contributed constructive results, but which were not coordinated with our public school system and which are not controlled by the necessary safeguards and standards determined by labor experience. We believe this basic mistake should not be repeated in the defense program.

In addition the functions of relief agencies should be clearly differentiated from those of the defense program. The purposes of relief in many ways conflict with the necessities of defense production and planning.

Before the emergency due to business collapse had been cleared away, we were overwhelmed by the defense emergency growing out of the War of the Dictators. Expansion of industry began—not only expansion of defense industries but normal consumption industries responded to the stimulus of increased payrolls. There was an increased hiring of workers all along the line, but the increase in the defense industries made abnormal demands for skilled metal craftsmen, skilled ship builders, skilled precision workers of all kinds. It was early obvious that unless skilled workers could be provided, the whole defense program would bog down. Apprenticeship is the only known way to secure apprentices and this has been neglected during the depression. All that can be done to make up that deficiency should be gotten under way as rapidly as possible but meanwhile production is imperative.

Because the need for skilled and production workers in the defense industries in

proportions greatly in excess of those required for normal needs seemed likely to become acute, Congress last summer appropriated 16 million dollars to the Office of Education for defense training. This appropriation, which did not require matching by local funds, was quickly allotted so that summer use of schools might facilitate training. The results of this program together with other proposals now under consideration presented so serious a situation that your Committee on Education held a special meeting and after consultation with those responsible for various programs, reached the conclusions which we have embodied in a program. We hope that after consideration of our program you will wish to submit it to the Chief Executive of the United States.

We recommend:

(1) That our whole program of education be expanded in the emergency created by the War of the Dictators so that citizens and future citizens shall have all possible opportunities for progress and for satisfaction in living. While spending freely for the defense of democracy we must make sure that its basic sources are not obstructed.

(2) That all vocational education activities of the Federal Government be coordinated through the Office of Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training to which is allocated responsibility for labor standards.

(3) That the Office of Education make compliance with the following standards mandatory for allocation of defense funds for vocational education:

(a) Committees at the State level consisting of equal representatives of organizations of employers and of statewide organizations of workers, with representatives of the administration of state employment offices and the chairman of the state apprentice training committee sitting in as consultants to advise with the State Office of Education on the development of the program and its administration.

(b) Local committees consisting of representatives of employers and organized labor, the director of the employment office and a representative of the local apprentice-training committee to advise the Superintendent of Education upon Vocational education matters.

(c) Local employment service not to refer trainees from local undertakings to vacancies outside the community. Local control is essential to maintenance of standards.

(d) Every project for defense training should set forth specifically the actual or potential need for the workers to be trained which should be filed with the Office of Education. Provisions for labor supply should be included by management in their long-time plans. Notice of needs to the employment service should allow the time necessary to locate work-

ers under present conditions or for training them.

(e) Defense training must be to supply specific need for labor. Pre-employment "refresher" courses and supplementary training for employed workers should be provided. Work training should be as nearly as possible on the job and under work conditions. Factories and plants might be used at night time or within out-of-production time, coordinated with day time use of schools. Related education should be available for trainees through the schools, so that skill and ability may be steadily strengthened.

(f) Committee on Apprentice Training to pass upon and safeguard all plans for dilution.

Skilled craftsmen and all-round workers are indispensable in a civilization as highly mechanized as ours. Apprenticeship is the only way to provide skilled craftsmen. One of the basic causes of our present difficulties is failure to maintain a fixed ratio of apprentice training during the depression adequate for normal needs of industry. Current rapid expansion of production provides the opportunity for industries to resume their responsibility for training their skilled workers, and we urge that unions and employers consider the possibility of making quotas for apprenticeship as large as possible. We urge the public schools to provide the necessary related education for the increased apprentice-training program.

Craftsmanship was conserved first by the guilds and now by trade unions. This historic heritage is tied up with our personal lives as well as with industrial progress and welfare. In demanding protection for it our purposes are basically protective of human welfare. When dilution takes place it should be in accord with plans conforming to the judgment of those with intimate experience in the field and with responsibility for its conservation. We recognize that the exigencies of the defense program will make necessary some dilutions of our skill standards. While we recognize this probability we assert that our equities in craft skill will require and deserve conservation.

We submit, therefore, that all proposals for solution shall be submitted to the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training for decision both upon facts submitted in justification of any proposal and upon how wisely and effectively the proposal meets proven needs. No consent to dilution should be regarded as permanent modification of apprenticeship and should be accompanied by training and educational provisions to enable the workers to advance from repetitive processes and machine operations to a rounded understanding of production and to greater efficiency and ability as a worker.

As there is danger to industry as well as to workers from over-specialization, the needs of the emergency must be related to the needs of the future. To safeguard these ends, each request for dilution must be decided on its merits so as not to precipitate a general and wasteful lowering of the whole basis of production skill. When a need is

established for specific categories of workers, then a program for the best training of these workers can be worked out by those concerned—management, workers and educators. General standards and safeguards should be developed by the Federal Committee to be supplemented by the determination of local committees for specific programs. We appreciate that such emergency service would place new and heavy demands upon the Committee on Apprentice Training and urge that the Committee be provided the funds for expansion for emergency service.

We also urge state federations to see to it that state committees on apprentice training are set up in all states to cooperate with the Federal Agency.

We consider it of paramount importance that the principles and practices of democratic living be maintained during this emergency and that whatever new procedures and developments may be deemed necessary that all shall be squared with the principles and institutions that give life value.

Respectfully,

American Federation of Labor
Conference on Education.
MATTHEW WOLL
JOHN P. FREY
THOMAS E. BURKE
IRVIN KUENZLI
E. E. MILLMAN
GEORGE L. GOODE
GEORGE S. COUNTS
FRANK FENTON

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Committee Transfers and Substitutions

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the transfer of Robert Lester, of the Teamsters' organization, from the Committee on Legislation to the Committee on Labels.

The transfer of Brother Joseph Draley, of the Plate Printers, from the Committee on Labels to the Committee on Legislation.

The substitution of the name of Sam Byers, of the Laundry Workers, for William Donovan, on the Committee on Industrial Relations, because of the illness of Delegate Donovan.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Dallas, Texas
Nov. 19, 1940.

Honorable William Green, President,
A. F. of L. and Delegates of the 60th
Convention Assembled New Orleans.

Greetings: Wishing you a most harmonious and constructive convention.

United Garment Workers of America,
Local No. 240, Dallas, Texas.

IRENE GREATHOUSE,

MAY DAVIDSON,
Secretary.

Denver, Colorado
November 19, 1940

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Municipal Auditorium.

Greetings and congratulations to you and delegates to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., for keeping the door open for peace in the labor movement. May it be accomplished soon.

Fraternally,

R. L. VOORHEES,
President.

Denver Teamsters Joint Council No. 54

Denver, Colorado
November 19, 1940

A. F. of L. Convention,
New Orleans, La.

Farmers Education and Cooperative Union
of America sends greetings and best wishes
for successful convention.

National Convention Farmers Union,
J. M. GROVES,
Secretary.

Announcement

Announcement was made of the regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau, to be held on Wednesday, November 20, at 12:00 o'clock noon in the University Room, Hotel Roosevelt.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Desephte, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

Supplemental Report Committee On Credentials

Delegate Desephte, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, beg to submit the following partial report. We have examined credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated as follows:

Owosso and Shiawassee County, Mich.,
Central Labor Union—Charles Neary, 1 vote.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union—
Sam Domico, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution Introduced By Unanimous Consent

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Smith, of the Tobacco Workers International Union.

Delegate Smith, Tobacco Workers: I am requesting a special privilege in order to introduce a resolution which came to me this morning unexpectedly. It is no fault of mine that it has not been here to introduce

at the proper time. It is a noncontroversial resolution and merely reiterates the action of the Fifty-Third Convention of this organization, and I would like permission of the convention to introduce it and have it referred to the proper committee.

The resolution deals with the pardon of four miners who have been rotting in jail for ten years in Kentucky, because they dared to organize and picket in defiance of the mine owners' association, and it seems that Mr. Lewis has run out on them. They are not getting any help from that organization. They have come to us the second time, and I believe if this convention will act these men can be released, and they certainly deserve to be freed.

President Green: You have heard the request submitted by Brother Smith and the brief explanation he has made. The Kentucky State Federation of Labor adopted this resolution, as I understand it, and requested that it be passed upon by the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In the preamble it recites the fact that these men were sent to jail because of organization activities in Kentucky. The labor movement in Kentucky has been trying to secure a parole for these men for many years.

We adopted a similar resolution at the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Brother Smith asks unanimous consent for the introduction of the resolution. Are there objections? Hearing no objections, the resolution is introduced and referred to the Committee on Resolutions for consideration and action.

RESOLUTION No. 179

Urging Pardons for Four Imprisoned Harlan Miners

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate W. Warren Smith, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Four Union miners, W. B. Jones, Chester L. Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson were sentenced to serve life imprisonment on charges of conspiracy to murder for alleged participation in the Battle of Evarts, in Harlan County, Kentucky, which occurred on May 5, 1931, when company mine guards armed with Browning rapid-fire guns which were hidden in their automobiles swooped down on a miners' picket line and opened fire without warning or provocation; and,

WHEREAS, Proof of wholesale perjury, intimidation of defense witnesses, and other new evidence secured after the trials so clearly established the innocence of these prisoners that forty-six of the forty-seven living jurors and two of the three trial judges who convicted them signed petitions to the Governor urging pardons; and,

WHEREAS, Assistant United States Attorney-General Brien McMahon, Chief of the

Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice, who made an official examination of the trial records of the Evarts' Battle cases in connection with the Federal prosecution of the Harlan County coal-operators for conspiring to violate the Wagner Act in 1938, was so firmly convinced by the obvious proof of the complete innocence of the four miners that he wrote a letter on December 31, 1938, to then Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky strongly recommending immediate executive clemency, and,

WHEREAS, The Kentucky Federation of Labor at its annual Conventions, virtually all of its affiliated bodies, many International Union Conventions, hundreds of State and City Federations, thousands of Local Unions, and numerous citizens throughout the Nation have by resolutions, delegations, petitions, and letters, repeatedly urged pardons for the four Harlan miners; and,

WHEREAS, The Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 114, requesting the Governor of Kentucky to grant full and unconditional pardons to all miners convicted in the Evarts' Battle cases; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., reaffirm the actions taken by the Fifty-third Annual Convention and again strongly, but respectfully, urges Governor Keen Johnson of Kentucky to immediately grant Organized Labor's request to pardon these innocent union men, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all officers of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions to strive by all honorable means to effect the release of the four Harlan miners: W. B. Jones, Chester L. Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson, who have now been imprisoned for nearly ten years solely because they dared to organize a Union, dared to strike, and dared to picket in Harlan County, Kentucky.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: I stated yesterday, Brother Otto Beyer, a member of the Railroad Mediation Board, would address the convention this morning. He is here and we are happy to have him with us to present his address to the delegates of this convention. The representatives of the railway organizations know Mr. Beyer very well. He has been associated with them and they with him in carrying on his work on the Mediation Board, and prior to that time in connection with the development of labor and management cooperation. I wish to pay him a tribute this morning because of the very excellent service he rendered in the promotion of management and labor cooperation; also as a member of the Mediation Board. We hold Mr. Beyer in high regard and in high esteem. We know he has an instructive message for us this morning, and it affords me a great deal of pleasure to present to you our friend Otto Beyer, of the Railway Mediation Board.

MR. OTTO S. BEYER**(Member, National Mediation Board)**

Mr. President, delegates and friends, it is to my mind, not only a privilege, but an honor, to meet with you again this morning and discuss a subject which is very close to my heart. Mr. Green did me the honor to ask me to come down here, if possible, and discuss the question which he has already intimated is the matter upon which I will speak. I have in the past, whether in my functioning as a member of the Mediation Board, or in my capacity as an engineer, worked with the labor movement in the development of what I like to think of as constructive relationship between labor and management and the public.

The subject of my remarks this morning is entitled:

Labor's Contribution to Industry

Twenty years ago the American Federation of Labor issued a pronouncement showing the growing place of organized labor in the conduct of industry. This pronouncement was termed "Industry's Manifest Duty." It has become a landmark in American labor relations. For the first time it pointed out the place of the free and democratic organizations of labor in the American way of running industry. The Federation's pronouncement served to lift labor and its agencies from a position essentially negative and defensive in the conduct of industry to a place primarily constructive and cooperative. It thereby effectively secured labor's right to a more equitable division of the proceeds of industry.

It is my purpose this morning to take stock of developments in American labor-management relations since the Federation pointed out the inevitable destiny of organized labor, to appraise these developments from the standpoints of labor, industry, and the public, to restate, in the light of experience, the principles upon which the growing usefulness of labor to industry must rest, and finally, to point out what the situation calls for today so that labor may proceed to realize the broader purposes which the Federation envisioned for it twenty years ago.

Let me present a few facts of labor history to sketch the progress achieved by the American labor movement in the last two decades. Back in the early twenties the independent organizations of labor were either involved in struggles to hold the gains achieved by them during the war years, or, what was more serious, were desperately resisting attempts to destroy labor organizations altogether. We all remember the days of yellow dog contracts, arbitrary wage cuts, Landis and Manton awards, Anderson and Daugherty injunctions, open shop drives, "American"

plans, company unionism and employee representation schemes galore. We all remember the sniping from the rear by so-called trade union educational leagues and similar institutions. We marvelled at the ingenuity manifested by its enemies to destroy the independent labor movement at that time, but we marvel still more now, as we see matters in retrospect, at the ability of organized labor to take it and to resist the onslaughts of its opponents. For the labor movement to have kept its head high during those trying times, to have maintained faith in the essential rightness of its cause, and, what is more, to have visualized new opportunities of usefulness and service to industry and society to have gone ahead and demonstrated its capacity to deliver the goods in keeping with this vision, to me attests to the essential economic soundness of the American labor movement.

The policy which the Federation enunciated twenty years ago has been carried out in one form or another by it and many of its constituent unions. Proof of the soundness of this policy is to be found in the place which the organized labor movement holds today in our industries and in society. The doubts of the 1920's as to the place of labor organizations in industry have now been resolved in favor of unions and the negotiation of labor agreements by the processes of collective bargaining. The free and independent organizations of American labor have become indispensable to American industry, while their company union competitors and the like have gone with the other "get rich" schemes of the period. Today labor unions are accepted as among the most important agencies of democracy. Upon them and the managers of industry will fall an increasing responsibility for making democracy work. It is a challenge to labor to play a growingly constructive part in industry. It is to this challenge that I wish to address myself.

It was my privilege during the decade '23 to '33 to serve in a technical capacity both the labor organizations and the managements of some of our major railroad systems in the United States and Canada, as well as in certain industrial establishments. It was my privilege to help guide developments designed to enlarge the scope and usefulness of the labor organizations to the enterprises concerned. The Federation at its Toronto convention in 1929 took stock of these developments. It conducted a sort of experience meeting at which Sir Henry Thornton, then President of the Canadian National Railways, President Green, Mr. G. M. Bugliozzi of the Electrical Workers, and Mr. Arthur Wharton of the Machinists, reviewed the accomplishments and significance of the co-operative labor relations existing on the railroads, up to that time. More recently President Green in his book "Labor, and Democracy" and Vice-President Woll in his treatise on "Labor, Industry in Government" have further discussed the

subject and pointed out the growing importance of the movement. Today there is hardly a textbook dealing with American labor that does not devote considerable space to labor's constructive function in industry as demonstrated by the many instances of union-management co-operation following the Federation's original declaration of policy. The most comprehensive study yet undertaken of organized labor's growing influence in the government of industry is shortly to be released by the Brookings Institute under the title "Union Policies and Industrial Management." All of this is indicative of the great and growing significance of labor-management co-operation in the field of industrial government.

Many practical examples of systematic co-operation between labor and management outside the railroad industry could be cited. The printing industry, for instance, has entered into arrangements with its employees through their unions, involving improvement in the quality of workmanship and the elimination of waste. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has made substantial contributions to the movement by its activities in the improvement and maintenance of high standards of service in electrical construction. The International Association of Machinists has shown the value of labor-management co-operation in high grade machine production plants.

The American Federation of Labor pulp and paper unions have made notable contributions to labor-management co-operation. In a large scale metal manufacturing plant supplying the automobile industry, the unions undertook problems of selecting and training new workers, jointly with the management. The ladies garment industry and the textile industry have both experimented with labor-management co-operation. The significant co-operative developments now under way on the Tennessee Valley Authority, participated in by fifteen of the A. F. of L. construction and metal trades unions, was called to the attention of the country by the President of the United States in his Labor Day speech at Chickamauga.

There are many other practical examples of labor-management co-operation which I could mention, but the foregoing should establish the point that free and independent unions of labor, when accepted by managements without reservation for the purposes of collective bargaining, provide a rich opportunity to improve the performance and service of industry. It provides this opportunity in a way which promises more lasting good to industry, the public, and the employees than all the fancy systems of wage payments, stretch out and speed up, that have been devised by the ingenious gentry of professional industrial and labor counselors.

I am convinced that espousal by the American Federation of Labor of the policy which seeks to establish for labor

organizations a constructive place in industry, a policy which looks beyond the immediate objective of wages, hours and working conditions, and insists that labor organizations acquire more and more responsibility for the success of industry, has served to shape the public labor policy of today. I believe I am in a position to know that it would have been infinitely more difficult to convince public authorities and Congress as to the wisdom of the many steps that have been taken since 1933 to enable workers to join labor organizations, select representatives, and negotiate labor agreements, but for the conviction that with a strong competent labor movement the purposes of industry will be more effectively accomplished and the public better and more reliably served.

To the American Federation of Labor which shaped this policy and to those constituent unions which have taken practical steps to broaden the functions of labor organizations in industry, in my estimation, belongs no small share of the credit for having justified the wisdom of the adoption of our public labor relations policy. It is, therefore, fair to conclude that it behoves labor to comprehend the full implications of this fact and make certain that everything is done to assure those plants where the right to organize is respected and labor agreements are made, that the goods they manufacture shall be of the best. I thus visualize the ever-increasing importance of the union label. This label, when found on a product, should not merely mean that it has been made under fair labor conditions, but should guarantee as well that the product is the best value for the price. In short, the union label should mean that the goods were manufactured according to all the rules of genuine collective bargaining and sound labor-management co-operation.

President Green has aptly pointed out in his discussion of "Labor and Democracy" that union-management co-operation is the logical outgrowth of collective bargaining. The tangible products of collective bargaining are rates of pay, rules regulating working conditions and the hours of employment, provisions for the recruiting and training of employees, and seniority rights, all jointly determined by representatives of men and management and incorporated in written agreements. Such agreements, supplemented by joint appeals machinery for adjusting individual claims and grievances, may be said to constitute the foundation upon which to build for labor-management co-operation. But while indispensable in themselves they are not sufficient. Employers desirous of availing themselves of labor's organized capacity for co-operation must recognize that the labor organizations of their employees are essential to the orderly conduct of industry. They must accept them not merely for the purpose of adjusting controversial matters, such as what wages should be paid or what hours should be worked,—But in addition they must enable

the unions to participate also in the determination of matters that ordinarily have been left to management but the constructive handling of which affects the welfare of the employees no less than that of the employers and the public.

What in essence is union-management co-operation? Let me tell you first what it is not.

Labor-management co-operation is not a speed-up system. It is not a labor-saving scheme. It does not call for the introduction of wage incentive or bonus systems. It is not profit-sharing. It is not a managerial device which aims at cutting costs at the expense of labor. Co-operation between labor and management is growth, a development.

In the day by day relations between men and management, there are a thousand things in the accomplishment of which they can work together, where controversies will not arise, provided agreement can be reached on controversial issues. To devise ways and means for this working together is the essence of union-management co-operation.

In the making of things in our factories in the production of power in our electric plants, in the construction of buildings and engineering works, in the furnishing of transportation, many detailed tasks are daily performed by the thousands upon thousands of workers employed in these factories, power plants, construction projects and transportation companies. Time, how long it takes to do them, is one factor that enters into the performance of these tasks. Time becomes a substantial factor in determining labor costs. But time is by no means all that a man gives to his work. The way he does his job—how well he does it—his skill, the quality of his workmanship—is also a factor, and a most important one.

In addition, every worker dispenses materials and supplies and uses tools and machines. Oftentimes the cost of these items total as much, if not more than the labor expense that enters into the final cost of the product. How efficiently and economically he uses his materials, how skillfully and carefully he handles his tools and equipment, all are factors within the control of each and every workman worthy of his hire.

In service industries, such as bus and truck operation, railroading, and air transportation, the day by day relationship between the employees and the public spells good or bad service in the mind of the public. The general reputation of the company that employs him is determined in no small measure by the way the employee and his union feel about such a company. Again this is where the significance of the union label comes in.

I could go on expanding the point that an individual when he functions as an employee is useful in many more respects than simply giving so much time to his job. His usefulness, in short, is measured

by a wide variety of factors, the range of which is growing ever wider. It is to all of these factors that labor-management co-operation addresses itself.

Most of them are non-controversial in nature. No worker would ever deny, for instance, that good quality of workmanship is not desirable from the labor viewpoint. No one will dispute that materials and supplies should not be wasted. A dollar saved on the material budget means a dollar available for the labor budget.

There is no virtue in doing a job the hard way resulting in discomfort and fatigue. It is much more satisfying to please the people whom we serve than to quarrel with them. No one wants to see his fellow worker or himself hurt in the discharge of his duties. Working together of management and men for the accomplishment of these objectives is the essence of labor-management co-operation.

Let me be specific and list some of the more important matters which have been dealt with under the auspices of labor-management co-operation:

Bettering the day by day human relations between employees and supervisors.

Eliminating the causes and so reducing the number of grievances and complaints growing out of failure to observe agreements and the like.

Fair and more prompt adjustment of grievances and complaints.

Improvement in physical working conditions.

Elimination of fatigue.

Improvements and strengthening of apprentice training system.

Recruiting more competent personnel.

Enlarging union membership.

Increasing annual wage income.

Stabilizing and increasing employment.

Bettering quality of workmanship.

Improving safety conditions.

Saving in consumption of materials and supplies.

Reducing tool and equipment failures.

Introducing new methods and devices for performing work.

Improving the scheduling and routing of work.

Utilizing the help of employees and their organizations in securing new and additional business.

Securing capital for additions and betterments and improvements to equipment and facilities.

Developing a more comprehensive and better mutual understanding of the problems of the industry and the problems of its employees.

Eliminating unsatisfactory labor practices and systems.

Improving morale and relations between unions and management.

General stimulating of managerial efficiency and responsibility.

Improvements in design and construction of things produced and services performed.

I could add many more items to this list, but the foregoing, gleaned from the records where union-management co-operative programs have been in effect, illustrate the wide range of common interest. And let me say that under each and every one of these items real grist has been carried to the mills. Results have been achieved.

So much as to what co-operation is and what it drives at. Now, as to the principles that underlie it. These have been stated before. They bear repetition, however, in the light of experience.

First, the essential requirements of what we broadly refer to as collective bargaining must be met. These are:

The enjoyment of full freedom of association on the part of employees. No interference, domination, or control in the exercising of freedom of association.

Designation by the employees of representatives authorized to speak for them in the making and maintaining of labor agreements covering rates of pay, rules, working conditions, and the adjustment of grievances.

The recognition and acceptance of such accredited representatives of the employees by employers, and the prompt and orderly negotiation of collective labor agreements.

The provision of orderly joint machinery for the policing of agreements and the prompt adjustment of any disputes growing out of grievances or out of the interpretation or application of such agreements.

Willingness by the employer to regard labor organizations as necessary and helpful rather than simply tolerating them.

And, willingness on the part of labor organizations to accept employers and their managements as essential to the conduct of industry and prepare to work with them on all matters of mutual interest.

Having met these prerequisites, which are the essential characteristics of collective bargaining, then systematic co-operation between unions and management for mutual benefit and public service becomes feasible in line with the following principles:

Willingness on the part of management to help employees and their unions to solve their problems along constructive lines in return for the constructive help rendered by them in the solution of managements' problems.

Willingness by management to regularize and improve employment as well as to share the gains arising from joint co-operation with employees.

The introduction of definite safeguards against hardships or disadvantages to employees resulting from technological changes.

Establishment of joint conference machinery representative of both the unions and management to devote its time and energy

to the promotion and maintenance of co-operative effort.

And, finally, provision of adequate record keeping, dealing with the results of co-operation for educational as well as administrative purposes.

Assuming that the labor organizations here represented subscribe to these principles and see, as I believe President Green and many others of you do, in labor-management co-operation the logical, constructive direction in which unions must grow, what can you do to convince employers and employees alike, that you mean business and are ready, able and willing to proceed along co-operative lines? To my mind, the best way to establish this conviction and to assure results would be for the Federation to do what it has done so effectively in the field of workers education. It seems to me the Federation would be well advised to underwrite an agency somewhat analogous to the Workers Education Bureau to be known as the "Labor-Management Co-operative Service." This agency would stand by and be of help and guidance to both employers and the unions of their employees where together they are prepared to take the next step in collective bargaining and establish union-management co-operation. Such service should, of course, be strictly professional and should work very much as an engineering concern would do in developing plans and carrying them out.

Were the Federation to make this contribution, I am convinced that it would be regarded as one of the most statesmanlike measures it has ever taken. The subject of labor-management co-operation is not debatable.

The time is ripe for action to implement our industries and to preserve our democratic processes. I am confident your great unions and the Federation will do their part and blaze the way to further co-operative progress.

And right here I want to again refer to the President's letter of yesterday, which, to my mind, serves in a way to emphasize the subject matter I am talking to you about this morning. The President said:

"Labor will lend its aid in planning for full efficiency of industrial production, in planning for selection, training and placement of new workers, in planning for full labor supply, in maintaining the social gains of recent labor and social legislation, in maintaining sound and uninterrupted work in the defense industries and in promoting sound employer-worker relationship at a time like this when the steady flow of production may be our greatest need."

It seems to me fitting that I should close here what I have to say on this, that the time is ripe for us to preserve our democratic processes, and I am confident that your great unions and the Federation will do their part.

President Green: Our good friend, Mr. Beyer, has made a distinct contribution to the constructive, educational program of this convention. His address is most educational.

He has made some very definite suggestions and recommendations. He has dealt with a subject that is realistic, because, whether organized or unorganized, whether the workers in a factory become unionized or whether they remain unorganized, there exists a form of employer and employee relationship. We believe we can develop it to a high degree and scientific point if our unions are recognized, the right of organized labor to function is accepted as a part of our national economy, and through the contribution that we are able to make, place industry and labor upon a high, scientific basis. I am thoroughly committed to the program. I believe in it.

I remember, when manufacturers' committees came to America from Great Britain, they expressed amazement that the employers of the United States had refused to deal with labor as a co-operative force. Great Britain accepted organized labor as a part of the industrial process. They were surprised that employers in the United States were so far back.

Mr. Beyer has submitted a question to this convention which is constructive, educational and most interesting. I hope you will read his address and consider it, and I hope the Executive Council as well as the convention will give the suggestions and recommendations he made consideration and constructive action. I thank you, Mr. Beyer, for the address you have delivered.

Now we have with us this morning an old friend, Sol Rosenblatt, who attended previous conventions and addressed us. He is here to meet and greet you and to deliver one of his highly inspiring and educational addresses. Most of you know him. Some of you perhaps wonder just who he is. Briefly, may I state that in the days of the NRA he served as a part of the NRA. He was appointed as the Deputy Administrator of the NRA organization and he served in a wonderful way. We soon learned that he understood our economic problems, he possessed an advanced social outlook, and because of that he rendered service of the highest order. Then later he served as the impartial chairman of the ladies' garment making industry in New York City. The representatives of that organization say that he rendered service in a splendid way. So we could not resist the opportunity of inviting him here to visit with us and to address the convention. I am pleased to present him to you now, our friend, your friend, Sol Rosenblatt.

HON. SOL A. ROSENBLATT

Former Deputy Administrator
of the NRA.

President Green, Members of the Convention,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have had the honor of addressing the members of this Convention on many oc-

casions since 1933, but never during a period so momentous as this. Such are the times. There is little difference of opinion now as to the dangers before us. A life and death struggle is proceeding overseas between the Mother of Parliaments with her bulldog tenacity, and a pack of wolves dripping with the blood of free nations whose liberties and institutions they have torn to shreds. Until we have had time to arm overwhelmingly against any danger that may face us, our immediate safety largely depends upon the heroic efforts of England, with such aid as we can furnish her in her epic struggle. If she falters or goes down, the three thousand miles of ocean that now protect the eastern shores of our continent are reduced to a ribbon of water. As an inexhaustible source of raw materials and other wealth, we are too rich and too sweet a morsel not to tempt the bloodstained despotism that now besides the continent of Europe, if the island fortress now valiantly fighting is forced to surrender.

I know that the overwhelming majority of you must feel as I do: that in this emergency our democracy has again justified itself. We have chosen again as our leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt! We can take vast comfort from the fact that the man who will lead this nation in the next four years has not only our own support, but the trust and confidence of what is left of freedom and democracy in every other part of the world. But elections do not win themselves. I know, because I worked under him, something of the task undertaken by the Hon. Edward J. Flynn in marshaling the great forces of democracy. I for one, am in position to attest to his peerless leadership. His reward lies in the great success he helped to achieve.

I have chosen for my general remarks to-day the title, "Let's Take the Lid Off Democracy", because I am convinced that it's not with guns alone that we can defend our freedoms; because I am convinced that if we are to maintain our institutions we must defend them with a spirit at least equal to that with which they are attacked—attacked in the cause of a slavish Utopia where a Schiekgruber or a Stalin risen to power will tell all men what to think, how to act, where to live, and when to die. I believe we should lift the lid off democracy and concentrate on the freedoms, the liberties and the rights which it covers. In discussing democracy as a principle we have become entangled in the verbiage of our own making. I recall that once a little girl of eleven wrote to a great broadcasting system asking please to define the word "democracy" for her. The broadcasters scratched their heads and then put the question to a forum of men and women, including the dean of a famous women's college, a distinguished social scientist, an English educator, and others. Each had a different definition of democracy. Perhaps that is as it should be. We recall that Plato, in trying to define justice, had to build his New Republic to discover where it lay. Democracy is even harder to define. It is possibly the greatest conception of the human mind. It is based on the sense of jus-

tice and equality which denies the natural law that the strongest and most brutal animal must be the leader of the pack, or its moral complement, that might makes right. Democracy, therefore, being a thing of the spirit, cannot readily be put into words. Yet we would be blind not to see that this our way of life, is being attacked, and that we must defend it with our spirit as well as with arms.

To no other class does democracy mean so much as to the workers of our nation. No other organized group has fought so hard to maintain it and make it mean something, not merely in the school-books, but in the day-to-day relations between industry and labor, in the greater security for all men, in the more equitable distribution of the wealth created by manufacture and agriculture. I know that our great labor leaders fighting the battle of the workers are in the front ranks of the battle for human decency and democracy. I know how true this is of my good friend President Green, and the many other leaders in this great organization with whom I have had the advantage of friendship or personal contact.

If today democracy is under attack—and attacked it is, by fools and traitors within, and by enemies from without—there is at least one great task of national defense to which all of us can devote ourselves, whatever our age or condition. We cannot all fly an airplane, drive a tank or manage a gun, but only the shirker will refuse to serve his country by defending the idea and ideals of freedom and democracy wherever he sees it attacked. Let each of us constitute himself a minute-man of democracy. Let's meet the problem of defending democracy in a democratic way. We cannot depend upon the self-appointed leaders of public opinion who have an axe to grind. We cannot depend upon alleged organs of public opinion, which represent only the interests of the publishers. We should each of us speak up for the things that democracy means to us.

There are too many middle-men of public opinion. There are too many press-made, radio-made and movie-made personalities who try to strut like Uncle Sam and misrepresent what they say as public opinion. Some do their vicious worst to twist and confuse the public mind. Some, with their ears to the ground, try timidly to reflect what they think most Americans are thinking about. Some use patriotism as a label, to sell their own particular brand of patent medicine.

When we get right down to it, what we must expound and defend is the message of freedom contained in our own Bill of Rights. The issues before all right-thinking men can be made clear and simple, if we stick to this great historical document. The question with which we must face the traitors, the propagandists, the doubters or the ignorant, is, do you or do you not believe that freedom of speech, freedom of the press

and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress, is inalienable to the American way of life? If you don't you are inviting the slavery which today grinds down the millions of Europe. There the people are nothing, and the state is everything. The question we must ask is, do you believe that no American should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law? If you do not believe this, you stand for the highly efficient gangsterism in Europe which can only exist by keeping millions of voiceless people in subjection. The question with which we must face the shirkers and hypocrites of democracy is, do you or don't you favor that form of government by which the people can determine their own social, political and economic destiny? If you do not, you are a deliberate or unconscious stool-pigeon of dictatorship.

But those who stand upon the principle of free speech and a free press must accept the responsibilities that go with those rights. These great principles were not conceived, nurtured and protected in order to give every Fifth Columnist, Communist or Nazi the right to mislead public opinion. They were not written into our laws to help in their task those who deliberately or ignorantly seek to destroy democracy. Freedom needs to be protected from some of its friends, as well as from its enemies. There are those amongst us who cry they love freedom so much that they would give it freely to those who seek to destroy it; that they love liberty with such passion that they would give its blessings to those who would overthrow our liberties; that they believe in free speech so fervently that they would willingly allow the propaganda that would make free speech impossible.

Every tenable assumption of democracy must rest on the ability of the people to govern themselves better than anyone else could govern them, provided always—and note the condition—that they shall have free access to the truth. They can have no such access if the freedom of the press is perverted to the freedom to misrepresent the truth.

I am convinced that the best guaranty of a free press lies in the public discussion and criticism of the manner and method with which the press has been carrying out its vast responsibilities to the public. If the press is to remain an instrument of public opinion, it is about time that those who read the papers should make their voices heard on the issue as to whether or not some of our newspapers are fulfilling their mission. The freedom of the press is guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and nobody wants to change the Bill of Rights. But when a publisher takes refuge behind the freedom of the press, the public has a right to ask, freedom for whom and freedom for what? It has a right to say, freedom, yes, but how about the integrity of the press? When a newspaper sets out to serve the lowest instincts of its readers, does it fulfill the mission of a free press? When it

sells out principle for profit, does it not betray the public which it is supposed to serve? When it allows its partisanship or self-interest to invade the news, doesn't it poison the public mind?

It has been said that the greatest shock ever experienced by the newspapers of America was to wake up on the morning of November 4th, 1936, and discover that they had no influence in the Presidential election. A greater shock overtook them on November 6th, 1940, when the great majority of American people gave their suffrages to President Roosevelt and returned him to the White House to continue his inspiring leadership of the nation. The newspapers this year were twice as solidly united against him as they were in the campaign of 1936.

Those publishers who for years have been saying, as Louis XIV said about the state, "The public? We're the public", are due for a great awakening. Freedom of the press must mean something more than the right of the publisher to express any views he happens to hold on any public question, to refuse to publish the utterances of those who seek to controvert him, or to give over his whole publication to the sole purpose of furthering his individual and class interests. The public today has a check on the newspapers. It can hear as well as read the news of the day. It resents to find that the statement, address or argument that interested it on the air, is shoved by partisanship into an inconspicuous back page of the newspaper. It can note if an important statement is correctly given, or distorted. It had no such means when black type was sacrosanct.

To me, this is all a very healthy sign. Who knows? Perhaps the day will come when emphasis on the destructive, the sensational and the self-serving will not be considered the very essence of news. Sooner or later it may become evident to most publishers that nonsense spouted by a man, however prominent in the public eye, is still nonsense. Some day, editors may drop the hoary notion that news is when a man bites a dog, and come to the realization that the family, friends and acquaintances concerned by the fact that a man has been bitten by the dog are of the very warp and woof of the circulation of their papers. Some day, newspapers may discover that workers are also people, and that what a competent labor man, a school-teacher or a clerk has to say may be more important, interesting or challenging than the straddling speech of a politician, or the meaningless mouthings of a movie star.

I repeat, what I say is that all of us must support a truly free press. The fact is that with all its faults the American press today is freer than any other in the world. In the darkness that has set in over Europe, more than 1,400,000,000 people enjoy no freedom of the press at all, and somewhat less than 200,000,000 people, including those in the United States, enjoy the degree of freedom that we have.

Furthermore, in discussing the responsibility of the press, I do not mean to suggest that this is the only direction in which democracy must strengthen itself. If our liberties are to be protected from the termites within and without, we need, too, a more modern viewpoint in the law, in the practice of which I myself am engaged. At a time when every energy should be put forth in national defense, when many nations have been the victims of propaganda rather than arms, we still rest upon a conception that an individual who is libeled has a remedy at law, but that if a whole class, a race or a religion is libeled, creating class or race hatred and thus undermining democracy, the libeler can continue to go merrily about his work of creating class or race hatred and thus undermine democracy. Nothing could better serve the purpose of the open and the hidden agents of those who would destroy us.

Finally, if we are to be honest and effective in the defense of our democratic institutions, we must seek out and remedy the weak spots in our democratic system. Essentially the challenge to democracy must be met by a better democracy, by social and economic planning, not by mere protestations of love for liberty. It must be met by justice for labor, by the better division of the fruits of life, by the assurance of the security which our abundance is able to provide, by a government—to paraphrase the words of the Great Emancipator—not too strong for the liberties of its people and not too weak to maintain our existence as a nation devoted to freedom, to humanity and justice. The election that we have just passed through is more than a demonstration to a largely enslaved world that freedom still reigns on this side of the ocean; it is a vote of confidence in a great President who has steered the ship of state with unsurpassed courage, with superb judgment and with love in his heart for the common man, and it is our call to consecration for the great tasks ahead.

Thank you.

President Green: Our good friend has again measured up this morning to the high standard we set for him. He brought to us a splendid address. He delivered it in characteristic fashion. It will be printed in the daily proceedings and can be referred to from time to time as we look them over and study them again.

I thank Mr. Rosenblatt for his visit to our convention and for the eloquent, fine address which he delivered this morning.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman De-septe, Chairman of the Credentials and Auditing Committee, for the report of the Auditing Committee.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Desepte submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The total receipts and the total expenses for the respective accounts are as follows:

The auditors appointed in accordance with Article 3, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor wish to submit the following report for the consideration of the Convention. The Auditing Committee has checked and examined all of the books and records covering the financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor, for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1939, and ending August 31, 1940.

We found all transactions accurately recorded, and properly accounted for. We have counted the securities listed on the books of the Secretary-Treasurer as being owned by the American Federation of Labor, and found them correct as recorded. We are listing below these securities. We have verified the cash balances on hand from letters written by the banks where the funds are on deposit, certifying as to the amounts on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at close of business August 31, 1940.

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1939	\$ 546,504.36
Per Capita Tax	\$629,499.11
Assessments	474,375.79
Advertisements, American Federationist	74,090.76
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	1,202.27
Per Capita Tax subscriptions, American Federationist	334,275.00
Per Capita Tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	279,021.32
Initiation fees	75,922.94
Reinstatement fees	7,624.22
Supplies	22,276.55
Interest	11,906.25
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	18,936.53
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	9,353.11
Total receipts	\$1,938,483.85
Grand Total	\$2,484,988.21

Expenses

Organizing	\$578,936.24
Organizers' salaries	374,545.14
Office employees' salaries	198,433.35
Administrative salaries	48,894.83
General bills	280,488.89
Miscellaneous bills	12,670.91
Advertising commissions, Amer. Fedst.	38,324.88
Printing and publishing American Fedst.	166,946.29
Defense Fund	53,496.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	16,140.06
Total expenses	\$1,768,836.39
Balance on hand, August 31, 1940	\$ 716,151.82

Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 88,662.96
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	627,488.86

Balance on hand, August 31, 1940	\$ 716,151.82
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We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities, and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%)	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%) (\$50,000.00) @ 98-18/32	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%)	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%)	1,531.25
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 377,882.82
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	290,873.00
City Bank (subject to check)	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check) ..	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
306 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit) ..	25,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1940	\$ 716,151.82

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury
Bonds (3 1/4 %)

14436F	\$ 5,000.00
28631A	10,000.00
28632B	10,000.00
28633C	10,000.00
28634D	10,000.00
28635E	10,000.00
28636F	10,000.00
28637H	10,000.00
28638J	10,000.00
28639K	10,000.00
28640L	10,000.00
28641A	10,000.00
28642B	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00
29974D	10,000.00
29975E	10,000.00
29976F	10,000.00
29977H	10,000.00
31874D	10,000.00
33783C	10,000.00
29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00

Total \$ 225,000.00

U. S. Treasury
Bonds (3 1/4 %)

816F	\$ 10,000.00
817H	10,000.00
1097H	10,000.00
1098J	10,000.00
17113C	10,000.00

Total 50,000.00

U. S. Treasury
Bonds (2 1/2 %)

2727H	\$100,000.00	100,000.00
396 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation Stock @ \$1.00		396.00
300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Stock @ \$50.00..	15,000.00	
Total par value.....	\$ 390,396.00	

Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1940.....	\$ 118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....	15,510.89
Total receipts	\$ 133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1940	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1940	\$ 10,855.25

We have verified the cash balance in the Gompers Memorial Fund and have counted the securities, and found them to be as listed.

Funds deposited as follows:

1266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock.....	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account	2,080.25

U. S. Savings Bonds:

Series B: M21870B,	
M21871B, M21872B,	
M21873B, M21874B,	
M21875B, M21876B,	
M21877B, M21878B,	
M21879B: Maturity value,	
\$1,000.00 per bond; maturity date, April, 1946. Purchased April 10, 1936 @ \$750.00	7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1940 \$ 10,855.25

Luggage Workers of Petersburg, Virginia, Fund

Under date of March 2, 1940, an appeal was issued for contributions to assist the striking Luggage Workers of Petersburg, Virginia.

Receipts in response to this appeal from March 2, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940	\$ 2,677.10
Amount forwarded to Luggage Workers from March 2, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940.....	2,677.10
Account balanced	\$ 000.00

German Labor Delegation Fund

Under date of February 28, 1940, an appeal was issued to assist the German labor delegation in the United States.

Receipts in response to this appeal from February 28, 1940 to and including August 31, 1940.....	\$ 1,033.00
Amount forwarded to the German labor delegation from February 28, 1940 to and including August 31, 1940..	1,033.00
Account balanced	\$ 000.00

Oregon Anti-Labor Law Fund

Under date of March 22, 1940, an appeal was issued to assist in the fight against the Oregon Anti-Labor Law.

Receipts in response to this appeal from March 22, 1940 to and including August 31, 1940..... \$ 4,710.00

Amount forwarded to the Oregon State Federation of Labor from March 22, 1940, to and including August 31, 1940..... 4,710.00

Account balanced \$ 000.00

**American Federation of Labor
Building Fund
Receipts**

Balance on hand August 31, 1939..... \$ 20,749.44

Rents \$ 33,108.78

Sale of waste

Paper 20.76

Total receipts 33,228.54

Receipts and balance..... \$ 53,977.98

Expenses**Maintenance:**

Pay roll (building employees) \$ 18,658.06

Taxes 3,219.36

Electricity 1,803.96

Fuel (coal) 1,053.88

Supplies 1,859.34

Upkeep and repairs 1,836.91

Plastering and painting 2,788.66

Cleaning windows 455.00

Insurance (liability) 418.52

Water rent 51.52

Hauling ashes and trash 156.00

Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.) 13.79

Upkeep and repairs of elevators 157.29

Social Security Tax:

Unemployment insurance 503.39

Old age benefits 181.86

Total expenses \$ 33,156.64

Balance on hand August 31, 1940..... \$ 20,821.34

Recapitulation

Receipts and balance..... \$ 53,977.98

Expenses 83,156.64

Balance on hand August 31, 1940..... \$ 20,821.34

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1218 shares)..... \$ 1,218.00

Riggs National Bank..... 12,103.34

U. S. Savings Bonds:

Series B: M273333, M273334, M273335, M273336, M273337, M273338, M273339, M273340, M273341, M273342: Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond; maturity date July, 1946, Purchased July 21, 1936, at \$750.00..... 7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1940..... \$ 20,821.34

We have checked the bank balance and counted the securities in this account and find them correct as reported.

In conclusion, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the cooperation and courtesies extended to us in the performance of our work.

Auditing Committee,

W. G. DESEITE, Chairman,

CHRISTOPHER LANE, Secretary,

A. MENDELOWITZ.

Delegate Desepte moved the adoption of the report of the Auditing Committee.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Announcements

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that at the afternoon session the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Jamieson, will address the convention. He will speak to you immediately after we reconvene for the afternoon session. Following the submission of his address Secretary Spencer J. Miller, of the Workers Education Bureau, will submit his annual message to the convention. We invite you all to be here at the afternoon session and listen to these educational addresses. We invite visitors and the public at large to come and sit with us.

Announcements of the time and place of committee meetings were made by Vice-President Bugniet, for the Committee on State Organizations; by Delegate Burke, for the Committee on International Labor

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Relations; by Vice-President Gainor, for the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Vice-President Bates: Delegates interested in the matter of the change of title of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Warehousemen and Chauffeurs are requested to appear before the Committee on Executive Council's Report at 10:00 o'clock Friday morning, mezzanine floor Roosevelt Hotel.

Vice-President Tobin: Members of the Laws Committee will meet in Parlor H, Roosevelt Hotel, at 2:00 o'clock this afternoon. All those interested in Resolution 105, dealing with representation in Central Bodies, try to be present there at 2:30. Those interested in Resolution 104, dealing with the increase of salaries for the President and Secretary will appear at 3:00 o'clock if possible. Several members of the committee did not appear at the meeting yesterday afternoon. This is very important work for the committee to handle and I appeal to all members of the committee who are in the convention to try and attend the meeting at 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

President Green: The Chair desires to make an announcement. Vice-President Hutcheson, who is Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations, is not in attendance at the convention. I therefore request that Brother Gordon W. Chapman, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, serve as Chairman at least temporarily for the purpose of calling a meeting of the committee.

Delegate Chapman complied with the request and announced a meeting of the Committee for organization purposes immediately upon adjournment.

President Green: That seems to complete the work of the morning session. Don't forget our meeting this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, who moves to suspend the rules and recess until 2:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention recessed at 11:30 o'clock to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Third Day — Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

President Green: The convention will be in order. First of all, the Chair recognizes Chairman Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions, for a preliminary partial report—Chairman Matthew Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Chairman Woll: Mr. Chairman, an unfortunate situation has developed with reference to the report of the Executive Council on the work of the Social Security Committee in connection with the proposal to extend the benefits of the Social Security laws to those not now covered by them. Because of that, misunderstanding arose and a situation has arisen which requires immediate action on the part of this convention in order to correct a misapprehension having to do altogether with public service employees. As a result, the committee begs to report on Resolutions 41, 43, 44, 45, 115 and also indirectly on Resolution 134, which was referred to the Committee on Legislation.

These resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Congress of the United States a bill that has as its purpose the amendment to the Social Security Act, which, if enacted into law, would place employees of the States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies under the provisions of the Old Age and Survivors sections of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, There are now in this nation many States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies that have established pension systems which have been in operation for many years and should these amendments be enacted into law they would thereby set up a dual pension system, which would without question prove harmful and confusing and might tend to destroy these established pension funds and thereby defeat the purpose for which they were established, and

WHEREAS, The public employees' pension funds now in existence have been established in most instances through the efforts of organized labor by many years of effort and thousands of members of the organized labor movement are contributors

to these pension funds and in many cases beneficiaries thereof; Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby declare as its policy the extension of the Social Security Act and in particular its Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies now have no established pension funds but that the policy of the American Federation of Labor shall be to unalterably oppose the inclusion in any manner by the Social Security Act of the States, Political Subdivisions or their Instrumentalities in the said Old Age and Survivors' Insurance provisions in all cases where established public pension funds are now in operation.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Union of Operating Engineers are employed by states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions or civil agencies, and

WHEREAS, Under the present text of the Social Security Act, those members are not afforded the protection of unemployment insurance and old age benefits provided by the Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to have the Social Security Act so amended as to bring within its provisions all employees of states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions and civil agencies, except in cases where such employees are now protected by an existing pension system.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Approximately ten million citizens of the United States were not granted the protection of the old Age Pension set up in the original Social Security Act of 1935 including a considerable group of local and state government employees, among whom were many teachers in rural areas and smaller cities, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has followed its established sound policy of furthering social legislation helpful to wage earners individually and to the American standard of living in general, in giving its support to Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 to remedy the discrimination against any group of workers in being excluded from all old age protection, and

WHEREAS, This legislation covers approximately one million state and local em-

ployes, including city police, fire, school employees and others, who have contributed for many years to pensions which will pay more than will the minimum social security payments, and

WHEREAS, This excellent legislation as presented in Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384, unless amended, will undoubtedly conflict with already established pension systems and deprive firemen, policemen, engineers, janitors, teachers and many other civil service workers of rights and benefits that they have worked for and earned over a long period of years, and

WHEREAS, Federal civil service employees and the military and naval establishments are already exempted from the provisions of this legislation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Federation of Labor urge the American Federation of Labor to take immediate steps to have Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 amended, so that they shall not include state and local employees who ask for exemption because of previously established pension systems.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, There have recently been introduced in Congress two bills, one by Senator Wagner, S. 4269, and one by Congressman McCormack, H. R. 10384, which if passed in their present form would include all public employees, including fire fighters, under the provisions of the Social Security Law, and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters of the United States in almost all cities have pension and retirement provisions far more satisfactory than any Social Security Act provisions, and

WHEREAS, It is quite likely that city officials and taxpayers would not long continue these pension and retirement provisions in their present form if their employees were also covered by the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the International Association of Fire Fighters convention in Des Moines, Iowa, during the week of September 16-20, 1940, went on record to oppose the Wagner and McCormack bills in their present form and to, at all times, oppose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this, the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as supporting the International Association of Fire Fighters in its stand to prevent the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council instruct its Legislative Committee to oppose any bills that might be introduced in Congress that may have for their purpose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover fire department employees.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Tom Cairns, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the Senate of the United States extending coverage of the Social Security Act to groups of workers not now so protected, and

WHEREAS, We have full appreciation of the effects of Senator Wagner and other friends of labor to so extend this protection and although we approve of the action of the A. F. of L. in supporting such legislation but,

WHEREAS, Such bills as now worded will endanger existing systems of pensions of Police and Fire Departments which offer more generous benefits than the Social Security Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the West Virginia State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled September 26th, 27th, 28th, 1940, in Huntington, West Virginia, feel concerned for the effect of such legislation on Policemen's and Firemen's pension systems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this problem be presented for consideration of the November annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in New Orleans with a view towards safeguarding the interests of existing Police and Firemen systems of pensions that are superior to the Social Security Act.

Resolution No.—134—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Senator Robert Wagner of New York has introduced into the U. S. Senate, legislation designed to extend Old Age benefits, under the Social Security Act, to agricultural and domestic workers, to state, municipal, and non-civil service federal employees, and to employees of non-profit religious, charitable and educational institutions, and

WHEREAS, This legislation is also designed to require full U. C. C. coverage of all employers, regardless of the number of workers employed, and of non-civil service government employees and workers in charitable institutions, and

WHEREAS, Labor has for years urged the passage of such legislation, now Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as fully endorsing these legislative proposals of Sen-

ator Wagner, and urging passage thereof, and it is further

RESOLVED. That the Secretary is instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to Senator Wagner.

The committee desires to report as follows on these resolutions, and in lieu thereof submit the following:

Following the principle of seeking extension of the protection of old age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation to workers who were left without protection when the Social Security Law was originally enacted, the American Federation of Labor requested Senator Wagner and Congressman McCormack to introduce bills to amend the Social Security Act to include some ten million additional workers. These bills were introduced as S. 4269 and H. R. 10384. Included in them was the provision for extending coverage to employees of state, county, and municipal government employees or any political subdivisions thereof. Although nothing in the bills was intended to repeal or interfere with the status of existing public pension plans covering some state and local government employes, some of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were apprehensive that these pension plans might be curtailed by future legislative action if the employes were covered by the Social Security Act.

The Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor met on October 23 with representatives of the unions concerned. It was arranged that further study be given the problem and that the same group meet again during the convention period in New Orleans. After the meeting on October 23, in accordance with the request of the Social Security Committee, President Green wrote Senator Wagner and Representative McCormack advising them of the prospective conference and requesting them to hold in abeyance action on the sections of the bills dealing with coverage of public employes pending the further consultation among the unions representing the workers concerned with this question. Both Senator Wagner and Representative McCormack expressed their desire to cooperate in seeing that the objectives of extending coverage to workers not protected while safeguarding existing pension rights were achieved.

The Social Security Committee met again on November 19 with the unions concerned. These unions reached an agreement on the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There was called a conference in Washington, D. C., on October 23, 1940, by Matthew Woll, chairman of the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, to consider S. 4269 and H. R. 10384 which have as their purpose the extension of benefits of the "Federal Old Age and Survivors' Insurance Benefits" provis-

ion of the Federal Social Security Act to include employees of States and their political subdivisions; and

WHEREAS, after a thorough discussion of the subject it was agreed by those at this conference that additional study was necessary to work out specific formulas to protect the benefits and rights of employes now contributing to existing pension systems more advantageous to said employes than would be the contemplated benefits of the Social Security Act and to also find means and methods to provide protection for those workers in public employment not now protected by any form of retirement system; and

WHEREAS, As the result of this conference the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, in view of the circumstances has asked Senator Wagner and Representative McCormack that further consideration of S. 4269 and H. R. 10384 insofar as they affect public employes, be held in abeyance and that the American Federation of Labor has withdrawn its support from those sections of the bills; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause to be presented to the new 77th Congress of the United States a bill embodying the following principles:

1. Permissive legislation for the extension of Social Security coverage to state and local government employes not now participating in any existing annuity benefit or retirement system.
2. Provide exemptions for any employee of a state or of any political sub-division or instrumentality thereof who is a contributor to, or a participant in, any pension fund, relief fund, or retirement fund created by virtue of any legislative enactment of a state, by municipal charter or by ordinance of any political sub-division or instrumentality of a state, provided, however that such exemption and exclusion shall terminate if such employee becomes separated from the public service, or if such pension fund ceases operation.

The Committee on Resolutions therefore recommends that this resolution be substituted for the following resolutions on the same subject: Nos. 41, 43, 44, 45 and 115, and that this resolution be adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee on Resolutions further recommends that the Committee on Legislation take action in conformity with this action so far as the public employes are concerned in Resolution 134.

Pursuant to a conference held on October 23, 1940, the representatives of organizations of Government employes, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor submitted the following views:

"The United States Civil Service Retirement law is the fruit of the labors of the organizations of Government employes

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor over the last forty years. The Joint Conference on Retirement, which is composed entirely of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been recognized for more than twenty years as the official spokesman of the Government employees on the subject of retirement.

"The first U. S. Civil Service Retirement Law was enacted May 22, 1920, and became effective on August 1st of that year. It has been amended numerous times and several major improvements over the first law have been secured. The coverage of the law has been extended from time to time also. It now embraces all employees of the United States Government who are in the classified civil service (with certain specified exceptions of groups that are provided for in other retirement systems) and certain other specified groups who are not in the classified civil service.

"The law provides also that any employees or groups of employees who are brought within the classified civil service, by legislative enactment or by Executive Order, shall be included within the purview of the U. S. C. S. Retirement Law. There is also a provision that it may be extended by Executive Order, upon recommendation of the Civil Service Commission, to any employee or group in the civil service of the United States not included at the time of its passage.

"The organizations of Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor believe that the extension of the Social Security Law to include any group of United States Government employees would be a serious menace to the future welfare of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement systems. There is now agitation to include some groups of Government employees within the purview of the Social Security Act. The extension of the Act to those groups would serve as a precedent to include other groups and to equalize the benefits to the disadvantage of employees within the purview of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system or other existing retirement systems.

"In our desire to extend the benefits of old-age security to all Government employees we call attention to the fact that the provisions of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Law now permit of its extension to all such employees by Executive Order. However, if the authority to so extend it is not exercised such extension to all Government employees should be made by legislation amending the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Law and not by extension of the coverage of the Social Security Law to Government employees.

"Submitted in behalf of the Joint Conference on Retirement, representing over 300,000 United States Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

The A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security finds itself in agreement with the foregoing views.

In view of the foregoing agreements, your Committee on Resolutions recommends concurrence in the foregoing views as the expressions of the Convention.

Chairman Woll: I move you the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Woll: I am privileged to make an announcement in behalf of the organizations interested in the last report, who met with the committee on social security last evening, that there is a meeting called by this group of public service organizations at the Jung Hotel at 4:00 o'clock this afternoon.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Desepte, of the Committee on Credentials.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Chairman Desepte submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desire to announce that they have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following delegates:

Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—W. E. Sullivan, 1 vote.

In accordance with communication received from President James M. Duffy of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, we recommend the seating of John D. McGillivray, with 40 votes, as fourth delegate to represent that organization.

Substitutions

The name of Scott Milne is substituted for the name of Charles Paulson, representing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The name of Louis Lufrano is substituted for the name of Michael Grillo, Textile Examiners and Finishers Union No. 18205, New York.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: Now I have the extreme pleasure of presenting to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this session of the convention this afternoon our visitor from Vancouver, British Columbia. He traveled all the way from Vancouver to bring to us the fraternal greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We deeply appreciate his

presence with us. We hope his visit with us will be pleasing and helpful.

I know Brother Jamieson has a message for us which will prove to be of deep interest. You know how we have maintained an unbroken custom of exchanging fraternal delegates between the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor for, lo, these many years.

I am happy to announce that the President of the Seattle Central Trades and Labor Council represented the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress convention which was held in Vancouver, British Columbia, a few months ago. His report will be submitted to this convention and included in the proceedings of the convention.

And now Brother Jamieson comes to us. Brother Jamieson is a member of Local 145, American Federation of Musicians, that splendid organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We are proud of the American Federation of Musicians and we are proud that we have a member of that organization from Canada as a fraternal delegate. He is also the President of the Vancouver and New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council.

I present Fraternal Delegate Brother Jamieson to you for his address this afternoon.

MR. EDWARD A. JAMIESON

(Fraternal Delegate, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada)

President Green, members of the Executive Council and delegates to the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—Before proceeding with the written word Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity of thanking you and the delegates most sincerely for the badge with which you presented me yesterday. I shall cherish it, as your President said, as similar badges have always been cherished by those who received them. My great anxiety, however, is that I have a little boy eight years old and I think my difficulty is going to be in keeping the badge out of his hands. I wish to preserve it for all time and hand it to him when I pass on, so that perhaps he may carry out the work I have endeavored to do along with the rest of you.

One other observation I would like to make: In looking over the records of the American Federation of Labor, in the exchange of fraternal delegates I find that the first fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was the late David A. Carey, who was the fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor in 1895, 1899 and 1900. I am

happy to say that he also was a member of that great organization, the American Federation of Musicians. I am glad 42 years later to succeed him in that capacity.

At the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held recently in the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, where the American Federation of Labor held its Convention in 1931, I had the honor to be elected fraternal delegate to your great organization to bring to you, Mr. President, and delegates the fraternal greetings of delegates to the Congress and the whole of our affiliated membership, in Canada. As the date of your Convention drew nearer and nearer, I came to realize more and more the great responsibility which was placed on my shoulders, particularly, at this time when, as you are well aware, Canada along with the rest of the British Empire is in the midst of a terrible war fighting for their very existence. The redeeming feature of my assignment, however, is that I know I come to meet friends not only of the working people of Canada, but of all of the people of the world who cherish liberty in all of its ramifications.

Last year, when your Convention met in Cincinnati the war in Europe was hardly a month old. Since that time Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France have all been relentlessly bombed and subjected to the ruthless will of the German Dictator. Rumania has also come under its heel. Russia, too, has had her share of the spoils inasmuch as she has taken over completely Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and part of Rumania, and she has also subjected Finland to her dictates. All of these countries were recognized as having enjoyed democratic forms of government, and the workers maintained free trade unions without molestation.

It seems a pity that governments of various nations during the last two, and particularly the last decade, would not listen to the warnings from the voice of labor as exemplified in your great organization, the British Trade Union Congress, the organization that I have the honor to represent and others. For how many years have we "yelled into the wilderness" so to speak, telling our legislators of the catastrophe that was imminent if certain policies were not adopted and followed? We spoke our voice on the occasion of the Japanese invasion of Manchukuo. We spoke again when Italy over-rode Ethiopia; and did we not speak on the occasion of the Spanish Civil War? Of course, we did . . . but the powers that were would not listen to us. If they had, the probability is the world would not be in the chaotic state in which it now finds itself.

Last June, Italy joined Germany in the hope that the fall of France would see the termination of the war, and she would, therefore, just be in time to join in the spoils. Well, according to the people of my country, Mussolini "bet on the wrong horse," because the termination of the war

with victory to the aggressors was not to be as easy or possible as Signor Mussolini apparently anticipated. As a matter of fact, when we consider that a small country like Greece with their limited army can hold the Italians such as they are doing at the present time, we feel that we have nothing serious to fear from that source.

At the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, by far the most important matters under consideration were with respect to Canada's war effort and the worker's relation thereto. At the convention of the Congress held at London, Ontario, in 1939, less than one month after war was declared by the British and French people against Germany, the convention adopted a resolution "pledging unwavering support of its membership to the Canadian and British Governments to the end that the threat of aggression may be removed for all time, and that democratic privileges, institutions and rights may be restored to the people now suffering under the heel of dictatorship."

Following representations made to the government by the Executive Council of the Congress, with a view to giving effect to the decision of the convention, the government agreed to, and did, by order in Council declare a number of principles for the avoidance of unrest in industry during the war, and to show to what extent our government has gone to meet the wishes of Canadian labor in its desire to cooperate during this critical period in our history, I wish to quote in part from the said declaration of principles:

"The development of Canada's war effort has not been hampered to date by the occurrence of any serious labor troubles, and means have happily been found, through negotiation, conciliation and inquiry, of dealing effectively with any dispute as to wage rates, and working hours which have arisen. Provisions have been made since the outbreak of hostilities to obviate the making of undue profit on war work and the operation of the war time prices and trade board is designed to safeguard the interest of the consuming public against undue enhancement of the prices of the necessities of life. The policy is reaffirmed, which was previously announced by the Prime Minister of Canada, The Rt. Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, that the full weight of the government's power will be exerted to prevent the exploitation of war time needs by any form of profiteering."

The declaration states further, "That fair and reasonable standards of wages and working conditions should be recognized; that hours of work should not be unduly extended, but that where increased output is desired it should be secured as far as practicable by the adoption of additional shifts throughout the week; experience during the last war

having shown that an undue lengthening of working hours results in excessive fatigue and in a diminution of output; that established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of the workers should not be relaxed, but that every precaution should be taken to ensure safe and healthful conditions of work; that there should be no interruption in productive or distributive operations on account of strikes or lockouts. Where any differences arise which cannot be settled by negotiation between parties, assistance in effecting a settlement should be sought from the Government conciliation services, and failing settlement of the differences in this manner, it should be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which has been extended under the War Measures Act to apply specifically to all war work; that employees should be free to organize in trade unions, free from any control by employers or their agents. The Criminal Code provides that it shall be an offense, subject to prescribed penalties, for any employer or his agent wrongfully and without lawful authority to refuse to employ, or to dismiss from employment, any person because of his membership in a lawful trade union, or to use intimidation to prevent a workman from belonging to a trade union, or to conspire with other employers to do either of such acts; that employees, through the officers of their trade union or through other representatives chosen by them, should be free to negotiate with employers or the representatives of employers' associations concerning rates of pay, hours of labor and other working conditions, with a view to the conclusion of a collective agreement; that every collective agreement should provide machinery for the settlement of disputes arising out of the agreement, and for its renewal or revision, and that both parties should scrupulously observe the terms and conditions of any agreement into which they have entered; that any suspension which may be made of labor conditions established by law, agreement or usage, requisite to the speeding of wartime production, should be brought about by mutual agreement and should be understood as applying only for the period of emergency."

With a view to seeing to it that this declaration of principles shall be carried out, the Government set up a National Labor Supply Council on which workers and employers have equal representations of five each, of which Council three of the workers' representatives are from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

As your great Convention already knows, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has for many years endeavored to persuade the various Governments of Canada to enact an Unemployment Insurance Bill. In 1935 such an Act was made law but was subsequently contested in the Courts

and was declared ultra vires the British North America Act by the Privy Council in London. It is the British North America Act which gives the Dominion of Canada its Constitution. This Act was amended during the last session of the British Parliament on the joint petition of both the house of Commons and the Senate of Canada with the consent of the various Provincial Legislatures, and another unemployment Insurance Act was made law last spring and the Commission of three which will operate the said Act has already been set up. The Commission is composed of a representative of the employers and a representative of the workers with a neutral chairman. The Trades and Labor Congress has been honored by the appointment of its Secretary-Treasurer, R. J. Tallon, as the Commissioner to represent the workers. Whilst we are delighted to learn of the appointment of Brother Tallon, I am sure his many friends in your convention will also be pleased, we nevertheless regret the loss to us of a true and faithful servant. Brother Tallon has for the past twenty years or so, been President of Division 4 of the Railway Trades with headquarters in Montreal, as well as being an officer of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada for many years. It is one of the penalties that labor is called upon to pay when they ask for labor representation on Government Boards or Commissions, because invariably the one chosen is usually the one whom we can least spare. However, we in Canada are sure that the best man has been chosen under the circumstances and our consolation shall be that we are well and truly represented in the person of Brother Tallon. This Act is the culmination of the efforts of our Congress over a great many years. It is only right to say, however, that the Act does not meet with our entire wishes in legislation of this kind, but it is now on the statute books and it provides a solid foundation on which to build. It will be our job to recommend amendments from time to time, as we see their needs, after the Act is in operation.

Last year the Congress, in agreement with the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, removed from membership in our organization in Canada, all of those labor unions which owed allegiance to the Congress of Industrial Organization. The result of this action has been a slight decrease in our membership but on the credit side I think the Congress, the Trades and Labor Council, the Provincial Federations of Labor, and affiliated Unions, have gained a great deal in that their present membership feels a better sense of security, because the C. I. O. element along with others, who were not exactly friendly to our A. F. of L. affiliations, are now definitely segregated where they can do us the least harm. While they were in our respective organizations there was always the fear that they might get control of our movement in Canada

which would have been a catastrophe. Now we know who our adversaries are and where they are.

Canada has had for many years a division in its labor movement. Your Federation knows very well of our so called All-Canadian Congress of Labor, also The Canadian Federation of Labor and the Catholic Syndicate in the Province of Quebec. This division, along with the C. I. O. element, has been to some extent consolidated. By far the largest and most embarrassing opposition that the Congress has had to deal with was the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, which organization had for its chief reason for existence the fact that it claimed to be All-Canadian without any so called outside interference and its greatest sales talk to the Canadian employer was the Canadian flag. Since this Organization has now opened its arms and taken in the C. I. O. Unions which were expelled by our Congress, they can no longer claim that they are "master of their own house" but must submit to dictates from their new child. As a matter of fact we foresee that when their next Convention comes along, the C. I. O. will take charge completely, if in the meantime the C. I. O. has not already been relegated to oblivion. At any rate, they can no longer refer to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as being dominated by foreign influence and claim that they themselves are strictly an all-Canadian labor organization in the sense that they have heretofore used the term. We are very nappy to relate that even at the present time the employers in Canada are taking notice of this change of face on the part of our adversaries, which fact will undoubtedly redound to the advantage of our Trades and Labor Congress and its A. F. of L. organizations in my country.

There was one particularly sad note in connection with our recent Convention in Vancouver. We, like yourselves, always look forward to hearing from the Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, but this year we were deprived of that privilege. Brother William Golightly of the Northumberland Miners' Organization, who was to be the Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain was drowned along with many British women and children when the liner, The City of Benares, was ruthlessly and willfully torpedoed by a German submarine shortly after it had left a British port on its way to Canada. Needless to say we in the Convention City of Vancouver were all grief stricken and our sympathies have gone out to the workers of the British Isles and to Brother Golightly's family for their great loss.

I would like to interject here, Mr. President, with your permission, and say now delighted I was yesterday when I heard you announce that Sir Walter Citrine had arrived safely on this continent and did not suffer the same fate as the man who

was coming over to visit us. We are really and truly happy about that situation.

We listened with great interest to the message of your Fraternal Delegate, Brother Claude O'Reilly, who gave us a splendid address, paying great tribute to the workers of Great Britain in their fight to prevent the expansion of the Nazi and Fascist movements, and assured us of the friendliness and good will of your organization towards its brother workers in Canada.

Because the operations of the International Labor Organization at Geneva have been increasingly difficult since the outbreak of war, it has been found necessary to secure another country from which to carry on its work, and I am therefore pleased to inform this Convention that the Government of Canada invited the I. L. O. to come to our country and offices are now maintained at McGill University in the City of Montreal, and the Canadian Government is doing everything possible and lending all assistance to expedite the work of that great Organization. At the Congress Convention we were privileged to have with us Brother Staal who is in charge of the I. L. O. when he honored us with an inspiring address which outlined the terrible struggle taking place in Europe, with the murder, destruction and pillage of the trades union movement. He urged us to unite in our efforts to carry on the work which the trade unions of Europe are unable to do at the present time, so that victory would come for the cause for which we of the British Empire are fighting.

Now, Mr. President and Delegates, while I have only touched on a few of the highlights of our Congress Convention, I feel that I have taken up more of the valuable time of your convention than I properly should, and yet there are so many other important matters that I could refer to with respect to the workers of Canada and their efforts and desire to be of greatest assistance possible in bringing about a successful prosecution of this war and hasten the day when the people of the world can enjoy a lasting peace. Canada at the conclusion of the last Great War had in all military and naval forces, approximately 500,000 men enlisted, and yet in only a few months from now the authorities expect to exceed that number. We are busy making munitions of war, building ships and planes, training soldiers, sailors and air men, all of these in addition to guarding our thousands of miles of coast line on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and we are grateful indeed to our friends in the United States for the splendid work they are doing to assist us and those staunch peoples who are putting up such a gallant fight in the British Isles. There is not the least doubt in our minds about the final outcome of this combat. The English-speaking people of the world will not be defeated, their cause is right and they must succeed. We in the labor movement know only too well what would

happen to us if the totalitarian countries were to prevail. We have seen what they have already done to the trade unions in their own countries and what they are doing in the countries that they have temporarily conquered. We, in Canada know all of these things, and while we may have to give up some of our traditional rights and liberties during the process of our war effort, we do it gladly and cheerfully, knowing it is better that the full effort of the nation be mobilized with a view to ultimate victory, than to quibble about the loss of a few liberties because if the dictators win then we lose all.

Mr. President, I have enjoyed my stay with you during the past few days and I am looking forward to further pleasant experiences during the balance of this convention. It has been a great honor and privilege for me to come here and convey the fraternal greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and I trust that I have not failed to do my duty in this respect. You may rest assured that when I return to my home in Vancouver I shall do so with pleasant memories of a great experience. I trust that your deliberations will prove beneficial to the workers of the United States and Canada, such as they have always proven beneficial in the past, and with God's help, I am sure we will see the day when the working people of all countries of the world will experience the complete and decisive defeat of the brutal and ruthless act of aggression that has been imposed upon the universe by opportunists of the most violent type.

Thank you.

Vice-President William D. Mahon presided during a portion of the time while Fraternal Delegate Jamieson was delivering his address.

President Green: I express to Fraternal Delegate Jamieson our deep appreciation of the message of greeting and goodwill which he brought from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to this historic convention. We extend to him a most cordial and hearty welcome in his official capacity. We ask him to feel personally that he is among real, devoted friends. I repeat again that we earnestly wish and hope that his stay with us will be pleasant, delightful and profitable.

It seems quite appropriate for me, in making just a brief reply to the address of the fraternal delegate, to refer to this fact, that the membership in Canada, which Brother Jamieson represents, are identified with organizations represented in this convention. The jurisdiction of the International Union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, covers Canadian workers who are employed in fields over which our International Unions exercise jurisdiction, so that those men and women of Canada of whom Brother Jamieson speaks are linked closely together with us by a common bond of fraternity.

They are members of our International Unions entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges of members of American Federation of Labor International Unions. We are under obligation to them. We owe them the same consideration we owe American workers who reside in the United States.

Do you recall, do you understand then, that there is a large portion of our membership who reside in the Dominion of Canada who are directly affected by the terrible war that rages in Europe?

We express our happiness and our appreciation because we in the United States are not involved in the European conflict. Members of our Unions residing in Canada are. Some of our members have gone to war. Canada, as you know, is a part of the British Empire, and there is no part of that great commonwealth of nations that is more devoted to the British Empire than is the Dominion of Canada. Thousands of residents of Canada have volunteered to serve with the Canadian troops and have gone overseas and are engaged in war. They are members of our Unions. Does that mean that we have a peculiar interest in their welfare? It certainly does, and I ask Brother Jamieson to carry back to those he represents in Canada and to the families of our fellow workers and fellow trade unionists who have offered their lives in defense of democracy the assurance of the support and assistance and help of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Extend to them our sympathy and an expression of our deep concern over the future so far as it affects them.

Another thought, and that is this, that the line of territorial division between the United States and Canada is scarcely discernible. It would be very difficult for any one of us to establish a line that divides the Dominion of Canada from the United States of America. Unlike the countries in Europe, there are no fortifications there, there are no guns that challenge the visitor from the United States to Canada or the visitor from Canada to the United States. We are assured of peace because we are a people who think alike, who talk alike, who speak alike and who are determined that peace shall prevail upon the American continent.

At this hour, we, like Canada, are engaged in the development, the application and the execution of an extensive defense program. It is a matter of defense, a matter of precaution, for we are determined that no foreign foe shall set his foot upon American soil. And that means America—not only the United States, but the continent of America in its broadest and most comprehensive sense. We are determined that no foreign foe shall invade our homeland, the United States, and we are equally determined that no foreign foe shall invade the Dominion of Canada. For we know that as a matter of protection it becomes our bounden duty, our solemn obligation to

protect America in the fullest sense of the word.

I now declare that I know it is our purpose that if, for any unforeseen reason or in any unforeseen development the dictator, the autocrat, the despot, the savage shall attempt to set his foot on Canadian soil, the United States will respond and will join with Canada in resisting any attempt to invade this continent.

I feel very deeply upon this, and it occurred to me that it was quite proper and appropriate for me, as your spokesman, to give expression to these sentiments this afternoon. We have a passion for peace. We are moved by the deepest instincts for peace, by the deepest emotions in defense, in behalf of peace. We want to live our lives in peace. We shall endeavor to do so, but as peace-loving people devoted to the principles of peace and the protection of those principles, we declare that we will defend with our lives America, America's institutions, the democracy in America, our freedom, our liberty and our homeland, both here in the United States and in Canada as well.

Carry back to your membership that we are linked together by the common ties of brotherhood, and that those ties are deep seated and deep rooted in our lives. We stand with you and by you and all around about you. Our relationship in our unions means more than a mere fraternal relationship. It is a devotion of men and women to a great cause.

I thank you, Brother Jamieson, for your visit and for your splendid address.

By the way, I will read this telegram that has just come. We can participate in Thanksgiving tomorrow, we can give thanks to Almighty God because the representative of the British Trades Union Congress sailed the seas and escaped the fate of the fraternal delegate who embarked on a voyage to Canada a short time ago. He is in the United States, safe and sound. I have just received this telegram:

"Brother Walter Citrine arrived. Will leave Washington tonight. Will arrive in New Orleans Thursday at 9:30 p. m."

He is on the way, he will be with us tomorrow night, Thanksgiving Day.

Our good friend, Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, is here with us on the platform. You will recall I reported to you this morning that he would deliver his annual address this afternoon. Most of you know the splendid work which Spencer Miller performs each year between conventions. He is Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, a department supported by the American Federation of Labor. We know, as never before, that an educated worker is a thrice armed worker. We know it is not a matter of physical strength or prowess, but rather strength of mind, the strength that grows with the mastery of

social and economic problems that is important. So we have been pushing forward the work of the Education Bureau. Spencer Miller comes to us each year and presents to us a report, shall I term it, of that arm of the American Federation of Labor.

We appreciate deeply the splendid work Secretary Miller has performed. His heart and soul are in his work. It is a sort of religion with him, as he goes from place to place educating the workers. We are grateful for his presence here and for the great work he is doing. I take pleasure in presenting to you Secretary Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers' Education Bureau.

THE STRATEGY FOR AMERICAN LABOR AND EDUCATION IN THE WORLD CRISIS

By SPENCER MILLER, Jr.

(Director Workers Education
Bureau of America)

On September 3rd, 1940, the President of the United States, announced the conclusion of an agreement between Great Britain and the United States for the leasing to this Country of naval bases from the Coast of Newfoundland to the Islands in the Caribbean Sea, for a period of 99 years in return for our exchange of 60 overaged destroyers to the British Navy. In his public announcement, President Roosevelt described the agreement as:

"An epochal and far reaching act of preparation for Continental defense in the face of grave danger.

This is the most important action in the reinforcement of our National defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase."

Students of American History have been prompt to recognize the historic significance of this action in a world where vast changes are being made at an accelerated pace and foreign policy is being reshaped to meet new crises.

Meeting as we are, upon the soil of Louisiana, it may not be inappropriate to consider for a moment that other venture in American foreign policy more than a hundred years ago to which this recent exchange with Great Britain has been likened. The facts of the Louisiana Purchase can be briefly recited. When Napoleon following his conquest upon the Continent of Europe turned his eyes to the New World, he determined to regain for France the territory of Louisiana which had once been claimed by France. Accordingly he compelled Spain to return to France by secret

treaty, in 1800 the Territory of Louisiana which had fallen to the Spanish King at the close of the Seven Years' War. When news of this action became known, there was great excitement in the newly settled frontier of the Kentucky territory, which reached to the Mississippi Valley. Expeditions were organized to prevent possible French landings, and petitions were sent to President Jefferson in protest. Jefferson, himself, considered this action by France in placing herself at one of the gateways of the United States as an attitude of defiance. In writing to Ambassador Livingston in Paris the President said: "Such a procedure would compel the United States to marry ourselves to the British Fleet and Nation . . . This is not a state of things we seek or desire." Jefferson at once dispatched James Monroe to Paris to join with Ambassador Livingston in an effort to buy the lands of West Florida and New Orleans as an outlet for the Mississippi River. Napoleon, in the meantime, who had become somewhat apprehensive about his ability to hold this territory, offered to sell the whole Louisiana territory for \$11,250,000 in 6% bonds plus the discharge of certain claims against France by American citizens, which together totaled approximately \$15,000,000. The treaty of cession was signed in spite of Spanish protests, by the representatives of both France and the United States. For awhile Jefferson hesitated to submit the treaty to the Senate for ratification because of his grave doubt about the Constitutional warrant for the purchase. When it was rumored, however, that Napoleon might withdraw from the treaty, he finally submitted it to the Senate, committing the whole transaction as he said "to the good sense of the people." The treaty was ratified in 1803, in spite of the protest of the Federalists of that day.

By a single stroke, therefore, the original territory of the United States was doubled. From this vast wilderness, no less than 13 states were subsequently formed, whose worth today has been estimated to be not less than 500 times the original purchase price. But, what is of especial significance to us is that 137 years later America by executive action completes an agreement with Great Britain, the implications of which Jefferson feared in his day. We are now more closely linked as a nation to the British nation by this latest agreement than ever before. We have come moreover to recognize the British Fleet as the unquestioned defender of our security and as the first line of defense of the Western Hemisphere. And what is more, this action of the President was taken with virtually the unanimous approval of the people of the United States.

Today you are met in convention at one of the great crises in the history of civilization. With war on three Continents and a Totalitarian World Revolution raging throughout the world, America stands as the one great Constitutional Democracy in the world that is not immediately involved

in armed conflict. Our position as a great power that is not thus involved, places a heavy burden of moral responsibility on all the citizens and groups in this country as well as those charged with the problems of the Administration of Government, to explore ways in which they and the organizations within our land can render the greatest measure of service to a war-stricken world.

Certainly, two things are abundantly clear. The first is that the overwhelming sentiment in this country is wholeheartedly in support of standing shoulder to shoulder with the British people in their gallant struggle for the preservation of rights of free men and civilized intercourse between free nations. But, there is another conclusion that has made itself felt upon our citizens. It is that we are face to face with the inescapable responsibility of considering how in the post-war world we can lay the foundations of a new social order which is more just and more in accordance with those ideals of the democratic faith to which we are committed. As one great metropolitan paper recently stated, "The great issue is not whether the world is to be reorganized—that is now beyond hope or question—it is the issue of what kind of minds, what kind of social philosophy, what ideals and pure purposes are to rebuild the ruins of Western society." With even greater emphasis H. G. Wells has laid upon us in this crisis an imperious demand for common action in behalf of a common goal. "It is now urgent to replace not only our national sovereign states but also our competitive and wasteful and economic exploitations by a more highly organized method. To achieve a progressive world organization as speedily as possible, before extinction overtakes us, is therefore, the primary problem. . . Everything rests on our ability to solve that. Unless we are clear about that, not merely world peace, but the survival of our species in its present form is just futile aspiration." Such an issue and such a demand cannot fail to challenge the social imagination of any responsible group of labor who share a long tradition of constructive service in the building of our American commonwealth. It is not too much to say that the hopes of free men as well as free labor everywhere are turning to New Orleans and this convention to see what is the sufficient answer of American labor to a world convulsed in revolution.

It is not my intention nor is it my responsibility to outline the basis of such a new progressive world organization; it is, however, our bounden duty as men charged with the responsibility for the education of labor in the American democracy, to ask ourselves the searching question: To what extent does the present plight of the world arise out of the inadequacies of our democratic education of the past, and in the second place, to what extent does the burden of responsibility rest upon the combined forces of labor and education to aid in the building of a new world order? Before

answering these larger questions I should like to present to the convention a report of our educational activities which we have carried on over the past 13 months. This report may itself suggest the basis of our reply to these two questions.

As I begin my review of our activities I cannot refrain from reminding you that this Sixtieth Convention has just welcomed back into the household of labor that progressive and powerful international union. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union which is one of the outstanding pioneers in field of workers' education. This organization has not only brought order and elevated standards in the women's clothing industry, but has given unmistakable evidence of its statesmanship in the field workers' education. As President Dubinsky reminded me this morning, this international is spending annually not less than \$200,000 on the education of its members through its educational department and its labor stages. The steadfastness of the membership and the statesmanlike policy of its leadership are the finest evidence of education applied to the policy and practice of a trade union.

When we met in Cincinnati a year ago the second World War had broken out. France and England were joined as allies in an effort to stand athwart the imperialist ambitions of the Nazis. It was impossible to predict in October of last year all of the drama that would be crowded into the intervening thirteen months. Now we can see clearly what then it was difficult for us to discern.

But what was evident a year ago was that our thinking with reference to matters of domestic concern would inevitably be caught up and influenced by what is happening in the international sphere. Our economy is in fact a seamless web, however we seek to classify certain phenomena. Our task then was to consider matters of domestic policy against the framework of the world crisis. To aid in this indispensable educational process a series of labor institutes were set up by the Bureau in close co-operation with universities in strategic centers throughout the country. Thus the times gave us the theme; the institutes gave us the technique. One of the manifest purposes of our institute was to try to make clear to labor the nature of the crisis in the world and the burdens it placed upon labor. It was an educational task of the greatest importance. It has become increasingly evident that times call for a tougher mindedness and more critical judgments than ever before. We had also come to a realization that while it would be hard for America to prepare her armed forces to face the contingencies of war, it would be even harder for us as a people to reshape our thinking adequately to this task.

The purpose of these labor institutes was devised to help labor rethink its policies and procedures.

One of the significant discoveries of the year's activities was that in some of the places in which these institutes were held, places which were formerly described as centers of isolation in this country that a sea change had taken place. The ruthless invasion of Norway and the Low Countries by the Nazi completely altered the point of view of millions of Americans. Overnight they came to realize that isolationism was no longer a tenable policy for the United States. Face to face with a totalitarian World Revolution it was no longer possible for free men to remain neutral. These labor institutes then as they were set up and run with the cooperation of universities not only revealed the change in the thinking of labor in different parts of the country, but afforded a unique opportunity for the consideration of many of those domestic policies which have come to occupy such an important place in the internal structure of this country.

In June of this year the Bureau in cooperation with the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and Rutgers University held the tenth annual labor institute on the campus of that university. In this the largest and most representative labor institute held any place in the country, a wide variety of topics were brought under review with the result that labor came to appreciate perhaps as never before not only the inner significance of the world crisis, but what changes a defense economy would make upon labor standards and policies.

These institutes, then, which have been set up with the joint collaboration of State Federation of Labor or Central Labor bodies and state universities and the Workers Education Bureau, have not only established the deep and abiding interest on the part of labor in understanding something of the nature of the present crisis but they have also afforded an opportunity for labor to plan jointly in cooperation with responsible scholars a course of action which is at once consistent with labor philosophy and directed to the larger international problem. It should be manifest again on this point that these institutes, wherever they have been held under the auspices of the Bureau, have been scrupulously careful to avoid even the appearance of attempting to mold labor policy. That is, as I have repeatedly said, the final function of the trade union itself. What these institutes have attempted to do and have done with a real measure of success is to throw light on the problems with which labor is confronted and suggest various ways in which experience both present and past suggests sound solutions.

In the second place the Bureau has during these past thirteen months assumed a responsibility in connection with the preparation of literature of one kind or another to aid labor in understanding the present crisis. Two of the pamphlets issued serve admirably

to illustrate the kind of educational material that can be made available through the facilities of the Bureau to the membership of labor. One is the pamphlet entitled "Labor and the World Crisis" containing an appeal by Ernest Bevin, British Minister of Labor and National Service, to the trade unionists of the British Commonwealth and the United States; an appeal by Leon Jouhaux, veteran secretary of the now-dissolved General Confederation of Labor in France, and reply by Matthew Woll. The second is a pamphlet on "Why the British People Fight" by Professor R. H. Tawney of the University of London and President of the Workers' Education Association of Great Britain, which is a singularly understanding interpretation of the place which labor in Great Britain has taken in fashioning the instruments of defense and building a finer social democracy. It is inevitable that if the conflict continues this service of the Bureau in providing pamphlet material interpretative of the aims and general problems arising out of the present war will become an important educational service for this agency.

In the third place, the Bureau has during the past thirteen months embarked upon another service which has grown out of a manifest need of local labor organization. In different parts of the country labor groups have sought to present the story of labor to their local communities over local radio stations but they lacked the necessary information about different labor organizations. The Bureau consequently inaugurated during the year the so-called Laymen's Labor Library, which attempts in the brief compass of three to four thousand words to give a kind of thumb-nail sketch of the various national and international unions that make up the Federation. Long histories of some organizations have been written, but such histories are for students or officials of the organization. For the lay audience—the people who are outside of the ranks of labor—there has existed no simple, brief histories of these organizations. We have at last succeeded in launching such an undertaking and have already published six of these brief histories and are negotiating for the publication of some twenty others. It is our hope that within another year we shall have succeeded in preparing and publishing a substantial majority of the histories of all the unions affiliated with the Federation.

In the fourth place we completed in May of this year our two-year program on the air entitled "Americans at Work". It was a rather unique experience covering the presentation of a series of 104 weekly programs and 104 different trades or occupations. The response to this radio educational service was most heartening. As I pointed out in my address last year to the convention, the program received honorable mention as one of the best two educational radio programs in the country. Moreover, one of the best tributes to its inherent educational value was the fact that it has now been taken over by the American School of the Air and is being presented weekly to the school children of America. This program, then, which owes its inception to the original proposals and

joint planning of the Bureau is now being presented through the American School of the Air to many millions of the children of the nation.

During the year, also, the Bureau has issued two different series of six articles each which have been distributed monthly to its affiliated members, one entitled "Short Stories on Economics" and the other "The Pros and Cons of Consumer Credit." In addition to these specific services which have been carried on for the education of the labor movement in general, the Bureau has been privileged to serve a number of organizations in connection with their educational programs in the development of special material on the history of labor.

There is still another aspect of the Bureau's work which has become one of growing importance in the field of public relations through conferences and address the Bureau has sought to interpret labor to educational, religious, civic and professional groups in the community. The increasing demand for this service is the best indication of its effectiveness.

Without attempting to support these statements with statistical data, I think you will appreciate something of the value of the services which have been performed by this agency to which you contribute your support regularly and to which there has come an increasing measure of interest from the affiliated national and international unions. The extent of its service in the future will depend on its support from all the labor organizations that make up the Federation of Labor.

But as we look out on the days ahead it is clear that the Bureau will be called upon to play a part in the education of labor concerning the defense program which should be commensurate with the size and seriousness of the task. It has been recently asserted, for example, that one of the most important and pressing obligations which rests upon this nation is in the provision of a very large number of workers to man the defense industries. One estimate places the needs of skilled men at one million additional to our present employed population. As between the defense and the non-defense industries there is going on unfortunately at the present time a certain amount of raiding. Skilled workers are being pulled out of non-defense industries where they have an expectation of long-time employment and good wages, to defense industries with uncertain employment but very high premium wages. The alternative to such a plan of raiding is obviously a program of training. Here is a point at which the Bureau can be of real assistance and can serve to guide the movement in a consultative capacity. Already the Bureau has been invited with some 53 other national educational organizations, to form the National Council on Defense and Education. A responsible committee has been set up upon which a member of the Advisory Committee of the Bureau is a member.

It is clear that we shall have to see important and far-reaching changes made in the whole training program in order to in-

sure that there be no stoppage of work because of the shortage of skilled men. Indeed, it is probably true to say that both in the area of the defense and the non-defense industries a program of training will have to be carried on and intensified if we are to step up our production sufficiently to meet the ever increasing needs of an economy which is moving rapidly from a peacetime to a war-time production.

Already the Federal government through its Vocational Board has made provision for defense training. But as it has been pointed out again and again in the past, the adequacy of any program of vocational education or training depends upon an adequate representation of labor upon both the national and local advisory committees. Here is a place where our educational bureau can through its service aid labor in understanding the broader implications of the defense program as well as aid in setting standards for the performance of such labor representatives on advisory boards.

In the second place, there is that broader question which inevitably must engage the attention of all men of good-will, namely, what kind of world is it going to be possible to reconstruct on the ruins and the shambles of certain parts of the Old World? America obviously cannot possibly presume to have all the requisite wisdom for rebuilding the educational system of Europe. It can and does have a mighty burden of responsibility for the kind of creative thinking which must undergird any scheme for a reconstructed world. For certainly, the present crisis has revealed in retrospect that it is impossible to build the foundations of a truly world order merely by the creation of the machinery of international co-operation. While many of us may express profound regret at the failure of our own country to have a responsible part in international co-operation through such an agency as the League of Nations, it is clear now if it was not earlier, that unless we address ourselves to the basic problems of the reconstruction of belief in those standards and values of the Great Society, we cannot hope to build it merely by political arrangements alone. The most durable things in life are ideas—ideas which are projected when men and women are responsive to them. America must play its part in the building up of new ideas—systems after the collapse of Hitler. It must join in the task of educational reconstruction on a scale never before envisioned. And American labor, which helped to lay the foundations of our great system of free public education, when America was the New World must help in the building through education, the foundation of the New World order. Here is a task which should challenge all of us—a task which I may add will call for the highest order of statesmanship and the deepest insights into human needs.

And then, finally, there is duty to which we all are summoned, as citizens—the defense of democracy. The Bureau can and indeed must provide a measure of guid-

ance for labor as it attempts to think through the proper way in which to quicken in our people a sense of the living faith and religious foundations of our democracy. It has been said with great emphasis and with increasing conviction that the primary need of our democracy is belief and discipline. How can we renew in men everywhere a belief in dynamic democracy as a way of life? It is only by insisting on the spiritual nature of man as the foundation stone of our whole democratic concept. That is, I submit, the true foundation of the labor movement. This basic belief in God and in man as a child of God is a vital part of the perpetuation of the democratic way of life. What is it that has given heart and courage to the brave people of Great Britain in this hour of their grave national crisis? They are outnumbered by enemy planes and by the armed forces which oppose them, but they fight on with an unconquerable spirit because they know the God whom they serve and believe in the triumph of the human spirit over oppression.

To this surpassing need for belief in God and in man as a creation of Spirit is the unquestioned necessity for the development of a deeper sense of discipline of the citizenship to the general welfare. Already 17 million of our young men between the ages of 21 and 35 have accepted their responsibility for national service under the Universal Selective Service Act. The enactment of this law is at once an important change in our national policy and provides, a unique device of disciplining our youth in the democratic faith. But the task so far as labor is concerned does not end with wishing these youth well as they enter selective service. It would be shortsighted for labor to ignore the fact that in this very disciplinary process our youth will be taught anew about the nation which they are called upon to defend with their lives. And in that instruction about our American Republic it is important that they should come to a better understanding of the part which labor has played in the building of the Republic. For it is very obvious that those who have had a year's training under a Public Authority will return to civil life with a new sense of the rights and responsibilities as citizens in our nation. If then, in the process of their year's training, these youth get a new perspective on American life and on those institutions which have played a part in its up-building, they will help to leaven the opinion of the entire nation. The task of labor, therefore, is not to shun this opportunity or to ignore these youth that are thus brought under the discipline of selective service rather it should recognize the broad social significance of such service as an important method for training our citizens in the understanding of their duties as well as their privileges in our democracy.

Let me conclude then with these words. No one today can prophesy what lies ahead of us or our western civilization in the years which lie ahead. We, who are committed to the democratic faith, who believe in the principles of government by consent rather than government by compulsion, must be prepared to test our faith by our actions.

We must go forward not with a sense of despair but with hope, and with the certainty that the human spirit will, in the end, triumph over the powers of evil and oppression. The tyrants of history have their day but in the end truth and righteousness prevail. In that faith, we must go forward.

We might with great appropriateness remind ourselves of the words of the immortal Lincoln, as he stood upon the battlefield of Gettysburg, "it is for us the living to here dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task before us". So today, we might assert that it is for us the living to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task before us—A task of making straight a highway in the world where justice, liberty, democracy and brotherhood shall again prevail.

President Green: Secretary Miller has lived up to the very high standard that we set for him, or that he set for himself. His address this afternoon compares with other addresses he has made, in this respect: he has added to it a wealth of information and advice and encouraging reports that will help us all to understand more fully the importance and the worth of the work in which he is engaged. I want to thank him in your name for his visit to our convention and for the address which he has delivered.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of telegrams and messages that have reached us.

COMMUNICATION

Secretary Meany read the following telegrams and a radiogram:

New Orleans, La., Nov. 19, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
60th Convention, Roosevelt Hotel.

Heartiest congratulations to the 60th American Federation of Labor Convention. I take great pleasure in hailing this splendid and dignified assemblage in the name of the fine achievements of the American Federation of Labor during the past year, and in fact during its entire history. The history of the American Federation of Labor is not only the history of a powerful labor movement, in a sense it is the history of the growth of liberal thought and progressive civic institutions in the United States. For years you have labored to establish new and more humane standards of living, you have increased the prestige of the workers by pooling their resources into the most remarkable organization of labor known to modern times. You have stood for the most constructive policies and become the center of a great liberal tradition. From its inception under President Gompers and in recent years through your embattled president, William Green, the American Federation of Labor has crusaded vigorously against every form of oppression in the organized labor movement and outside of it. The voice of President Green has been heard constantly in all quar-

ters denouncing the unprincipled wickedness of such movements as the Nazi, the Communist, the Fascist. He has gone on record as a defender of the oppressed minorities; as a champion of freedom in all forms. I am sure that I voice the thought of all enlightened opinion when I say that the American Federation of Labor is one of the chief pillars of justice, freedom, and balance in this country. Through the wonderful support given to President Roosevelt by such a vast number of American Federation of Labor Unions, you supported the great edifice of justice in the United States. Great credit is due to the American Federation of Labor for its unceasing and vigilant promotion of progressive labor legislation, its voluntary and intelligent cooperation with various groups for the general good of the country, as well as organized labor. In labor's unqualified support of President Roosevelt it helped to insure these gains and to make them a secure and permanent part of our social scheme. In other words, whatever the American Federation of Labor does for organized labor is a great patriotic act, a contribution to the security and democratic liberty of the United States as a whole. Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your past performances, and my optimistic anticipation of all your future achievements. Best wishes for a successful deliberation.

MORRIS C. FEINSTONE,
Secretary, United Hebrew Trades.

Los Angeles, Calif.,
November 19, 1940.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
New Orleans, La.

At the Roosevelt Victory Banquet held by Los Angeles Garment Workers Union on November 15, a resolution was adopted that we congratulate the I. L. G. W. U. on rejoining the American Federation of Labor and that we express our hope that with John L. Lewis having lost the election, peace will be established in the labor movement. Wishing you success in your deliberations.

GEORGE WISHNAG,
International Representative,
International Ladies Garment
Workers' Union.

Kewanee, Illinois,
November 19, 1940.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium, New Orleans.

Cordial greetings and best wishes for the continued success of the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations be harmonious, and your convention a success.

THOMAS DURIAN, President.
ANTON WHITE, Secretary-Treasurer.
International Glove Workers Union
of America.

RADIOGRAM

London, England,
November 20, 1940.

William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
New Orleans, La.

Fraternal greetings to you and delegates.
Best wishes for successful deliberations.
SCHEVENELS, I. F. T. U.

President Green: May the Chair inquire if Brother Friedrich Stampfer, the representative of the German trade unions, is in the hall.

When Mr. Stampfer came to the platform, President Green said:

Mr. Stampfer will address the convention at a later day. We thought we would be favored with his address this afternoon, but we will enjoy listening to his address, perhaps Friday or Monday. I will then tell you who he is and something about him when I present him for an address.

The Chair now calls for announcements.

Announcements

Chairman Chapman, of the Committee on Industrial Relations announced a committee meeting in Room 200, the Auditorium.

Chairman Harrison: The Committee on Education will meet at the table in front of the hall immediately following adjournment, and all members are asked to attend.

Chairman Brown, of the Committee on Organization: The committee will meet at the table immediately in the rear of the mike. There were some absentees when the first meeting was held.

Delegate Maloney: Brother Rickert has requested me to announce that there will be a meeting of the Adjustment Committee at this table immediately after adjournment.

President Green: Before entertaining a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn, the Chair reminds you that there will be no session tomorrow. The Committee on Rules and Order of Business reported, as you will recall, that we will observe Thanksgiving Day in this city and there will be no sessions of the convention on that day. Please bear that in mind, so that when we adjourn this evening it will be until Friday morning.

Delegate Franklin, Roller Makers: I move that we suspend the rules and adjourn until Friday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, a. m., Friday, November 22, 1940.

Fourth Day — Friday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 22, 1940.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

President Green: We will have the invocation this morning by Rev. A. J. Scherer, Pastor of the Trinity Evangelical Church.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Earl; Costas, Crist, Di Guardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gallagher, Gooch, Gresty, Hall, Higgins, Holcott, Hood, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Moore, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Nicholson, Powers, Joseph; Roark, Ruddick, Reid, Saltman, Sutherland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Yonker.

INVOCATION

(Rev. A. J. Scherer, Pastor, Trinity Evangelical Church)

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou who art the author and the perfecter of our faith, we are gathered before Thee to affirm anew our faith and devotion to liberty. We are grateful to Thee for the sacred heritage, for the contributions of the past, and we are also grateful to Thee for the responsibilities of our day and of our generation. We therefore ask Thee to guide us, to sanctify us in our holy tasks, and especially do we pray Thee to attend this convention with Thy wisdom, Thy guidance, and Thy blessing. Help us to construct life, and especially do we ask Thy blessing upon the workers of our nation and upon this great federation of workers, for they are engaged in that sacred and holy task of bringing security and liberty to life.

We therefore ask that Thou wouldst assist us, that we may employ the best materials, produce the finest workmanship, that man may truly be within our nation

Thy glorious likeness, the image of the eternal God, strong in faith and free. We ask it in His name. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Denver, Colo.,
Nov. 20, 1940.

American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

We address this communication to both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. assembled in respective conventions. The common, plain people of this nation represent the fabric of democracy. To protect the common people is to preserve democracy. Labor, both in factory and field, is done by the common people. The farmers union recognizes the comity of interest between organized labor and organized agriculture. We pledge our continuing support to organized labor in its effort to secure economic equality. We express deep appreciation for organized labor's support to agriculture in the Congress of the United States. All farmers should know that but for the faithful support of members of Congress from labor's districts the national farm programs would have broken down for lack of support in Congress. We will carry on the fight for the interests of the common people side by side with labor, and in this declared purpose we shall not falter.

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND
CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF
AMERICA.

Houston, Tex.,
Nov. 21, 1940.

Secretary, American Federation
of Labor Convention.

Oil Workers International Union District Council Number Four sends all good wishes for a convention that will establish unity in the labor movement, our greatest need in this great democratic country.

DISTRICT COUNCIL
NUMBER FOUR,
J. T. GOODWIN, Secretary.

Tacoma, Washington,
November 17, 1940.

William Green, President
A. F. of L.,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Green:

The Washington State Association of Letter Carriers an affiliation of the A. F. of L., extends greetings and good wishes to you and the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention that is meeting at New Orleans this week.

May others on the outside be enlightened by what you do and accomplish in the coming days, and may it be a leading light for them to come into the fold that has left no stone unturned in trying to do good for all of us in these great United States of America.

Again I say, may God bless you and the delegates, and guide you in your work. I am, as ever, Sincerely

LEONARD L. MARCOE,
Secretary, Washington State
Association N. A. L. C.
Tacoma, Washington.

New York, N. Y.,
Nov. 19, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Orleans, La.

In behalf of the Negro Labor Committee, I send you fraternal greetings and express sincere hopes for successful convention resulting in healing the existing breach in the ranks of the nation's toilers. At this crucial moment in world history when the principles of democracy and all that reflects the best interests of organized labor and orderly social progress are being challenged with a degree of determination and military power unequalled in the march of time, the negro workers of the nation join hands and hearts with their white brothers in the lofty determination to preserve the gains of the working class and thus insure a future for labor that will not be marred by considerations of race, creed or color, or by the power of the belief of totalitarian dictators from abroad or reaction from within.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Chairman Negro Labor Committee.

Committee Substitutions

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute the name of Delegate Harry J. Steeper, American Federation of Musicians, for that of A. Rex Riccardi, of the same organization. Delegate Riccardi had to leave the city.

I also wish to announce the substitution of the name of Brother Thomas R. Downy on the Committee on Local and

Federated Bodies, for the name of Robert E. Woodmansee, who was compelled to leave the city.

Announcements

President Green: I wish to refer the section of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "International Ladies Garment Workers", from the Committee on Executive Council's report to the Committee on Resolutions.

I also wish to announce the appointment of the annual Goodwill Committee. I appoint on that committee Brother Albert Adamski, and Frank Weikel. This Goodwill Committee will probably call upon you and I hope you will treat them generously and kindly.

Sir Walter Citrine arrived in the city last night and he will address the convention of the American Federation of Labor on Monday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

Following his address we will hear an address by Governor Winant, Director of the International Labor Organization.

Please keep these announcements in mind for Monday morning.

The Chair will call upon Delegate Wills for a report of the Press Committee.

Delegate Wills is the Chairman of a committee of three appointed at a meeting of the Labor Press groups who are attending this convention. Delegate Wills submits the report prepared by the committee, through the instructions of the labor editors who are here.

MR. CHARLES WILLS

Member of Committee of Labor Editors

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the convention: It has been our intention to have a prepared, written statement to make regarding the activities of the Labor Press and of what we thought about what the organizations represented here should have in the Labor Press. Unfortunately, the third member of our committee is not here to prepare the report. I am going to endeavor to express to you what was in the minds of this committee, its origin, and what part we take in the labor movement.

The Labor Press Association meets, as a number of you know, during the convention, to discuss matters pertaining to the Labor Press that promotes the interests of the American Federation of Labor. These editors from the various parts of the country meet and we discuss our problems. We take ourselves very seriously. We believe that we are doing a great service to the labor movement. We have reason for that belief, because in every city today and in every hamlet where your organizations get into difficulties we know that the Labor Press is the only source through which

you can get your matter properly presented to those who read the Labor Press. There is one unfortunate thing about the Labor Press and that is its limitations. It is because of those limitations and neglect of those in charge of the organizations—no, I won't say neglect, either. I will say they have overlooked the medium by which to educate the rank and file of the trade union movement.

You will recall on Wednesday Spencer Miller gave a very eloquent report on the need of education on the part of the workers. I believe he called attention to the fact that our youth were not aware of the liberties and opportunities afforded by this country, that youth did not realize those liberties and opportunities. I was thinking about the youth in our labor movement—yes, and some middle aged men and old men in our labor movement, who have a definite knowledge of where the office of their organization is located and understand they would like to have their friends purchase the commodities of their industry; but they have no general knowledge of the aims and objectives and purposes of the trade union movement. They haven't formed a grasp of what this economic organization means to America, what it means to the workers themselves. Their time is taken up in reading the columns of columnists who try to find the weak spots in our labor movement and bring that poison into the minds and hearts, not only of those without, but those within the labor movement, destroying the morale of those who actually benefit by this labor movement.

One columnist admitted that he was a centipede. You know what centipede means. The centipede is a poisonous reptile, but there is another reptile called an antipede, and when they get together one tries to beat the other in getting its poison in, because they are deadly poison to each other.

There might be some weaknesses in our organization, because some of us who are associated here say this individual is sometimes right. That is not correct. He is wrong sometimes. The purpose of our Labor Press has been to try to get the objectives of the movement across to trade union members. The literature, the statements made by the Workers' Education Bureau, the activities of the Executive Council, the activities of this convention, written in a manner that the workers themselves can understand, not only gets into the hands of the delegates and some of the men we send daily copies to, but the activities of the movement get into the hands of those who pay dues and participate in the affairs of our organization. They have unionism flowing all through their veins and in their blood, to the extent that no columnist can poison their systems with any sort of propaganda. They have in mind the origin of this movement and they have in mind what will happen should this movement be dissolved.

We heard statements here about the European war, and its threats to this nation. The thought was that we are ready

to sacrifice, that labor will make its sacrifices. Isn't it true that labor always makes its sacrifices? What, in the name of God, has labor ever done except make sacrifices? I am speaking of the men and women who toil. Yes, even though the labor groups, the economic groups and those unaffiliated with any group did not have anything to do with what is going on, we are called upon to sacrifice. Labor had no part in its making, but we will have to make the necessary sacrifices.

What our committee has in mind is this: That the representatives of the organizations in this convention will take a greater interest in the publications in their various cities. We have discussed the Labor Press from every angle. We understand the weaknesses of some spots in our labor movement. And we have gone beyond that. We recognize the frailty of our entire human society. We speak of that word "racketeering." When racketeering rules the world, how in the name of God are you going to keep it out of our labor movement? We have had rackets all through the period of our existence.

We know these frailties exist. Pick the chaff from the wheat and set the chaff to one side and plant the wheat and re-establish and build stronger than ever our economic organizations. Give the men and women back home a knowledge of what our labor movement is doing. Build up a circulation of labor news and news that will make them realize what the Labor Press means and what the labor movement means to them. Don't you realize that the great movement of labor does not understand how important this thing is to them? It is jobs to us, but it is more than jobs to them. A few days ago a picture appeared in a paper printed in New Orleans. There was a bewhiskered friend pictured there, and he stated how he went to the jug here in New Orleans many times because of his activity in the labor movement. Was that new in New Orleans? Of course not. That had been going on for a long time. Just preceding the Mardi Gras they would gather you up and keep you in custody until the Mardi Gras was over. These things not only exist in our trade union movement, but in other movements. And we are not on the defensive yet, either. We know the benefits that have come through organized labor: we know the contracts that are made, the increases in wages, the improved working conditions, and they speak for the labor movement. That is what talks for the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement.

Our committee, Tom Downie, Martel and myself, expected to present this to you in written form. I thought that we would have the details here and give them to you in written form, but I believe you will understand what this committee has in mind. We are the ones who help you when you haven't a friend. The columns of the Labor Press are open to you whenever you

need them, open to all who follow the lines of the American Federation of Labor proper.

I am not going to talk about starving editors, because editors don't starve nowadays, in the trade union movement anyway. The trade union movement has gone far enough to see that the editors do not starve. We want you to give us a circulation in the interest of building up the mental caliber of those who have no part in laying the plans for the development of labor, not only those who attend conventions, and take part in making contracts but all that are involved in this trade union movement. If all we had in the labor movement was these delegates who are here now, you and me, we would not amount to a tinkers dam. What makes up the labor movement is the high intellect, the morale and the devotion of the five and more millions who make up the American Federation of Labor.

When you go back to your organizations, won't you think seriously of telling your members now what the object of this movement is? Won't you arrange that they will get into their homes each week some story of labor? Some denominations of churches that have a high ideal and that are looking to God themselves see that the printed word is sent each week to all those who attend. They see that their work is publicized. What would the moving picture industry amount to in itself without its great publicity program? All of these enormous things are publicized. Take a piece of soap and publicize it and we cannot get along without it after it is publicized.

I am sincere in this, not because it is a part of my job. I have always realized the great necessity for expanded education of the workers themselves, those who have taken up economics, those that are members of ours, from the janitor to the highest skilled mechanics and craftsmen in our organization, those who are affiliated with us, state and municipal employees, doctors and whatnot. We have a doctor sitting back here, and doctors would not be doing badly by having labor papers brought into their homes. I am not referring only to our own Federation News, because Tom Downie gets out a good paper, too. I am very serious again when I say I wish you would help build up an extensive medium of labor education. Educate those who are actually involved, those that this organization is set up to serve.

President Green: I think we can all agree that our good friend, Brother Wills, is very sincere, because he used some pretty emphatic language in the delivery of his address.

Just a word in behalf of the bona fide labor press. Those of us who have been associated with our great movement all our lives, place a very high value upon the bona fide labor press of the country. We know something about the educational service which it renders, and we know that many times the owner and editor of a labor paper struggles on and on under tremendous difficulties, in an effort to publish his paper

and circulate it wisely. They manifest devotion to a great cause. I have admired them for the sacrifices they make and for the devotion which they show to the great cause of organized labor.

I want to supplement what Brother Wills has said by appealing to the delegates here to carry the message back home and to mobilize the support of organized labor in your communities in behalf of the bona fide labor press of the nation. Through such cooperation we can tell the story of organized labor, its sacrifices and its achievements in a most convincing way.

I thank you, Brother Wills, for the report which you made to the convention this morning.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Desepete, of the Committee on Credentials, for a further report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Desepete: Our committee has just a report of substitutions to make.

Charles M. Paulsen, replacing John J. Daly, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

John Campbell, replacing William J. Bowen, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

Chairman Desepete moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Committee to Escort Rev. William J. Kelley

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that Father William J. Kelley, of Buffalo, New York, an expert on credit unions, will speak to the convention this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. He is here as an invited guest to this convention. I will appoint on the committee to meet Father Kelley and arrange to escort him to the platform at his convenience Brother James Maloney, of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, President Duffy, of the Operative Potters Union, and Brother James C. Quinn, of New York City, representing the New York Central Trades and Labor Council. I trust this committee will meet with Father Kelley some time at their convenience and arrange for him to come and speak to us this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I appreciate your appointment on this committee, but I desire to advise that the Adjustment Committee meets at 2:00 o'clock and we will be in session. Therefore I will be unable to serve.

President Green: I will appoint in your place President Edward Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union.

May I inquire if any of the standing committees are ready to report this morning? If not, then it would appear that the work of the morning session has been completed. None of the committees appear to be ready to report.

I wish to announce again that Sir Walter Citrine will address the convention on Monday morning at 10:30 o'clock, and following his address Governor John A. Winant, of the International Labor Organization will address the convention.

Resolutions Introduced By Unanimous Consent

President Green: I have a noncontroversial resolution which has been presented to me for introduction under the rules of unanimous consent. It expresses sympathy for the cause of Greece in its struggle against Fascist Italy. It is noncontroversial in every respect, and Delegate Ernst, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, asks unanimous consent to its introduction. Are there any objections? Hearing none, the resolution is accepted and is referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Expressing Sympathy for Cause of Greece in Its Struggle Against Fascist Italy

Resolution No. 180—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, on behalf of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The country of Greece is today being threatened with invasion by the Axis Powers; and

WHEREAS, Fascist Italy has without just cause sought to impose its will upon a free people; and

WHEREAS, a national committee composed of outstanding Philhellenes and Greek-Americans, both, known as the Greek War Relief Association has been formed with offices at the St. Moritz Hotel, New York City, for the purpose of raising funds to furnish relief to the stricken families in Greece. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record expressing its warmest sympathy for the cause of Greece in its heroic struggle to uphold the hand of liberty, democracy and everything that is precious to mankind, and to prove that men shall continue to be free, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that all possible material and

moral aid be given by the various locals of the American Federation of Labor to Greece through aforementioned Greek War Relief Association and other accredited channels.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I, too, want to present what I believe is a noncontroversial resolution. On Wednesday we all recall listening to a very scholarly and informative address by Mr. Otto Beyer. He dealt with the subject of union-management co-operation. Those of you who were present recall that throughout his discussion he dealt with a program the purpose of which was to try to bring about a relationship with employers so that organized labor would be looked upon and dealt with as an indispensable asset rather than merely tolerated.

The resolution I have here, signed by several delegates and myself, requests that a committee be named to study the possibility of the extension of the practice of union-management co-operation.

President Green: You have heard the request of Delegate Brown, that a noncontroversial resolution be presented. Are there any objections? Hearing none the resolution is accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Extension of Union Management Cooperation

Resolution No. 181—By H. W. Brown, International Association of Machinists; E. E. Milliman, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; B. M. Jewell, President, Railway Employees Department; Felix H. Knight, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; Roy T. Horn, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

The world-wide situation in which democratic and totalitarian institutions are contending for supremacy, make unprecedented demands upon our industries for the materials for defense as well as for the things required for civilized living. To produce with speed and efficiency the things necessary for the adequate defense of our country and the improvement of our living standards is our most urgent present necessity, for we face great danger.

The highest level of organization for production which we have achieved for peacetime needs is that based on co-operation between management and the free and independent unions of workers. Union-management co-operation, by mobilizing the intellectual and productive capacities of all engaged in industry, makes possible improved production and more equitably distributes the general responsibility for output.

So that we may be ready for this crucial test of the ability of our democratic people

to rearm for defense quickly and effectively and at the same time maintain and improve our living standards as well as demonstrate the soundness of democratic procedures, be it

RESOLVED, that we urge the extension of the practice of union management co-operation throughout industries as rapidly as union organization will warrant and for the encouragement and maintenance of such extension we direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to create a committee on which he shall serve to plan for a service agency to counsel union management co-operation undertakings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Announcements

Announcements of committee meetings were made, as follows:

Delegate Maloney, on behalf of Chairman Rickert, of the Committee on Adjustment, a meeting at 2:00 o'clock in the Red Room, Second Floor, Municipal Auditorium.

Chairman Flore, a meeting of the Committee on Labels immediately after adjournment.

Chairman Ornburn, for the Committee on Legislation, a meeting at 2:30 o'clock in the office of Secretary Meany, Roosevelt Hotel.

Chairman Bugniet, a meeting of the Committee on State Organization, 2:30 o'clock in Room 58, for the final report of the committee.

Delegate Herrmann, Atlantic City Central Labor Union: I wish to call the attention of the Chair and the delegates to the fact that the tables are loaded down with printed matter without the union label, and as one who is somewhat related to the printing trades I think it would be appropriate that the invitations from the various cities would bear the union label.

Delegate Kearney, Boston Central Labor Union: There has been distributed a pamphlet containing an invitation from the Mayor of our city. The pamphlet was printed in the municipal printing plant in the city of Boston which is 100 per cent union. It operates somewhat similar to the United States Government printing plant, which is identically union. The pamphlet does not bear the label but I can tell you, as President of the Central Body, that our municipal printing plant in Boston is 100 per cent organized.

Re-Reference—Recommendations On Defense Training

President Green: The Chair committed an error the other day when he referred the subject matter under the caption "Recommendations on Defense Training" to the Committee on Resolutions. This is a matter that deals with vocational training and education, and for that reason it should go to the Committee on Education. The Chair therefore announces that this matter, entitled "Recommendations on Defense Training" is transferred from the Committee on Resolution to the Committee on Education.

Announcements

Secretary Meany: I have been asked to announce that the Worker's Education Bureau have called a meeting for tonight at 8:00 o'clock in the Gold Room of the Hotel Roosevelt, and all delegates representing State Federations of Labor are asked to attend.

I have also been asked to announce again the arrangements for the mass on Sunday morning at 10:00 o'clock at the historic St. Louis Cathedral in Chartres Street. The Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, will preside at this mass.

Committee to Escort Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy

President Green: I wish to announce that our very dear friend and fellow worker the Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, Brother Daniel Tracy, will address the convention this afternoon. I ask that President Brown of the Electrical Workers, President Maloney of the Engineers, and Delegate Frank Duffy, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, serve as a committee to see that our good friend is escorted to the platform.

President Green: Now it appears that the work of the morning session has been concluded. Our good friend, Delegate Koveleski, moves that the rules be suspended and the convention recess until 2:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention recessed at 10:45 o'clock, a. m., to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Fourth Day — Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Earl; Costas, Crist, Di Guardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gallagher, Gooch, Greedy, Hall, Higgins, Holcott, Hood, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Moore, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Nicholson, Power Joseph; Roark, Ruddick, Reid, Saltman, Sutherland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Yonker.

Substitutions

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute Daniel Hurley, Switchmen's Union of North America, as a member of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, instead of Brother Thomas Casben, who is not here. Will the committee now escort Father Kelley to the platform.

When Father Kelley ascended to the platform, President Green said:

Reverend William J. Kelley, of Buffalo, New York, came to New Orleans to attend and address this convention in response to an invitation I extended to him. I am pleased to report to this delegation that Father Kelley serves as the Chaplain-Educator of the Buffalo Central Trades and Labor Council. He attends the meetings of the Buffalo Central Trades and Labor Council each time that it convenes. He is a regular attendant at all the meetings of the Buffalo Central Trades and Labor Council.

I recall with a feeling of admiration the parade of the State Federation of Labor which was held at Niagara Falls, New York, just a few months ago. It was an impressive parade, participated in by the delegates who were in attendance at the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor. The parade covered quite a large part of the city. It was over a number of miles long, and, behold you, in the front ranks of the parade, marching side by side with our trade unionists, was Father Kelley. That made a deep impression upon me.

Father Kelley has been making a special study of Credit Unions. I consider him an expert, so he comes to us in a sort of dual capacity, a chaplain-educator of a subordinate part of the American Federation of Labor, and so far as I know the only Chaplain connected with a central labor body in the country. I know you will enjoy his address. I am pleased now to present to you Father William J. Kelley, who will talk to you on the subject of Credit Unions.

REV. WILLIAM J. KELLEY

(Chaplain-Educator Buffalo Central Trades and Labor Council)

Mr. President, distinguished officers of the American Federation of Labor, brothers and sisters of the labor movement: I feel that I would be violating one of the fundamental principles of courtesy and good breeding were I to launch into the discussion of any subject without first declaring sincerely my positive gratitude for the invitation to address this Federation. May I state, Mr. Green, that your invitation was regarded by me as a distinct honor, and therefore I say publicly that I am truly grateful for this opportunity.

During the past year and a half it has been my happy privilege to be actually on the inside and working with the men of the Federation of Labor of Buffalo and vicinity. The precise position it is my privilege to hold in that Council is a Chaplain-Educator. If an educator is truly to be educator his fundamental and his most important assignment is to bring what he believes of practical help to educate those with whom he is associated, and in the Buffalo Federation of Labor that has been precisely the role that I have followed. I think you will agree with me, you who are longer in the labor movement, you who are advanced in years of experience, that the very heart and soul, the practical principles upon which this American Federation of Labor lives and thrives and revolves is the principle of the brotherhood of man.

A brief meditation upon that principle, I believe, is both timely and beneficial. In this organization, with its grand totality approximately 5,000,000 working people, the one thing that unites them together is the fact that they are one another's brothers' helpers. Wide-reaching in its membership, embracing as it does men of various races, men of various religious convictions, nevertheless in this grand movement they are all united on this one pivotal point: We are one another's brothers, and I say that a brief meditation on that principle is, I believe, practical.

Today, when there seems to be widespread, exaggerated selfishness in the various countries of the known world, where we have seen pitiful pathetic results of that selfishness, oh, if we ever needed men who are motivated with the principle of being one another's brothers, if we ever needed strong-hearted men, stout-willed men to work upon the fact that they are one another's helpers, it is today.

And I say, Mr. Green, and I say to you delegates of this grand body of the American Federation of Labor, I am not allowing juvenile enthusiasm or immature judg-

meant to prompt these remarks, but conscious of the great power of the American Federation of Labor, convinced of the sincerity of purpose of the leadership of this organization, I say to you men that you are the very life and the hope of American democracy.

Therefore, men, may I remind you that as members of this grand body, the Federation, the one thing that must motivate your deliberations, the one factor that must enter into your every thought and activity is that you are united together as one another's brothers.

Now, just as in the human family brothers co-work together, brothers team up for the peace, for the advantage and for the happiness of the family, I think you will agree with me that this American Federation of Labor is one great, large family, and the various International Unions, the various federal unions and the various central labor councils, the local unions, each man has a responsibility to the Federation, and that is never to lose sight of the fact that they must work for the common good, because only when they work for the common good then are we truly practicing the principle of the brotherhood of man.

This afternoon I would like to talk to you on one movement that, if it is not identical is almost identical in its philosophy with the American Federation of Labor, and that is the credit union movement. The Federation is built upon the principle of the brotherhood of men, and they translate that principle into better living or working conditions, etc., through the agency of the union.

May I define for you at this time exactly what a credit union is? A Credit Union is defined as a cooperative association, and the first purpose of the association is to impress upon the masses the necessity of intelligent, systematic saving; the second purpose of this organization, the credit union, is that the total collective savings of a given group are put at the disposal of their own membership, loaning them money for productive and provident purposes, loaning only to their own members and loaning to them at a convenient, human rate of interest no higher than one per cent on an unpaid balance per month.

Now, men, you work hard, and the men in the labor movement work hard to provide for themselves a living wage. One of the precise advantages of the Credit Union in the labor movement is that by a program of education, by a program of convenience, etc., the Credit Union helps the men in a labor union to put aside a little bit of their earnings and thereby encourages and teaches and maintains a convenient, systematic, regular savings. That is the first purpose, that is the most fundamental reason behind this organization. It is designed to teach the principle of thrift, to help men to save and to put their money at the disposal of their own membership, loaning to them for productive or provident purposes.

In Buffalo, in the course of 18 months, by the help of the good Lord and by the co-operation of the union leaders and the frank and honest evaluation by the laboring men of this subject, we have been able to organize 33 Credit Unions in labor unions. We have them in the bakery workers, the drivers, the upholsterers, the plasterers and the electricians, throughout all the various crafts. And would you believe it, that these men are actually working out in the matter of finance the same basic principle of the Federation, that they are one another's brothers' helpers? It is one of the most glorious jobs that is being written within the history and within the labor movement itself. I can tell you one case after another of men in this Federation of Labor in Buffalo who are saving together and loaning that money out to their own membership. Oh, it is just more than merely dollars and cents, they are doing good for themselves, they are doing a lot of good. A number of men have not only been taught to save, even if they could only save small amounts of money, but so much practical good has been done in relieving them from financial worries and embarrassment that I think what one man said from the floor of a local labor union meeting deserves repetition here. The laboring man in his labor union is a better workman because of his Credit Union. Previous to the time he had his Credit Union he took his family's worries and his financial worries to work with him, and the result was that he was not able to give the best that was within him. But when this particular financial organization—for that is precisely what the Credit Union is, helped him, relieved him of his financial worries, he was a better workman and a better laboring man.

Brothers and sisters, the Federation, you, as the chosen delegates who are assembled here in deliberation, I say to you what that one man has found has been the experience of not hundreds but the experience of thousands right in Buffalo, and I do not believe Buffalo in its Central Labor Council is any different than any other Central Labor Council connected with the Federation. If the thing can be worked out in Buffalo it can be worked out within any Federation whatsoever. In making that remark I am mindful of the March, 1940, issue of The Federationist. In that issue is a splendid article written by an American Federation of Labor man connected with the Motor Coach Employees out in Chicago. That man developed a thought that I would like to repeat here: That the trade union movement should not allow the Credit Union movement to get away from its influence. That was his thought, and I would like to add another concept to it: That the trade union will do much good when it really intelligently investigates and actually, upon its investigation, recommends the Credit Union movement to the central bodies and to the various local unions.

So, delegates, I do not propose to presume to take any longer of your time. I come here with one thought in mind, to tell you that I regard it as a positive conviction that the Credit Union movement will be of lasting benefit to the trade union movement, and that conviction is based upon experience. I have seen it work and do good in the Federation of Labor in Buffalo.

And so I recommend very highly to this Credit Union Committee appointed by the Executive Council in convention about three years past, the adoption of the Federal Credit Union as a practical carrying out of the basic principle of the labor movement, that we are one another's brothers' helpers.

In conclusion may I say to you that I think the times and the needs of our particular age call for a rededication on the part of the total American Federation of Labor to its true principles. Born as you were to be one another's brothers' helpers in the labor movement, carrying on through the years as you have, I do not recommend any new principle to you, but I only recommend positive, faithful adherence to your own basic, fundamental concept of being one another's brothers' helpers.

And may I say this much to you, regardless of what might be your personal religious convictions, that we have one religious principle within this Federation to constantly adhere to, and that is that we are one another's brothers, and as long as the Federation adheres to that principle it will go forward with glory, it will cast a positive glory upon itself, and when the future historians of the United States take up their pens to write they will write that one institution, born of a solid principle, adhering to a solid principle, marched forward through trying times—actual democracy in action, the American Federation of Labor, true brothers to each other.

Thank you.

President Green: One can easily determine how sincere and enthusiastic Father Kelley really is. He manifested it in the address which he just delivered. No one can fail to see that he believes all that he said. He carried conviction in his attitude. May I suggest that if there are representatives of local unions or international unions who desire information as to how the Credit Union system has been set up in Buffalo, and how it functions, you can receive that information by communicating with Father Kelley, and he, I am sure, will answer your questions promptly. You will note all he said on the very large number of unions that have experimented with Credit Unions in Buffalo alone, and of course we know that experimentation in that field has been going on in other sections of the country. Those who wish to create these Credit Unions under the influence of our organization can obtain information from Father

Kelley. Father Kelley, I want to thank you sincerely for your presence at this convention and for the magnificent address you delivered this afternoon.

Now may I ask the committee I appointed this morning to escort our friend and brother, Secretary Tracy, to the platform.

Secretary Tracy was escorted to the platform by the committee appointed for that purpose.

President Green: We have with us one of our friends and associates who has been honored by our Government. We share with each other a feeling of pride and satisfaction in all experience when one of our own, a member of the American Federation of Labor, is accorded recognition by a great democratic government such as ours. So this afternoon we are pleased to honor such a man, and he will honor us by his presence and his address.

Last year, and for many years prior thereto, Brother Daniel W. Tracy attended our conventions as the President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and as a delegate to our convention. This year he comes to us as the Second Assistant Secretary of Labor of the United States of America. He was appointed to this very responsible position during the past year. It was a deserving recognition of ability and qualification to serve, and when Brother Tracy was honored, we were honored, highly honored. The American Federation of Labor was honored, and Secretary Tracy has reflected great honor upon himself and the American Federation of Labor since he has been serving as Assistant Secretary of Labor. We are proud of him as he is proud of us, and I am happy to present him to you this afternoon as a former President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and now as Assistant Secretary of Labor of the United States of America—Secretary Daniel W. Tracy.

MR. DANIEL W. TRACY (Second Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Labor Department)

Thank you, President Green, for that most kind and gracious introduction. President Green, guests, ladies and gentlemen, brother unionists:

Once again I make an appearance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor. This time in a different role, as Assistant Secretary of Labor. But, sentimentally, my status remains unchanged. The great labor organization—the greatest in the world—is still my Alma Mater. And the letters carried on my fraternity pin—engraved, if you will, forever—are A. F. of L.

As I have listened to speeches made here, and watched your deliberations, and talked with my old friends, I am struck with your profound interest in all defense problems, as well as your accustomed interest in all problems of public interest and welfare.

Of course, knowing you as I do, I am not surprised at this. Our Federation has ever been purely American. It is as much American as is Thanksgiving Day, as are the prairies, or as tobacco or corn. Our Federation belongs to American life inescapably, and I say to you now, that I know, as you know, that as labor goes, so goes this great country of ours. As you think, so, in time, most Americans will think; and as you act, so in time, most Americans will act.

That is the reason why I never grow discouraged. Knowing you as I do, I know that America—this nation—is safe, and will continue to be safe—in your hands.

I am here as a representative of the Federal Government of the United States Department of Labor. I find nothing strange in that, simply because the Department of Labor is the creation of the A. F. of L. The Department I represent would not today be a fact, would not be as it is constituted, if our predecessors had not made great sacrifices to bring it into being. You recall how long ago it was that, in a convention like this, the idea for a United States Labor Department was born. You recall that it took the American Federation of Labor 25 years to convince the Congress of the United States that such a department, exclusively to look after the interest of wage-earners, should be created. You know that up to date there have been only four Secretaries of Labor—so young is this department.

You know its varied interests slowly evolved at your instance. You know that by the Labor Department, unions—you—have representation in the President's official family. You know about the Bureau of Labor Statistics—that important division—where accurate figures on payrolls, the cost of living, wage-rates, are gathered. You know about the Labor standards division, which seeks constantly to maintain and raise standards of health and safety. Within this Labor Standards Division is lodged the Federal Apprenticeship Committee—now doubly important in this hour of preparation for national defense. You know about the Woman's Bureau, and the Children's Bureau, these great functions, which put the stamp of approval upon this Federal department. You know about the public contracts division, where the prevailing rate of wage, and collective bargaining, are defended as conditions for letting Government bids.

In short, the history of your struggles for sixty years is written in this department. I do not think your interest in this department should lag; nor will lessen during the coming years. I may say, in fact, you have responsibility in continuing your support. You have a responsibility in setting this department right, if you think it is wrong. It is you, and no one else, who must go on

building this department, to the end of making it the greatest in the Government.

We want you to go on using this department, and I need not tell you so long as I am there—the door is always open.

One thing more about the Department of Labor and Defense—a parallel in England today, in England's glorious record of defense, the second in command is the Minister of Labor. My friend, Ernest Bevin, ranks next to the Prime Minister in achievement and in power.

Why is the Department of Labor so important in defense? The truth is, modern warfare is not so much a contest of armies, as a contest of populations. Modern warfare is not so much a contest of soldiers, as of civilians. The nation which wins is the nation which can make the fastest airplanes and tanks, the finest guns, the best transportation system, the stoutest ships, the best mechanics. Now, as never before, the mechanic is to lead the way. America must have mechanic corporals, sergeants, colonels, generals. Behind the lines our factories must be manned, by men who know their jobs and who want to do their jobs because they believe in what they are defending.

The principal problem of defense is labor supply. Somehow we must get man and job together—the best men for the particular jobs—together. Those mechanics must come from your undivided ranks. Thank God, you have preserved the spirit of the true craftsmen! Thank God, you have kept the faith through all the years, when some persons were saying—the machine is the important thing! Now we know the important things are the men who make and man the machines.

The problem of labor supply. The Labor Department is playing its part in the all-important task of finding the mechanics, of training new mechanics, of placing them in the right places. All of this with and by the cooperation of your organizations.

There is little more than I need or want to say as the Secretary of Labor will address you next week. But let me say again, I am glad to be here—as a member of The American Federation of Labor. I am glad that I represent the Federal Department I do, and I am glad that we are embarking together upon a new, great adventure, that of defending our heritage.

President Green: I know you all feel happy over the visit of Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy to this convention, and I know you have been deeply impressed and greatly pleased by the fine address he delivered. It seems quite appropriate for many reasons that at long last the American Federation of Labor feels that we have a fine entree now into the Department of Labor. We can talk to Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy as man to man. He speaks our language and we speak his. We are glad and happy beyond measure because of the American Federation of Labor's influence that has been introduced into the Department of Labor.

I know I voice your feelings completely when I thank Brother Tracy, Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy, for his attendance and for the splendid address he delivered. Thank you, Dan.

We have listened to addresses delivered by stalwart men. Now I am pleased to present to you a charming lady this afternoon. I know that will please you. We have here this afternoon Mrs. Anna P. Kelsey, International President of the Women's Auxiliary of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway of America. First of all, she is associated with an historic organization long affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it is still headed by that grand old man whom we think will live for all time, Brother Bill Mahon.

We are learning something of the tremendous importance of women's auxiliaries, and particularly in the promotion of the union label, the shop card and the union button. I have learned to attach great importance to Women's Auxiliaries because of the fine work they have done and are doing in the cities, towns and communities throughout the land. These women serve unselfishly and with manifestation of great devotion. They need our help, our support and our encouragement.

I am pleased to present to you now Mrs. Anna P. Kelsey, Chairman of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

MRS. ANNA P. KELSEY

**(International President, Women's
International Auxiliary, Interna-
tional Association of Street,
Electric Railway and Motor
Coach Employees of
America)**

President Green, esteemed officers of the American Federation of Labor, and brother and sister delegates.

I thank you very kindly for permitting me just this minute or two of speaking to you. As International President of the Women's International Auxiliary of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motorcoach Employees of America I am speaking in behalf of that vast army of women who make up the major portion of the labor movement but who are still practically unorganized.

Safeguarding the welfare of the home is women's particular duty. Teaching the oncoming generation is also one of our duties. It is your duty as bread winners to bring in the wherewithal to keep the home going and our duty as home makers to disburse that union earned wages to the best advantage. It is therefore important that

we must become educated in the principles of the Union, so that we may carry out the aims and purposes of your organizations. It is only through organization that we progress, and become instrumental in carrying out your principles. Some of us are unionminded, and practice it to the best of our ability, but individual strength is not enough, we must have organized strength if we wish to exert any influence whatever in maintaining our principles.

It has been my privilege since having become the International President of my organization to do some extensive traveling about the country and talking to the thousands of these wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of union men. In all the auxiliaries that I have organized the questions have invariably been asked me, "Why haven't we had an auxiliary before?" and "Do not our men see that it is necessary for us to become informed in Unionism?" Of course we do have many unions that have auxiliaries in conjunction with their union, the same as ours has, and while they have all in a small measure been successful in getting some women into the organizations yet I feel that the best method of organizing and educating our women has not been adopted. It is my thought and ambition to promote a plan whereby every wife, mother, sister and daughter of our union members will be enrolled in an auxiliary. I do not think we will accomplish this in our present form of voluntary membership. My plan would be that when a man becomes a member of a union his wife, and the female members of his house, will become members of that union also, although in the women's section. It is my hope that some day organized labor will adopt as part of their requirements for membership, and in their by-laws this clause, "that he will insist on his wife and female members of his household attending the auxiliary meetings, and informing themselves in the Principles of Unionism."

No union is completely organized until every potential member of it is enrolled, and no organization is strong unless every member of it practices its precepts and abides by its by-laws.

Of course being only a fraternal delegate to this august body it is not my privilege to present a resolution to this effect but I am giving it to you as food for thought, and earnestly hope that when you delegates go home you will devise some plan whereby we women will become active members of your unions, and not the hindrances as so many of our women are today.

Our labor movement may be compared to the workings of an army. You Union men are the first line of defense. We women are your reinforcements. We would be of very little assistance to the first line

of defense however if we took your ammunition and turned it over to your enemies, as we surely are doing when we spend union earned wages for non-union commodities.

In our auxiliary movement we have adopted a very fine educational plan. The women are being taught what unionism means from the ground up, and at the end of those lessons there isn't one of them who doesn't understand it. We also study the biographies of all of our most famous labor leaders. We study the labor legislation that comes up in our respective legislative bodies. We study Social Security set-up, and have many other study projects that are beneficial to us. It is not the purpose of our auxiliaries to become just social gatherings, but to be what the word "auxiliary" really means, a helpmate.

Therefore brothers and sisters in behalf of the thousands of unorganized women who want to be your helpmates I am asking that you give us a chance, and that you do your share towards educating us in the way we should go.

May I wish this convention much success, and I know it will be a most constructive one.

Thank you.

President Green. I knew Mrs. Kelsey would measure up to the requirements of the situation and would deliver a very excellent address. I know that all of you will follow the sound, constructive advice she gave you this afternoon. I want to thank you, Mrs. Kelsey, for being with us this afternoon and for the fine address you delivered.

Sir Walter Citrine Presented

President Green: All of us have been looking forward to the visit of Sir Walter Citrine to this convention. Our faces have been turned eastward, happily anticipating his arrival here. Those of us who pray once in awhile—and I hope we all do—prayed that he might have a safe voyage from London, England, to New Orleans, Louisiana, for the purpose of attending this convention. I announced to you yesterday that he would arrive in the city last night.

I am glad to tell you now that he arrived safely. He is here and I want to present him to you in the flesh, and at the same time present to him the official badge of this convention—Sir Walter Citrine.

Sir Walter Citrine: President Green, fellow tri-unionists, ladies and gentlemen—I want to thank you very sincerely for the very cordial welcome that you have given me to your convention. I am truly glad to be here to renew the friendships which I have cherished over many years with some of the delegates who regularly attend your deliberations.

I am not so selfish as to assume that the cordiality expressed by you is entirely personal in its character. I regard it as symbolic of the warm sympathy which the American people feel for the British nation in the struggle through which we are now passing. We are having quite a strenuous time, and the fiber of our people is being tested to a depth that we have never experienced previously in our history. I hope to tell you in the course of what I have to say to this convention something of what that struggle means to all of us.

For the time being I content myself to express the happiness it gives me to be here once again among my many friends of the American Federation of Labor, and to be close to those in whose bosoms the spirit of freedom burns as fiercely as in the hearts of my own countrymen.

President Green: Now, Brother Citrine, I want to present you with the official badge of our convention. You know what it is. As I recall, you were presented with one of these badges on a previous occasion, so all that I said at that time is repeated now. Accept it with our best wishes, our warm personal regards, and an expression of our hope that you may have a happy visit with us while you are here.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Bugniazet of the Committee on State Organizations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Chairman Bugniazet: Mr. Chairman, the Secretary of the Committee, Berniece Heffner, will make the report for the committee.

President Green: The Chair now presents to you another charming lady associated with the American Federation of Labor. This seems to be ladies' afternoon for us. I think the committee showed good judgment when they elected such a charming lady as the Secretary, and you agree with me, don't you.

I present Secretary Heffner—and by the way, she is the Secretary of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Delegate Heffner, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

NEW JERSEY CHILD REGULATION

(Executive Council's Report Page 151)

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "State Labor Legislation, 1940", Page 115, your Committee commends the New Jersey State Federation of Labor for their success in having the State Legislature enact into law regulations regulating child labor, setting 16 years of age as the minimum for employment in industry, as well as restricting paid child labor in agriculture to the minimum age of 12, and the accompanying law which requires school attendance to 16 years of age.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

KENTUCKY PREVAILING WAGE LAW

(Executive Council's Report, Page 151)

We commend the Kentucky State Federation of Labor for their success in having the State Legislature enact a prevailing wage, eight hour day, forty hour week law, to govern all public works in their state.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 152)

We commend the State Federation of Labor in Kentucky, Alabama and New York for their success in having their State Legislature enact improved compensation benefits in their existing compensation laws, and urge all State Federations to be ever watchful in endeavoring to improve and strengthen their existing workmen's compensation laws, and endeavor to have established laws providing for exclusive state funds.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

MISSISSIPPI COMPENSATION LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 152)

We note with regret that the Legislature of Mississippi has failed to enact a workmen's compensation law, as well as the creation of a Labor Department for the protection of the workers of their state. We rec-

ommend to the State Federation of Mississippi that it double its efforts in having the next session of their State Legislature enact both of these laws.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

VIRGINIA LEGISLATION (Executive Council's Report, Page 152)

We note with regret that the State Legislature of Virginia failed to give favorable consideration to legislation affecting the workers' welfare in their state, even though such legislation had the recommendation of the Governor and the Commissioner of Labor. We urge that the State Federation of Labor redouble its efforts in endeavoring to have the next session of the State Legislature enact the necessary legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

1940 STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 152)

We call to the attention of all State Federations of Labor this part of the Executive Council's report and urge all State Federations to redouble their efforts in 1941, especially since forty-three State Legislatures will be in session, to see that all bills presented are properly drawn, and to be ever watchful in their endeavors to defeat any legislation that is opposed to the interests of the workers of their state.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

In conclusion we recommend that the American Federation of Labor assist any State Federation of Labor that may request any information or any assistance in drafting any proposed legislation affecting the welfare of the workers.

G. M. BUGNAZET, Chairman.
BERNICE B. HEFFNER, Secretary.
WILLIAM E. WALTER.
LOUIS P. SAHUQUE.
CARL H. MULLEN.
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY.
JOHN CLINTON.
LEO ABERNATHY.
THOMAS DONNELLY.
CHARLES T. CRANE.
W. S. GROSS.
THOMAS J. LYONS.
CLIFFORD B. NOXON.
PHIL E. ZIEGLER.
GUST ANDERSON.
ROY BREWER.
LOUIS KOENIG.
E. H. WILLIAMS.
BERNARD QUINN.
W. N. CLAY.
Committee on State Organizations

Chairman Bugniazet: I move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I thank the committee for the prompt and efficient service rendered to this convention.

I now present to you Chairman Knight, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Vice-President Knight: Mr. Chairman, Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the Committee, will submit to you the best report of this convention, the best because of its brevity.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Quinn, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, who will submit the report.

Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee have one resolution referred to it on which we wish to submit the following report:

Urging Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Harry B. Parks, Central Trades and Labor Council of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The objects of the Central Trades and Labor Council are to mould public opinion in favor of labor, to aid and encourage the labor press, and to educate the masses as to the advantage of the purchase of union labor's products, to act as a board of arbitration in labor disputes, to discuss and examine all questions affecting the interests of the working classes, and

WHEREAS, There are quite a number of American Federation of Labor Unions in the jurisdiction of this Labor Council who are not affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council of Allentown and Vicinity, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention here assembled request the officers of all the International Unions to urge their Local Unions to affiliate with the Central Trades and Labor Councils in their jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution, with the deletion of the following words: "to act as a Board of Arbitration in Labor Disputes" in the first paragraph of the Whereas.

We move the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Attitude Toward Unaffiliated Unions

Your Committee wishes to call attention to communications and requests that are received from various organizations not in affiliation with central bodies or the American Federation of Labor and those that are dual to the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends that no recognition be given to requests made to the central bodies unless they are received from bona fide, recognized trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

We move the adoption of this recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Quinn: Mr. Chairman this concludes the report of your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

FELIX KNIGHT, Chairman.
JAMES C. QUINN, Secretary.
GEORGE E. BROWNE.
C. C. COULTER.
JOSEPH M. MARSHALL.
A. ADAMSKI.
R. E. WOODMANSEE.
THOS E. DUNWODY.
WM. J. MORAN.
FRANK B. POWERS.
ALFRED ROTA.
LAWRENCE FOLEY.
G. J. LEVRON.
WM. McGUERN.
CHAS. A. SCHREIBER.
NAT MESSING.
P. J. CULLEN.
DANIEL HURLEY.
ARTHUR J. STRUNK.
SAMUEL HERSHKOWITZ.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Secretary Quinn moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Kearney, Boston Central Labor Union: I have no objection to adopting the committee's report as a whole, but I do think we are getting a little bit too narrow in adopting the last recommendation of the committee, that no communica-

tion will be given consideration in our central bodies unless it comes from labor itself. We hear so much about dictatorship, building fences around each other, that it looks like we are building a little bit of a wall around our labor movement, that we will not allow others to enter our movement unless it has the endorsement of labor. I wonder if that is the attitude to take? Suppose the unorganized workers of America would take the same attitude and tell you to keep out of a field you have no right to be in. We cannot do that, Mr. President. If petitions come to us from the Community Fund or from the Red Cross or from other institutions appealing to labor, without the approval of labor, what shall we be setting up, a dynasty, a little world of our own, small as we are, with 45,000,000 workers in America, and we boast of 4,000,000 in our ranks and others boast of a larger number? Shall we be so narrow and selfish as to say that our central labor unions will not allow communications to be read unless they have the approval—of whom?

I think we ought to reconsider a drastic action of that kind. We are not independent enough, neither are we solid enough even among ourselves to say that we shall only read what is approved by ourselves.

Am I mistaken, Mr. President, in hearing the last paragraph of the committee's report? If I am, then I shall suspend, but if I am correct, should it be included in this committee's report? I think that is a denial of all the promises and hopes of labor. We should welcome all communications that will give us enlightenment and give us opportunity for thought and judgment and profit. But this committee tells us to pay no attention to a communication unless it is endorsed by labor. Am I right, Mr. President? May I ask the Chairman of the Committee to read that again?

President Green: Secretary Quinn will gladly respond to your request and make explanation as to the meaning of the committee's report.

Secretary Quinn: Mr. Chairman and delegates, answering the delegate relative to communications, your committee in its recommendation suggests that central bodies are not to recognize communications from organizations that are dual in capacity to the American Federation of Labor. That is the recommendation.

As the brother has stated, it is not the intention of our committee to say to a central body that they are not to receive communications from organizations that are civic organizations or community organizations, because the experience of officers in central bodies is that they as organizations take part and should take part in functions that are beneficial to organized labor.

Delegate Kearney, Boston Central Labor Union: Mr. President, I still oppose the committee's report because that is a denial of the hope of peace. You cannot write

anything like that in your committee report and deny those who disagree with you the opportunity to come into your Council through communications or in person or by committees. How can you expect us to understand what those dual organizations are thinking of if you are going to exclude them from coming into your councils? Some of them may come with appeals for consolidation. Some may come with hope as a result of the experiment of members of our Federation who left us a few years ago and are penitent, they may want to come back.

Don't talk of a dual organization when you have 30,000,000 workers that belong to nothing in our nation. Why should you say to my Central Labor Union in Boston that a recalcitrant union that is affiliated with the C. I. O. or some independent group may not have the privilege of writing us a letter, a letter of contrition, and that we shall not receive it. Is that helping your committee on peace that we hear so much about?

I don't think there is any reason for such a thing because you deny them the right of hearing, the right of appeal. Mr. President, I think that should not be there.

I believe in local autonomy. Don't you restrict my Central Labor Union to receiving any kind of a communication. Let us resolve its purpose, its objects, and let us design, but by this committee's report you absolutely exclude us from ever reading a communication from a dual organization. Is that right? Do you intend to have us instruct the Secretary of my Central Labor Union that because the communication comes from a dual union we shall discard it and throw it in the waste basket? That is not militant unionism, that is not the American Federation of Labor.

I think we ought to encourage communications from dual organizations. I think we ought to invite them, we ought to say to them like we have said, Mr. President, that the door is left open, we ought to invite the representatives of a greater dual organization than we have to contend with in our little Central Labor Union.

I move to amend, Mr. President, and I say that is negative to peace. That is an invitation for central labor unions to nullify peace. That is not what you want, and I move to amend that that section be referred back to the committee.

President Green: You have heard the motion offered by Delegate Kearney, that the section of the report to which he refers be referred back to the committee.

The motion was seconded, but was lost on being put to vote.

Delegate Kearney: I doubt the vote and ask for a rising vote. ☐

A vote by show of hands was taken, and was quite plainly a vote in the vast majority to uphold the committee's report.

President Green: Now, is there any doubt?

Delegate Kearney: I wish I could revoke that section and still doubt the vote.

President Green: The report of the committee as a whole has been adopted, and the committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report—Chairman Desepte.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Chairman Desepte submitted the following report: We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend the seating of delegates, as follows:

Joseph O'Neill, representing the Rectifiers of Spirits, Wine and Wholesale Liquor Workers' Union No. 20406, Chicago, Ill., with 7 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: May I ask all delegates and visitors to please be seated. In conformity with a custom that has been religiously followed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, we will pause for a moment now for the purpose of paying our tribute of respect to the memory of our departed brothers whose names I have here this afternoon. We have quite a long list of the names of members of the American Federation of Labor, some who served in official capacities, some who served as loyal, devoted members in their various communities and in various ways.

We are deeply touched when we participate in a brief memorial service at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I will call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read the list of the names of our departed brothers who passed away during the past year.

As usual, I wish to announce that we may not have all the names of our friends who passed away included in this list, so that after the reading of the list of names I will call upon any of you who are here to submit the names of any you may know to the Secretary-Treasurer, so that the names of all our departed brothers may be included in the permanent records of this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

After the list has been read we will rise and in a solemn way stand for a moment while we pay our tribute of respect to

our departed brothers. Secretary-Treasurer Meany.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following list of departed members of the American Federation of Labor:

List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1939 Convention

C. H. Deam, Member of Musicians Union of Springfield, Illinois; one of the founders of Core Makers' Union which later merged with the International Molders' Union of North America. November 10, 1939.

Adolph Kummer, Member of the Executive Board, International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America; former president of Central Labor Union of Cincinnati, Ohio, delegate from American Federation of Labor to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, 1930. November 29, 1939.

Santiago Iglesias, President Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico; resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico. December 4, 1939.

Dan Moley, Former President Cleveland Federation of Labor; also former President Cleveland Electrical Workers Union No. 38. December 26, 1939.

Mrs. Daisy A. Houch, Organizer for the American Federation of Labor; member General Executive Board, United Garment Workers of America. December, 1939.

Robert Fechner, Vice-President and member General Executive Board, International Association of Machinists, Director Civilian Conservation Corps. December 31, 1939.

P. J. McArdle, Former President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. January 1, 1940.

Albert J. Berres, Former Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor; retired industrial secretary of the Motion Picture Producers Association. Member Executive Board Pattern Makers League of North America. January 7, 1940.

Charles J. Case, Member International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; Secretary-Treasurer of the Ohio State Council of Building and Construction Trades. January 19, 1940.

John Coefield, President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; Vice-President, American Federation of Labor. February 7, 1940.

Thomas Fitzpatrick, One of the Founders of Chicago Carpenters' Union; President of Local No. 10, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners for 17 years. February 11, 1940.

J. H. LaForce, Representative, International Union of Operating Engineers. February 22, 1940.

Peter Burkhard, Member and Business Agent, Local No. 24, International Union of United Brewery Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, Brooklyn, N. Y. February 23, 1940.

Charles Yunkert, Member, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. March 6, 1940.

Henry Harshman, First President and charter member of Bartenders' Union. March 15, 1940.

Stewart E. Werner, Secretary-Treasurer Federal Labor Union No. 21135, Penn Argyle, Pennsylvania. March 18, 1940.

Captain Clemens, Charter member, Dayton Local Union No. 136, International Association of Fire Fighters. March 22, 1940.

M. J. Gillooly, International President, American Flint Glass Workers. April 2, 1940.

Nicholas A. Lehn, Charter member, Local No. 70, International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees, Youngstown, Ohio. April 5, 1940.

L. G. Shephard, Member, Cigar Makers Union for many years. April 5, 1940.

Geo. H. Slater, President, Texas State Federation of Labor from 1914 to 1934. April 9, 1940.

E. A. Densmore, Member, Building Trades Council of Portland. April 12, 1940.

Oscar C. Schmid, Labor leader in Sandusky, Ohio. April 26, 1940.

A. A. Lashley, Charter member International Typographical Union No. 238, Steubenville, Ohio. April 26, 1940.

Gilbert F. Mantor, Secretary-Treasurer, Special Delivery Messengers. May 19, 1940.

Jacob Goldstone, Bakery Workers International Union. June 4, 1940.

George V. Fay, Secretary, Upholsterers' International Union. June 4, 1940.

Gustav Schelb, Former member Plumbers' Union No. 224, Sandusky, Ohio. June 7, 1940.

Thomas E. Carroll, Representative International Association of Machinists. June 13, 1940.

J. J. McGowan, Former executive of National Brotherhood of Potters; president of East Liverpool Trades and Labor Council. June 14, 1940.

J. W. O'Hara, Member Dayton Painters Local Union No. 249. June 21, 1940.

George W. Whitford, Recording Secretary, Electrical Workers Local Union No. 3, New York City, and Member of the International Executive Council. June 21, 1940.

John F. Gatelee, President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. June 21, 1940.

L. M. Wilcox, General Chairman, District No. 41, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers for 19 years. July 9, 1940.

Albert Kohn, Member, Akron, Ohio, Sheet Metal Workers Union. July 12, 1940.

Charles A. Mulcahy, Member Post Office Clerks. July 19, 1940.

Edward J. Phelan, Member Post Office Clerks. July 19, 1940.

Homer Odell, International Representative, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union. July 20, 1940.

Harley J. Brower, Public Relations Representative of the LABOR UNION newspaper. July 26, 1940.

Collis Lovely, One of the founders of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union and President of that organization for 10 years. July, 1940.

J. F. Jett, Member United Plumbers and Steam Fitters. August 3, 1940.

Wm. J. Galvin, Business Agent, Cleveland Glaziers' Union No. 181. August 9, 1940.

Geo. Holdren, Secretary-Treasurer Plasterers' Union No. 441, Springfield. August 9, 1940.

M. F. Tighe, Former President, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. August 10, 1940.

Richard Vollmer, Secretary Local No. 24, Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers Union, Brooklyn, New York. August 25, 1940.

John Possehl, President, International Union of Operating Engineers, former First Vice-President, Building and Construction Trades Department, and former President of the Savannah, Georgia, Central Labor Union. September 14, 1940.

James V. Beyer, Last surviving charter member, Carpenters Local Union of Washington, D. C. September 13, 1940.

Herman Radtke, Special Representative of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers Union, Terre Haute, Indiana. September 23, 1940.

Jerome Jones, Past President and President Emeritus of Georgia State Federation of Labor and the Atlanta Central Labor Council; founder of the Atlanta Journal of Labor. September 24, 1940.

William E. Brown, Vice-President, New York State Federation of Labor; Business Agent for the Carpenters Local Union of Utica, New York. September 29, 1940.

Henry Ohl, Jr., President, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. October 16, 1940.

Edward A. Baulsair, Charter member Printing Pressmen's Union No. 1; former President and Vice-President of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. October 21, 1940.

Henry Sigmier, Former President of Electrical Workers Local Union No. 64 of Youngstown, Ohio; Business Agent of that union until his death; former Secretary Youngstown Building Trades Council; member Executive Board Ohio State Conference of Electrical Workers; Vice-President Ohio State Building Trades Council. October 25, 1940.

James F. Laverty, Vice-President Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Emil Muri, Retired General Executive Board Member, International Union of United Brewery, Flour Cereal and Soft Drink Workers, San Francisco, California. November 4, 1940.

Michael J. Colleran, President, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada. November 17, 1940.

James Edward Matthews, Former International Representative, International Alliance Theatrical and Stage Employees; long President, Local 33, I. A. T. S. E., Los Angeles, California.

P. F. Peterson, Member, Local S-94, American Federation of Musicians, Tulsa, Oklahoma; former delegate to convention of A. F. of L.

James F. Buff, Charter member, I. A. T. S. E. and M. P. M. O.; at his death was President of Local 507; former vice-president of Georgia Federation of Labor; former vice-president of Macon Federation of Labor Trades. August 18, 1939.

L. E. Soderstrom, Member of Chicago Typographical Union, No. 16, and former secretary-treasurer of Illinois Typographical Conference, and A. F. of L. representative. July 26, 1940.

James B. Connors, Former vice-president, Switchmen's Union of North America; vice-president of Illinois State Federation of Labor. September 27, 1940.

Albert H. Billet, Former Secretary-Treasurer, United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

William H. Shea, Business Agent, Plasterers and Cement Finishers, Toledo, Ohio. September, 1940.

James M. McGowan, Vice-President, N. B. of O. Potters. June 10, 1940.

Tim Hanafin, Vancouver, B. C. Vice-President of H. & R. E. T. A. and B. I. L. of A. January, 1940.

Daniel O. Collins, First Vice-President, Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers International Union of America. May, 1940.

William H. Sinclair, Former Business Agent, Local 196, Painters; age 82. August 21, 1940.

J. C. McDermott, President and Charter Member, A. F. of M., Local 368, Reno, Nevada; member of Plumbers and Steamfitters, Local 350, Reno, Nevada. June 8, 1940.

Blake C. Lewis, First Vice-President, Order of R. R. Telegraphers. April 15, 1940.

Myron T. Fullington, Sixth Vice-President, Order of R. R. Telegraphers. October 4, 1940.

John Hanison Spelts, Elected General Vice-President, 1907, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; age 77. December 16, 1939.

Jerry B. McMunn, Member Executive Board, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America. Pittsburgh, Pa.

C. J. McGlogan, International Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. April, 1940.

M. J. Gordon, Member, International Executive Council, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. June 15, 1940.

James J. Spain, Former Delegate to A. F. of L. and President of Local 143, International Union of Engineers. April 26, 1940.

Wm. McIntire, General Organizer, Brotherhood of Painters. December 18, 1939.

Ralph Nichols, General Organizer, Brotherhood of Painters. April 10, 1940.

Gad Martindale, Former Vice-President, Boot & Shoe Workers Union; Rochester, N. Y. December 12, 1939.

James J. Linton, Former International President, Theatrical Stage Employees; New York. April, 1940.

President Green: We will now honor our departed members by standing a moment while we pay silent tribute to the memory of our departed brothers.

Announcements

Secretary Meany: I wish to announce that the conference set for 8:00 p. m. this evening, called by Workers' Education Bureau, for state representatives of labor, is to be held in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Roosevelt, instead of in the Gold Room as formerly announced.

Chairman Harrison, of the Committee on Education, wishes the announcement made of a meeting of his committee in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Roosevelt tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock.

The Clerk of the Post Office in this Auditorium informs me that there are a number of letters in his office. He asks that the delegates pick them up tonight as the office will not be open tomorrow morning. Some of them are special delivery letters.

The Secretary read a list of names of delegates to whom telegrams had been sent that had not been called for.

The Secretary also made further announcement of the religious services for Sunday morning, November 24, as follows:

First Baptist Church, 11:00 o'clock, a. m., President Green.

Westminster Presbyterian Church, 11:00 o'clock, a. m., Kenneth Taylor, President, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

Christ Cathedral, Spencer Miller, 11:00 o'clock, a. m.

Salem Evangelical Church, Mr. John Frey, Metal Trades Department.

St. Charles Christian Church, Roy M. Brewer, President, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

President Green has asked me to again announce the Mass at St. Louis Cathedral, at 10:00 o'clock, a. m., at which Archbishop Rummel will speak.

Delegate Brown, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, announced a meeting at 9:00 o'clock, Saturday morning, in the Roosevelt Hotel, and requested all delegates interested in resolutions before that committee to be present. He also announced that at some session early next week there will be hearings for those interested in the cannery industry.

Re-reference of Resolutions

Nos. 117 and 160

President Green: The Chair desires to re-refer Resolution 117, protesting against health examination of printing trades mechanics in the Government Printing Office at Washington, and Resolution 160, Lake County, Indiana, Central Labor Union, opposing physical examination of workers employed in national defense, from the Committee on Resolutions, to which these two resolutions were referred, to the Committee on Legislation.

I wish to announce a part of our program for next week. On Monday morning at 10:00 o'clock, Sir Walter Citrine will deliver an address to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. The public is invited to come and sit with us and listen to the address. We are endeavoring to arrange for the address

to be delivered over a national hook-up by radio.

At 11:00 o'clock, Governor Winant, Director of the International Labor Office, will address the convention.

On Tuesday afternoon the Secretary of Labor will attend and address the convention, at 2:30 o'clock.

On Wednesday, His Grace, the Most Reverend Archbishop of New Orleans, Joseph Francis Rummel, will attend and deliver an address at 11:00 o'clock. In addition, the National Commander of the American Legion will address the convention on Wednesday.

These distinguished speakers are coming here for the purpose of delivering addresses to those in attendance at our convention. I wish to appoint Delegates Maurice A. Hutcheson, Alex Rose and Kenneth I. Taylor, as a committee to meet and escort the Director of the International Labor Office, Governor Winant, to the hall Monday morning. I suggest that the committee meet and confer with our mutual friend, James Wilson, liaison officer of the Labor Office, as to the time Governor Winant will arrive.

I will appoint Brother W. C. Birthright, Brother David Dubinsky and Brother R. G. Soderstrom as a committee to meet and escort Secretary of Labor Perkins to address the convention on Tuesday afternoon. I think perhaps the Secretary will arrive in New Orleans Monday night or Tuesday morning.

I wish to appoint, to meet with Sir Walter Citrine and arrange for him to come to the hall Monday morning to deliver his address, in conformity with his convenience: Brother Daniel J. Tobin, Brother Felix Knight, Brother Harvey W. Brown.

Are there any further convention committees ready to report? Are there any further announcements? If not, it seems that we have reached the end of our program for today, consequently the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until Monday morning, at 9:30 o'clock.

At 4:45 o'clock, p. m., a motion was adopted to suspend the rules and adjourn to 9:30 o'clock, a. m., Monday, November 25, 1940.

Fifth Day — Monday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 25, 1940.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, a. m., by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Costas, Crist, DiGuardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gallagher, Gresty, Hall, Higgins, Holcott, Hood, James, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Moore, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Powers, Joseph, Roark, Ruddick, Reid, Saltman, Sutherland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Younker.

President Green called upon Chairman Desepte for a supplement report of the Committee on Credentials.

INVOCATION

Rev. H. A. Gibbs, Napoleon Ave.
Methodist Church

As we assemble this morning, our Heavenly Father, we invoke Thy blessing upon this body of people who have gathered here for the purpose of carrying out their plans looking toward the benefiting of the laboring class of people of our country. We pray Thy richest blessings upon this group, as we think of the good having been done through the years, planning to bring out the efficiency of men, and their labor, planning to give to them value received for their labor as they have thought in terms of the needs of their children, of their families, of lifting our standards of living, trying to establish cooperation and good will, trying to bring men everywhere to the level of fellowship and cooperation. Again we ask Thy richest blessings on this body in their deliberations this morning. What is to be done, may it have Thy approval. May this group be able to leave this annual session filled with the desire of lifting men closer to each other, to have a better understanding of the meaning of life. We ask it in Thy name, Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Desepte read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend the seating of delegates, as follows:

M. D. Biggs, additional delegate repre-

senting the Seafarers' International Union of North America, with 62 votes.

In accordance with communication received, signed jointly by the President and Secretary of the Virginia State Federation of Labor, we recommend the seating of Joseph Rossano, in place of delegate John H. Hall, Jr., who is unable to attend the convention, to represent that organization, with 1 vote.

Chairman Desepte also acknowledged the receipt of a credential and the seating of Sir Walter Citrine as a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Re-reference of Resolutions

An announcement was made that the following resolutions were referred from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Legislation: Resolutions 117 and 160. Resolution No. 176, from the Committee on Building Trades to the Committee on Legislation.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Ornburn, of the Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn: Your Committee on Legislation held a series of conferences on the resolutions and matters assigned to the Committee, and everyone was given an opportunity to be heard. I take this opportunity to compliment the members of the committee for their diligence and attendance to duty.

Secretary George will submit the report for the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Legislation had referred to it the following subjects dealt with in the report of the Executive Council:

National Legislation—Page 65-67.
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs—Page 67-68.
Prison-Made Goods—Page 70-71.
Ship Construction by Maritime Commission—Page 71-72.
Federal Employees—Page 72-74.
Migratory Labor—Page 74-75.
Wages at Boulder Dam—Page 75-76.
Transportation Act of 1940—Page 76.
Truth in Fabric Bill—Page 76.
Aid for Blind Persons—Page 76.
Canal Zone—Page 76-77.
Alaska Railway Retirement Act—Page 77.

- Prevailing Rate of Wages for Territories—Page 77.
- Extension of "Clean Politics" Act—Page 77-78.
- Reorganization of Government Activities—Page 78.
- Reapportionment—Page 79.
- Walsh-Healy Act Amendments—Page 80.
- Oppressive Labor Practices—Page 80.
- Settlement of Disputes with the United States—Page 80-81.
- Anti-Lynching Bill—Page 45.
- Payment of Poll Tax as a Pre-requisite for Voting—Page 81-82.
- Motion Picture Films Distribution—Page 82.
- Wire Tapping—Page 82-83.
- Discrimination against Graduates of Certain Law Schools—Page 83.
- Government Printing Office Employees—Page 83.
- Sugar Legislation—Page 83-84.
- Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs, etc.—Page 84.
- Maritime Legislation—Page 90-93.
- The following resolutions were also referred to this Committee:
- Resolutions Numbers 65 to 96, inclusive, No. 112, No. 117, Nos. 131 to 148, inclusive, No. 160, No. 166, No. 171 and No. 176, in all, fifty-five resolutions.

The Committee has held three meetings and has given careful consideration to the work intrusted to it and begs to submit the following report.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(Report of Executive Council, Pages 65-67)

The Report of the Executive Council dealing with National Legislation lists many legislative matters of major importance that directly or indirectly affect the welfare of the workers or would affect them if enacted into law. Among those listed are some that were made laws and some that were defeated and some that are now pending in the 76th Congress.

It is not amiss to again point out that the defeat of unfavorable legislation or of vicious amendments to favorable legislation is of as great importance as the securing of new favorable legislation.

The report points out that the second session of the 76th Congress was in session at the time of the Cincinnati Convention in October, 1939, having been convened in special session on September 21st, 1939 and that it remained in session until November 3rd, 1939.

The third session of the 76th Congress met on January 3, 1940, and is still in session. Due to the acute international situation, since July 1st, the major attention of this session has been directed to measures of defense and preparedness. Because of this, progress on new progressive legislation has been slow.

The defense program, however, and the legislative enactments in connection therewith are of vital importance to all workers and require the utmost vigilance of the organized Labor Movement to insure that there shall be no breaking down of the established principles in labor relations.

Two of the bills "to expedite the strengthening of National Defense", H. R. 9822 and H. R. 9850, as passed by the House of Representatives, carried provisions authorizing the Secretary of War and for the Secretary of the Navy to set aside Section 6 of the Act of August 24, 1912, in reference to any employee engaged in any activity in connection with the National Defense. The provision of the Act of August 24, 1912, which could have been set aside arbitrarily by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy is known as the Lloyd-Lafollette Anti-Ging Law which gives to Postal employees the right to organize and to affiliate with other organized groups and which restored to Government employees the right to petition Congress for redress of grievances and for improved working conditions. That measure was enacted in 1912 through the intensive efforts of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and the American Federation of Labor.

When these two bills came before the Senate the Legislative Representative of the American Federation of Labor and his assistants gave every possible cooperation to the representatives of the affiliated organizations of Government employees and amendments offered by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., were finally incorporated in the laws which safeguard the rights that had been endangered.

During consideration of appropriation bills by the Senate an amendment was proposed by Senator Byrd of Virginia to reduce arbitrarily all appropriations except those for national defense and fixed charges. Adoption of that proposal would have resulted in loss of salary and other privileges by all Government employees. Through the concerted efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees and the American Federation of Labor the Byrd amendment was defeated.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council and the Legislative Representative and his assistants upon the enactments secured of favorable measures in the face of extreme difficulties but more particularly upon the defeat of these and other proposals that would have deprived many workers of rights previously gained at great sacrifice.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FACTS ON PRODUCTIVITY AND LABOR COSTS

H. J. Res. 265 (Pub. Res. 77th Cong.) (Executive Council's Report, Pages 65-67)

Under this caption the Executive Council calls attention to the value of adequate and reliable statistics on Productivity and Labor Costs secured under the Public Resolution which was sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. Detailed information regarding 59 industries over the period from 1910 to 1936, inclusive, are now available for the use of organizations in negotiating wage and hour agreements and in combating the evil of technological unemployment.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRISON MADE GOODS

(Executive Council's Report Pages 70-71)

This section reviews briefly the history of legislation to prohibit the sale of prison-made goods in competition with the products of free labor, beginning with the Hawes-Cooper Act of 1929, and citing the subsequent Ashurst-Summers Act of 1935. Three measures dealing with this subject were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and enacted by this Congress.

Pub. No. 851—76th Congress further restricts the sales of prison made goods.

Pub. Res. No. 85—76th Congress provides for the compilation by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of information regarding the manufacture, sale, and distribution of prison made goods.

Pub. No. 530—76th Congress provides for continuance of the work of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration.

Your committee commends the Executive Council upon these legislative gains and recommends that the fullest possible cooperation be given to State Federations in securing supplemental state legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SHIP CONSTRUCTION BY MARITIME COMMISSION—H. R. 10380.—S. 4341

(Executive Council's Report Pages 71-72)

Under this caption the Report of the Executive Council sets forth an amendment proposed by the American Federation

of Labor to the bills introduced to expedite the national defense by suspending the 8-hour law on work covered by contracts entered into by the Maritime Commission. The amendment, providing for a minimum of time and one-half for all time in excess of eight hours per day or forty hours per week, was adopted and the bill enacted into law.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council upon this protection of hour standards for workers and recommends that the report be accepted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council's Report Pages 72-74)

Under the caption "Federal Employees" the Executive Council recites the history of numerous measures affecting employees of the United States Government that were before the 76th Congress. Three measures to correct inequities in legislation affecting postal employees were enacted into law.

A bill to provide salary increases for village letter carriers and two bills to provide benefits for custodial employees in the Postal Service and in the Navy Yards were passed by the Congress and vetoed by the President.

Amendments to the bills "to expedite the strengthening of national defense" providing for time and one-half for overtime were adopted.

H. R. 960, by Representative Ramspeck of Georgia, a bill to extend the classified civil service, which had the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, passed the House and was subsequently reported to the Senate with several amendments. Senator James M. Mead of New York led the successful fight in the Senate for its adoption. The House refused to agree to the Senate amendments and the bill was sent to conference. The conferees reached an agreement and the Senate accepted the conference report but the House again refused to agree and a further conference was requested.

Since the convening of this convention the conferees have again met and agreed upon a report which was accepted by both Houses of Congress.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue efforts to secure favorable action upon the bill's now pending and particularly S. 4196, a bill to provide for time and one-half for overtime to certain groups of employees of the War and Navy Departments omitted from the present laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MIGRATORY LABOR—H. RES. 63

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 74)

The Executive Council reports the adoption of a House Resolution providing for an investigation of the needs of migratory workers, the information thus secured to form the basis of remedial measures. It also reports the success of efforts to secure appropriations to continue the labor camp program of the Farm Security Administration and of the farm tenant purchase program.

Your Committee recommends that the report be accepted with the commendation of the Convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**WAGES AT BOULDER DAM—H.
R. 9877 (PUB. No. 756—
76th CONG.)**

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 75-76)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports its successful advocacy of legislation to provide for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to laborers and mechanics employed at Boulder Dam.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1940
—S. 2009 (PUB. No. 785—
76th CONG.)**

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 76)

Under this title the Executive Council reports the enactment of legislation to extend the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to water-borne commerce and the adoption of a provision for the protection of employment of employees of carriers by railroad in the case consolidations.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**TRUTH IN FABRIC BILL—S. 162
(PUB. No. 850—76th CONG.)**

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 76)

The Executive Council reports the enactment of a law to require the labeling of goods to show their content and quality of wool, a measure sought by the American Federation of Labor for many years.

Your committee recommends that the report be accepted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**AID FOR BLIND PERSONS—H. R.
9539**

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 76)

The Executive Council reports its successful effort to secure an increase in the appropriation for books for the adult blind.

The report, however, states the efforts to secure a liberalization of the law authorizing the operation by blind persons of vending stands in Federal buildings were unsuccessful.

Your committee recommends that the executive Council be instructed to continue efforts to secure favorable action on that measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CANAL ZONE

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 76-77)

The Executive Council reports the enactment of legislation to bar the employment of aliens by the Army, the Navy, the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, as well as contractors who perform work for them on the Isthmus. This is in accord with resolutions adopted by the Cincinnati Convention. The report also relates the terms of legislation to improve wage and hour conditions of employees.

An amendment to the Canal Zone retirement law passed the Senate but is still pending in the House.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council on the liberalizing legislation secured and recommends continued efforts to secure enactment of pending legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ALASKA RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT—H. R. 8046 (PUB. No. 680)

(Executive Council's Report, Page 77)

The Executive Council reports the extension of the purview of the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act to embrace clerical employees.

Your committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PREVAILING RATE OF WAGES FOR TERRITORIES—S. 3650

(PUB. No. 633-76th CONG.) (Executive Council's Report, Page 77)

The Executive Council reports extension of the Davis-Bacon Act requiring the payment of the prevailing rate of wages on public works to the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii.

Your committee recommends that the report be accepted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HATCH ACT — EXTENSION OF "CLEAN POLITICS" ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 77-78)

The Executive Council reports the enactment of the second Hatch Act restricting political activities of employees of political subdivisions of the United States whose compensation is paid in whole or in part from Federal funds and also limiting the amount of individual contributions to campaign funds as well as limiting the amount of annual expenditures by a political organization.

Your Committee recommends that the report be accepted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Now the Chair desires to announce that Sir Walter Citrine has arrived in the hall and the committee appointed to escort him to the platform will please do so at once. He will speak at 10:30 over the national hook-up of the National Broadcasting System. I have appointed a committee to escort Sir Walter to the stage just now.

Now within the next minute or two Sir Walter Citrine will begin the delivery of his address. I deem it appropriate to report to those in attendance at this session of the convention this morning that the National Broadcasting Company very kindly agreed to allow us three-quarters of an hour over the broadcasting system, so that the address of Sir Walter Citrine will not only be delivered to this convention, but it will be submitted to the millions of listeners over the radio. We are happy indeed in that we are privileged to submit this address over the radio so that so many can hear it who may be listening at their radios this morning. I will pause just a moment now until the time arrives and I will be pleased to present Sir Walter Citrine to this splendid audience this morning.

As Sir Walter Citrine appeared on the stage, President Green continued: I present to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention of the American Federation of Labor and to the radio audience, Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

SIR WALTER CITRINE

(Secretary, British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen—It is my proud privilege to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the five million members organized in the 223 unions attached to the British Trades Union Congress. This is your sixtieth anniversary, and for 47 years of that 60 years we have been an almost constant visitor to your conventions. Year by year your delegates have come to our country and ours have come here to explain to you something of the problems with which we were faced and to hear from you what subjects were engaging your attention.

This has been more than an exchange of delegates. It has grown into the intimacy of a close friendship and enables me to talk to you with the frank intimacy of an old friend.

Our movements have a very close affinity. Our people are drawn basically from the same stock. Over to this country several hundred years ago there came the Pilgrim fathers, fleeing from religious persecution and seeking opportunities of spiritual development in a land other than the one in which they were born. Since that time an infusion of the best elements of thinking and enterprising people of other countries, seeking to express themselves religiously or politically, which the laws of their own countries forbade, have arrived on your shores.

Now you are in a sense a community of nations, and as a community of nations you embody all the best qualities which our old established order of Europe has yielded. Our ideals are common. We strive pri-

marily to uplift culturally, materially and morally, the millions of members whom we jointly represent. We are bound together by our faith in democracy and the institutions, which, after countless sacrifices, have been built up in other lands. When I speak of democracy I am thinking not merely of a form of government. You are a democracy, and so we claim are we. You are a republic, we have a limited monarchy. You have a President. We have a King. Your President exercises by far more authority, administrative and executive power than the King of England has ever exercised for a century.

You, too, have your legislative assemblies. You, too, have your courts for the purpose of carrying out the daily administration of disputes between individuals. But you have in a sense one, I think I ought to say, a doubtful advantage which we do not enjoy. You have a Supreme Court.

Democracy, then, is not a form of government. It is a way of life. It is a spiritual quality; it is something which is rooted in the basic belief that every man and woman in the community, irrespective of how humble they may be, has a right to participate in the government of the country and the making of the laws. That principle was enshrined in the Declaration of Independence, that established this great community.

No one for one second claims that that conception of democracy has yet been fully accomplished in any country in the world. But what we can say is that step by step we are progressing far along the road to that most desirable goal.

The essence of democracy is that power is vested in the people operating through institutions of their own choosing and not susceptible to dictation from above. Democracy depends primarily upon reason, upon consultation, upon comradeship. We seek day by day to find means of exchanging our experiences, of traveling beyond our national boundaries in order that we can find what is best in the countries of the world. You and we, in pursuance of this traversing outside our own frontiers, are linked up together, not simply in the International Labor Organization or the League of Nations, but in the trade union organization known as the International Federation of Trades Unions. That body rests upon a basic principle of democracy. It does not seek to impose the views of any section upon the others. Every section enjoys complete autonomy and determines its own policies. They come together to consult, to deliberate, and, where possible, to agree upon policies.

Most assuredly the purpose of this consultation is to inform, and not to instruct or to order. It is in that spirit that I come to you this morning. It is of special importance that we should commune together in these desperate days. The fate of generations is being decided at this very moment. Great masses of men, great quantities of materials have been amassed for the purpose of fighting out in the primitive

method of warfare, some of the differences which have arisen in Europe.

I have been enabled, from a somewhat privileged position, to see this process taking place. For the last 12 years it has been my privilege to act as the President of the International Federations. My duties have taken me into almost every country in Europe. I have had the opportunity of discussing at firsthand with statesmen, with workers, with democrats, all kinds of problems that they encounter.

Six years ago I came to this country, at the special invitation of President Green, to explain to you the dangers which were besetting democracy and its institutions in Europe. I emphasized time and time again in the course of that visit that Fascism and Nazism, which are merely different names for the same basic determination to destroy everything that you and we revere, would, if unchecked, plunge the world into war.

That war is now upon us. I returned in 1936, and through the instrumentality of the Labor Chest tried to develop once again a growing consciousness in the minds of the American people as to what this menace really was. We set up in this country what was called the Labor Chest for the relief of the victims of Fascism and Nazism. We did something equally as practicable. We established a consumer's boycott of Germany's goods and services, the purpose of which was to prevent the Nazis being able to profit by their international trade, so that they could not manufacture the weapons of war. Had that boycott been supported in the manner and to the degree to which you and I would have wished, we should not have been in the catastrophe we are in today.

But mankind is notoriously apathetic and incredulous. They could not believe that any country, after the experience of 1914-1918, could once again, of deliberate policy, seek to plunge this great community once more into the horrors of war. And so it was that when they were told that the Germans were re-arming and over fist, they just shrugged their shoulders and thought we were drawing upon our imagination.

Finally, Great Britain and France were compelled to take notice of this menace and set about re-arming. Their decision to re-arm was announced to the League of Nations Conference in Geneva by the then foreign secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden. I was present at that declaration, and I remember the ringing tones in which he declared that Great Britain was going to spend fifteen hundred million dollars per year for the purposes of rearmament. He thought it was an enormous sum. Indeed, it represented more than one-third of our total national budget. The delegates thrilled in consequence of this. They began to realize that Britain meant business. They would have thrilled a good deal less, perhaps, if they had realized that Germany

was then spending over five times that sum on her rearmament.

Our government tried to operate a dual policy. It tried on the one hand to maintain its basic trade, its international and internal trade, while at the same time it sought to effect this rearmament. Many times there was a clash as to where materials should be devoted; whether it was more important that those materials should be used for the manufacture of ships, of cannons, of airplanes, or whether they should go into the commodities which we normally use in trade. It was very apparent, then, to some of us, that the process of rearmament was not merely inadequate, but it was terribly slow.

Our Present Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill and myself, running the risk of a great deal of misunderstanding, exposed to the charge that we were forming some new political group, decided that we would undertake a campaign in the country for the purposes of supporting collective security. Well, everybody believed in collective security. We could show resolutions galore attesting the determination of the people to support collective security. But collective security, like all forms of government, ultimately must rest for its final determination upon force. There was no use passing resolutions. It was no use to try in such puny fashion to rearm, while your opponents were preparing for the day, arming secretly, arming extensively without any debates in Parliament or elsewhere. They were determined to select a time table which would make it impossible for us to keep up with.

Our attempt to carry on business as usual in Great Britain, and at the same time face the menace of dictatorship by a thorough and drastic rearmament completely failed. We found that Germany had been on a war footing for several years. As long ago as 1936 the Germans would have been able then, by the pressing of a button, to have mobilized their forces.

My point here is this: I don't want anybody to labor under the delusion that even after five years of rearmament in Britain, we have made up the loss of that time, and that today we are on a plan with the Nazis. Our Prime Minister said in an address reported yesterday that Britain is only a quarter armed. Why do I recount this? In order that you may profit by this experience, that you may not make our mistakes, that you may realize that this menace may burst upon you any day, and that when it comes you ought to be as adequately prepared for it as the Nazis.

We made the mistake of assuming that promises were performances. We thought that a press announcement was a proved achievement, and while I hesitate to say anything here that may be misunderstood, I seriously hope that won't be the position in this country. A stupendous effort is needed if rearmament is to attain the magnitude the Axis powers have at their disposal.

In the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor it is said that rearmament will take, under ordinary conditions, from two to four years. Well, I think the second figure is probably the more accurate of the two. I ask you to consider whether in this process of rearmament the Nazis will wait four years. They may make some very unexpected moves in the Western Hemisphere. My purpose in saying this to you is clear. The only thing the dictators fear is force, and if you can shorten the process in amassing that force, I am certain you will promote the cause of humanity.

I will not recount to you the tragic events that preceded this war, the vacillation of statesmen and governments, with war looming nearer and nearer every day. Our Congress as far back as 1933 realized the seriousness of the Nazi menace. In 1938, a desperate attempt was made to appease the dictators. You might just as well try to appease the wolf by throwing him an occasional chicken as to try to appease the Nazis, by sacrificing Czechoslovakia. Hitler then said he had no further claims to make in Europe. Not only is Hitler making claims now, but is seeking to establish them by force of arms. In these circumstances we in the British Trades Union movement said, year after year, to the German people: "Can't you see where your government is leading you? Can't you see unless you restrain your government your country will be plunged into a war more bloody and brutal than the last war?" There was no outward response. Yet we felt that within that country the love of liberty could not be extinguished. What has happened is that the dictatorship, operating with ruthless efficiency, has crushed out every opportunity of organized opposition.

I will remember the scene when our Congress was assembled in Bridlington, when in the quiet tones of our Prime Minister we learned that war between Germany and Britain was actually at hand. We did not want to fight Germany, or anyone else. And yet there we were, left with no alternative but to use force against the dictators who are using as their instruments the common people. I remember glancing around the room and seeing on the faces of every one present anxiety written; anxiety, but determination also. That determination is still with us. Our Parliament was in session at that time, and we issued a declaration affirming our resolve to stand up to Hitlerism. I would not have referred to this but for the fact that since I have come here I have found some very strange and unaccountable beliefs that in some way the British people are wavering. Only a month ago in our Congress at home we passed with the complete support of the delegates, a resolution pledging our determination to carry on the struggle until victory is won. We understand what it means if dictatorship prevails. We know that the basic principle upon which the dictatorship rests is that there can be no other form of organization within the community, that can challenge the will of the dictatorship. In Germany every vestige of organized religion, organized politics, or organized trade unionism was crushed with a

ruthlessness that belongs to the Middle Ages. When the dictators marched into Holland and Norway and Denmark and found labor organizations they immediately disbanded the organizations and confiscated the funds. Can anybody doubt that if Hitlerism and Fascism become triumphant our movement can not survive? When I say our movement I mean our labor movement. Our movement is not some soulless organization. It is a movement of a band of people trying to express themselves in an organized form, to raise the standard of life of the community as a whole. Thousands of our people have made sacrifices in order to enable this movement to function. I ask what will be the fate of that movement if the dictators triumph.

Trade unionism is both a cause and a product of democracy. It can only function in an atmosphere of free expression. It can not function in cellars or behind closed doors. It must impress the public mind, and it must be given facilities to do that. Trade unionism basically is the assertion of the rights of the common man, of the principle that it is not ordained by God that any community should be ruled by aristocracies, whether those aristocracies are of birth or wealth. In pursuit of that principle of voluntary organization, you will find that organizations and groups of people have developed in every corner of the land, meeting to promote some laudable purpose.

I make no apology for saying that no country, no movement has made greater progress towards the attainment of its ideals than has the British Trades Union movement. In our country we have used the instrument of taxation to effect a very extensive redistribution of the wealth of the country. We have succeeded in putting the burdens on the backs of those broadest to bear them. There are only 10,000 people in Great Britain who are receiving an annual income of upwards of \$50,000. Together these people in income, have approximately \$900,000,000 a year. But we don't leave them with that sum. In the first instance, the government takes \$600,000,000 from that immediately in direct taxation. Then we have a system of death duties in our country, and when people of great incomes die a sum on a graduated scale is taken from those estates and paid over to the state itself. Every year some of these rich people die and we take from them in taxes a further \$200,000,000 a year. So that the sum taken from \$900,000,000 is \$800,000,000. I don't think taxation has gone to that extent in your country. Out of every five dollars of income of the richest people of our country, \$4.37 is taken in taxation.

There is an impression that our country is governed by old and very rich families, families living on country estates and in magnificent mansions. That may have been true at one time. The families to day may be old, but very few of them are rich. Nor do they exclusively govern our country. The development of our political democracy has meant that on two occasions Labor has formed the government of our country. Our men are today serving in the highest posts

in the state in the present cabinet. The capital of our country, London, is governed by a Labor majority, and those of you who are Scotchmen may be pleased to know that Glasgow, too, has a Labor majority ruling that city.

There is a gradual emergence of the principle that there are some inherent rights, some inherent dignities in labor itself. We affirm with you that labor is not a commodity. Labor is not something inanimate, like glass or steel or wood, or coal, labor is a live vibrant, human thing. It doesn't do what it is ordered like some inanimate thing. It has an incurable habit of doing exactly the opposite to what has been predicted by the psychologists, the sociologists, the economists, and all the other "ists" who dogmatize on labor questions.

We must in essence ground our movement on the principle that dictatorship is alien to our conceptions and to our ideals. We have obtained tangible achievements in our countries, and we are not going to exchange those tangible achievements of British citizenship for slavery and servitude under the dictators.

As your President said in 1934 at the convention in San Francisco, "no red-blooded men has ever submitted to tyranny. American labor has never done it and it never will." I say that, too, of British labor. No dictator will wrest from us, while we have life and power to resist, the gains which we have made.

Now, what is the trade union part in this struggle. We have pursued three main aims of policy. The first is the continuance of our inflexible resolve to prosecute this struggle. The second is to maintain and safeguard the rights and the standards of life of our people, and thirdly, to widen the influence of our movement.

When I speak of inflexible resolve I am speaking for the whole British nation. I know that our present Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, in the eyes of many, is the embodiment of the determination and the doggedness of our people. Many ask what would happen if Mr. Churchill, through some unforeseen circumstance, was unable to continue to direct the struggle? Would the people go on resisting? Well, one has to travel 3,000 miles to find that sort of query. The British people have no such doubts. Mr. Churchill himself would be the first to attest that if that position arose when he was no longer able to lead, the confidence of the people would be reposed in his successor as firmly as it is in him.

So I say that we are determined to go on. The courage of our people displayed in the factories, in the work shops, in the transport systems, and on the high seas is something that makes me feel very proud. I have seen the bombs trying to blast their bodies, but I have yet to see the bomb that can blast the spirit of our people. So, as far as the first point is concerned we are determined to pursue our inflexible resolve.

Now, as to the second point, that of safeguarding of our rights and standards. It is axiomatic that in wartime power rapidly passes from the normal governing bodies in the community to government administration of one kind or another. What is called bureaucracy in wartime is something we are determined to prevent. We are not going to have "tin-pot" Hitlers built up in our own country, during the course of the struggle we are making against Hitler.

Having said that, let me put to you what I think is an irrefutable principle. Restrictions on the individual in wartime is an inescapable concomitant of war. The dictatorships are able to act decisively and quickly, and unless the democracies can devise a system during warfare to act just as decisively and perhaps more quickly than the dictatorships, the democracies cannot survive.

Therefore, when I speak of dictatorship within our own state and bureaucracy, etc., I have in mind this: I am not afraid to trust people with the exercise of power, who can use that power, but I demand the right to keep a vigilant eye upon them in the prosecution of the struggle, to see that they do not misuse that power. Power in Great Britain in wartime, legislatively and from the broadest social point of view, rests with Parliament. Those of you who follow our affairs must have noticed that on occasions the government has introduced measures which it has had to withdraw because of the opposition they encountered in Parliament.

Outside of Parliament our trade union movement is watchfully cooperating in the various state activities. How can this be considered as a surrender of democracy? Unless democracy is intelligent enough to conceive means of speed and action, it is impossible, I repeat, for us to combat dictatorship.

For the first eight months of the war there was a massive period. Some of you, I think, called it a "phony" war—I believe I heard such a sentiment come trickling across the Atlantic. In our country we called it the "bore" war. During these first eight months we had very few disputes in industry, and our unions were pledged to the acceleration of rearmament, dilution and large schemes of training for that purpose.

But those schemes set forward two elementary principles. The first one was that no scheme could be introduced without the consent and consultation of the unions. Secondly, that they should not be resorted to except and unless the available unemployed had been absorbed. It is perfectly clear that it would be utterly foolish, in a war for the defense of democracy, to insist upon the maintenance of certain trade union restrictions modeled for the purpose of restraining the employer during peacetime, and applying those restrictions to the effect of the nation to equip itself with the means of resistance.

When the collapse of France took place, as you all know, we were faced with a tremendous problem. Just imagine our position. We had seen this German war machine, marching with a momentum almost incredible, sweeping across the plains of Belgium and of Holland, across the frontier into France and driving before it thousands of terror-stricken women and children. We had seen the French coast line occupied, and in the ports attached to that coast line, were thousands of men being massed in vessels, ready to sail across the narrow English Channel to invade our shores.

We knew that the mightiest air force in the world, unchallenged so far, was massing to make its attack upon us. We had seen its ruthlessness in Poland, aye, in Holland. Those of you who recall the assault of the Nazi airplanes on Rotterdam, where they blasted a city to dust because the Dutch had the courage to resist, will appreciate the fate which awaited us. We knew that Hitler had given the word to "erase their cities"—to leave them in ruins and if possible to annihilate our people. Our people were ready to defend themselves as best they could.

And what sort of defense had we against this? Our defense was, first, our navy, with immense responsibilities added to it because of the surrender of the French navy. Our second line of defense was our army, almost completely robbed of its equipment because of the hasty evacuation of France, where hundreds of millions of dollars worth of equipment had to be left. The third line was our fortresses, non-existent, practically speaking, before June. Hastily, new systems had to be devised and men turned on to build fortresses around our coast.

We suddenly swore in a Home Guard, the purpose of which was to defend the homeland. Then we had our air force, small but confident—confident as a result of having demonstrated its superiority over the forces of the Germans, machine for machine.

In these circumstances, to whom were we to look, if not to the great American democracy? When we made our appeal to you there were some of your best informed people who believed we could not last for 30 days. Yet you sent us the equipment. Over the Atlantic there came a stream of armaments, all of it massing up and equipping our forces until today we say as a nation, let the invader come—let the invader come!

I say never before have we been threatened with such dangers. Never before has the spirit of our people been so tested and never before have we had such a magnificent response from a neighbor, such as you gave to us.

Now I want to talk to you about the responsibility that was imposed upon us in the labor movement. Every section of the community was ready to defend our institutions. Could labor, with all its insistence upon the necessity of standing up to Hitler, do less than that? When our Prime Minister sent for us and told us first hand the

problem, he said, "We have to think now in terms of the next 24 hours. Long range policy is not our concern at the moment. We have to think of what we are going to do to defend our shores." He said, "We can't haggle with the property owner as to whether or not we shall build a line of fortifications across his property. We can't haggle at a time like this, we have got to act." He said in the same way: "Is it reasonable to suggest that we have got to hold up this kind of work because this particular job happens to be a mason's, a bricklayer's, or a carpenter's, because we can't get men on those particular trades except from the other end of the country?" We said this to him: "We are prepared to surrender such rights on the clear understanding that full restoration will be legislatively given to us, and provided that all sections of the community are equally treated." We said to him, "Let's see your legislation and the powers you propose to take. If you propose to take rights over property equal to those you propose to take over labor, then we will support you."

And our Prime Minister, even before the House of Commons, our legislative assembly or even the full cabinet, had seen the proposals, submitted them to the Trades Union Congress for approval, and we approved them.

I know it is impossible to redramatize the situation. You are 3,000 miles away and vivid as your imaginations may be, it can't quite carry you in flight to the position we were in in those days. But how could we haggle in a situation like that? How could we argue? We had said so many times that we would be destroyed if Nazism succeeded. Could we, now that the moment had arrived to throw our weight into the struggle as never before, stop and bargain and argue?

We brought into conference all our full executive councils within three days. We consulted them and with absolute unanimity the whole of the Executive Councils of the trade union movement in our country—there were over 1,250 people present—told us that we could support whatever measures were necessary, including those which had been outlined to them.

We had already explained our proposals in respect of demarcation and such questions. We had already agreed to training and dilution. Now we were asked to agree to a new principle, a very important and dangerous one. That the state should be given the power by Parliament, to order any person to put his services at the disposal of the state in whatever capacity the state needed it. Side by side with that, that all forms of property, irrespective of what they were, must equally be put at the disposal of the state.

Now, that is a terrific power for any government to have at its disposal. But our confidence in the wise use of this power rested upon two things: Firstly, that we had our men inside the government, and on the fact that our movement had

never been stronger, and its capacity to resist any mis-use of those powers had never been greater. We felt confident that we could in the circumstances sacrifice the right to strike.

I read with interest what President Green said yesterday on that subject, and I say this to you, that never in any other circumstances than the actual hazard of war, would the British trade union movement have surrendered its right to strike. But could we claim—and I put this to you as practical people—could we claim that because some dispute existed as to the prices to be paid for certain classes of work on airplanes, for example, at a time when the Germans were sending their airplanes over in clouds, justify our men laying down their tools and refusing to manufacture the airplanes we needed to defeat those Germans? Could we do that? I think the question has only to be asked to be understood.

We surrendered the right to strike in the consciousness that we were doing a communal service which would entitle us to recognition at the hands of the community when the ordeal was over, and in the confidence that we were defending our own trade union institutions in the process.

We allowed the working of practically unlimited hours. Hours in Great Britain, except for women and young persons, have never been regulated by law. We have no 40-hour week. We have collective agreements covering our people for a 47-hour week in the case of engineering, shipbuilding and metal trades generally, down to 44 hours per week in the case of the building trades.

Here is an airdrome being built. It needs runways, concrete runways, it needs hangars, it needs roads for the cars to get near it, it needs all of the normal equipment of building. Were we to say, "Builders shall work on this job 44 hours only, and at the end of that they must knock off and go home," knowing that some meant some hut that had been erected near the airdrome, because these places have been put in the most remote situations in the country. Could we say that? Of course we could not. What we had to do was to find some means of keeping control over overtime. I would remind you that overtime is in itself framed upon the conception that the employer exploits the workman. Your overtime rates, I presume, are the same as ours, based upon the principle that when a man has done 40 or 44 hours' work in a week he is entitled to some leisure and recreation. If the employer wants him to work longer, then you say to the employer, "Well, we are going to make it expensive for you, because if we don't make it expensive, you will exploit these people, and in effect you will have a long working week." So you make him pay double time or time and a half, until the use of overtime labor becomes uneconomical from the view of the employer. We do not believe the conditions are the same as those which apply

when the state is practically the sole employer, when the purpose of the overtime, is to equip and to defend your country. Consequently, we agreed to the extension of the working hours.

We took good care that the employer should not get away with it. We insisted that he should not be the authority who would determine whether overtime would be needed or not, but that it must be done in consultation with trade union officials acting through the government inspectors. That principle has been freely accepted and extensively applied.

Another restriction we put upon the employer was this. We said that if this was a war to defend democracy it was not going to be a war to create a plutocracy. Employers are not going to make extensive profits out of this war. We induced the government to impose a 100 per cent excess profits tax so that no employer now can make greater profit out of the war than he did in the years preceding it.

You may be interested to know our system of wage regulation. We have, as I said, abandoned the right to strike. The government, the employers and ourselves in conference have said that we will be governed in our relations by voluntary collective agreements. But supposing there are employers who are outside those collective agreements, who are not affected, and over whom the employers' federation has no control. Is it right that such employers should be able to employ labor under different and inferior conditions? Oh, no. We of the British Trade Union Congress said, "We expect you to lay it down that where a collective agreement has been arrived at between the employer and the trade unions, or by arbitration or any other means, that collective agreement must become legally binding on all other employers in the trade or industry."

The principle was willingly accepted, both by the employers and the government. I think it is sufficient to say that to deal with disputes which may arise in industry we have provided arbitration, whether through a single arbitrator or a national arbitration tribunal whose proceedings have scarcely commenced yet and whose work we are to review at the end of the year.

What has been happening to wages during this period? You have all given considerable attention to the question of the wages spiral. You know what happens, wages go up and the cost of commodities goes up still more, and the result is that wages are always chasing prices but never catch up with them.

We tried to find ways and means of offsetting that process. One of the things we have tried to do is to get the government to subsidize basic commodities which go into the standard of life. In other words, instead of prices rising rapidly, as they did at the beginning of the war, if they rise at all, due to conditions which the government

cannot control, then those prices should be kept down in so far as possible by means of subsidy. I said commodities whose prices are rising and over which the government has no control. You surely know that practically the whole of our eastern ports are no longer usable from the point of view of large ships. Practically all of our shipping has to be concentrated now, as far as imports are concerned, on the western seaboard. We have to send them in large convoys.

You can see in these circumstances that the cost of transport alone is outside the government's control to a very large extent, because of the circumstances.

We insisted upon a system of rationing, and I do hope that you will observe that these proposals originated with us and not with the government. We are the people who asked for this system and we must take full responsibility for the consequences. Nowadays everybody is rationed in our country, no matter who they may be, and although there are substitute commodities which people may have, every class of the community is on the same level so far as basic commodities are concerned.

I want to make it plain to you that the Trades Union Congress is represented on every form of administration which deals with these problems. Our democratic machinery, in other words, from a trade union point of view, is fully in operation.

The wages of 4,000,000 of our people are regulated by sliding scales based upon the cost of living, so that if the cost of living goes up wages go up proportionately. Despite this, and owing to the fact that these subsidies and rationing were not applied at the beginning of the war, the cost of living has risen approximately 23 per cent since the beginning of the war. Wages have not risen by more than about 12 per cent on the whole. The index that we, the Trade Union Congress keeps, shows that money wages have risen from 104 points to 119 points from September, 1939, to September, 1940. But real wages as measured by purchasing power, have fallen from 113 points to 107.5 points.

Now I have been speaking of wages, but earnings are very considerably higher. They are higher for two reasons: One, there has been a vast extension of piece work; and, two, the working of extended hours by agreements, such as I spoke of.

I know in the minds of some of you there will be the query, "why work extended hours when there are people still unemployed?" We have a total of something like 600,000 people still out of work. But what sort of people are they? There are some builders among them, not the skilled builders, but what we call laborers, for want of a better term. There are people in the boot and shoe industries, in the distributive industries and coal miners—coal miners because of loss of export markets. It is a very difficult job to train these people in a short period so that they can automatically fit into some industry where there is a shortage. The shortage today is mainly in the

metal trades, the highly skilled precision work of engineers, and tool makers. With the greatest respect in the world, you cannot take a bootmaker and train him in two or three months into a man sufficiently expert to do that class of work. So it is that temporarily you must agree to an extension of the working hours of the people already employed.

Our policy as I said, is to insist upon the use of the unemployed labor wherever possible, because we don't want to build up in the minds of our people a disregard for shorter hours of work. There isn't a trade union official in this room who doesn't know that there are certain types of men who will go to the employer and demand overtime, not that they like the hours, but they like the money attached to it. We of the trade unions want to keep control of this and prevent our people overlooking the importance of the shorter hour week. Long hours are a strain upon anybody. They are bad for production. The attraction of the compound rates is bad for the morale of the people, and it is something that we want to control as far as we can.

We have told the government that the hours are far too long. When I tell you that in certain works men have been working 12 hours per day and seven days per week for over twelve months, you begin to realize what I mean by long hours. We said, "This is nonsense. These men will break down. Not only is it uneconomical production, but it will mean physical deterioration to the community." Thus the government has given instructions to all their managers that wherever possible the work week should not exceed 60 hours. You know that 60 hours is far beyond what we consider reasonable, but in the circumstances in which we exist today, coupled with a rest day, it may well be that we can stand this strain for some time longer.

On the third point of our policy, the trade unions have secured from the government the fullest recognition of their claim to represent the worker in every phase of communal life. We claim we represent the working people, irrespective of where they are to be found. We are not only thinking of the workshop, but in terms of the whole communal life, the control of prices, air raid protection, rationing and supply of food, the welfare of the armed forces, refugee problems, the supply of munitions—our trade union representatives are already there serving in every phase of life.

We have established something that may be useful to you. When I was a trade union district official I was once ordered off a warship by a commander who used to carry a telescope under his arm, even in drydock. I am not sure that he did not even try to tell the time by it. As a trade union official I was interviewing my men and he ordered me off the ship. Fortunately, our fellows were pretty good, and they came off the ship and we held our meeting on the quay. But I never forgot the insult, the indignity to one trying to serve the community and his state, of being ordered off in that way.

I went to the government and said, "You are not allowing people to go into certain areas without proof that they have work or that they are there on business." They were doing that in order to control the spies. I said, "You have factories where you have sentries outside the door with bayonets and rifles, and I don't want our trade union officials to be held up by that sort of thing. If there is any doubt about our claim, let's have it out now. Our claim is a matter of right. We demand the right to visit any factory, workshop, warship, any form of activity where our members are employed, without vexatious restrictions. If that principle is challenged, let's have it out now." It was not challenged, and as a consequence all our full time officials were given a card of identity, which not only takes them into the protected areas, but which allows them to visit any works whatever. That card is issued by the Trades Union Congress, with the government's approval and stamp. That is something that you may find useful in organizing people.

Our principal claim, that we should be consulted in every form of activity, has been accepted by both of the governments that have so far served in this war. We are helping by this means to shape policies. We are trying to take some of the square pegs out of the round holes, because I find that once these men of great reputation, these marvelous business organizers, get into a different environment service, they sometimes act with a stupidity that is incomprehensible. One wonders where reputations have come from sometimes. We are going to take a hand in that. We are not having Mr. Jones or Mr. Brown who, because he was accustomed to pressing a button and ordering people about in his own business, to do just as he likes now that he is in government service. We are gradually making good democrats of some of these people.

We are facing up to our responsibilities in the way I have tried to describe. But we have also another responsibility and there are very grave issues ahead of us. Our whole international trade union movement in its future is obscure. You have seen what has happened in Poland, in Denmark, in Norway, in Holland, even in France.

So it is that upon the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress rests a very heavy responsibility for keeping that organization in existence. I am proud to know that William Green was elected almost unanimously as a vice president of the International Federation of Trade Unions. I am proud to work with him, and I have arranged for our secretary, Mr. Schevenals, who has only been recently able to get away from southern France, to come over here before I leave. He and I and President Green can discuss our problems jointly and see how best we can keep our organization alive.

As our Executive rightfully says, the future depends upon the outcome of the war. Britain is supposed to be a barrier, and I believe she is that barrier, between our civilization and our democracy and the invading forces of the Nazi hordes. We

have a tremendous task in front of us. Indeed, I think someone here, some very prominent statesman, has said that the British Navy was the first line of defense of American democracy. But I would like to ask, who maintains the British Navy? It is the British people, it is the skill and the resources and the capacity of the British people. It is their determination and their courage.

Hitler is seeking to crush the morale of our people, to destroy their homes, to put our factories in ruins. Day after day and night after night we are exposed to bombs from the air, some tiny speck in the sky so small it can scarcely be seen, only identified by a wisp of smoke behind it. It may come out of the blue, drop its bombs, and before any planes can get near it, disappear. You or I or any other person may be near that bomb when it falls. It may fall upon a humble cottage or upon a government building. Night after night our people from dusk to dawn are experiencing a menace which we have not as yet found the answer to.

Our defense at night can't see these machines. They come at unparalleled heights, 15,000 feet, 20,000 feet, where they cannot be seen, particularly in the cloudy weather we have. Our anti-aircraft guns blast out their defiance to these machines, they put up their barrage in such a way as to prevent them getting over military objectives. But what happens to our homes and to our people? The bombs are dropped with an indiscriminate that passes belief. How can human beings resort to it in the twentieth century. Devastation awaits those who are in their homes.

Thousands of our people are sleeping under the staircases of their houses, their only protection in case the house collapses over them. Others are sleeping under the pianos in their dining rooms, the more fortunate ones in a small shelter about six feet long maximum and four feet wide, with men and women lying head to foot, two people to a camp bed on each side of the shelter. I myself am sleeping in the shelter that I made before the war, with four other adults, and our shelter is only 9 x 6-3, by six feet high.

This is the life of the British people day in and day out, every night; and yet one sees no indications of a slackening of the national will, one sees no indication even now, despite the loss of life, of the people's readiness to sacrifice that which they have attained. Fifteen thousand of our people have already been slaughtered in these raids. Nearly 30,000 of them have been crippled or injured in a most serious fashion, and there is still worse to come.

I have no doubt in my mind whatever that some day or other we will evolve a remedy, as we did against the Zeppelins, for the night bombers, but until that time comes it follows, doesn't it, that there is bound to be bitterness and hatred growing up in the hearts of our people of all that is German?

I am an internationalist. I have spent my life in trying to teach the people that the men and women of all countries basically have to face the same problems, and that it is not the common people who make the wars, but those who order and control them. Yet when I hear a demand for reprisals growing in my own country—a perfectly natural demand in the circumstances—what am I to say? Am I to say that whilst I denounce as infamous, and bestial, German airplanes coming and killing women and children, dropping their bombs apart from military objectives, am I to say that we should resort to that, too? No, I cannot. I am bound to try to restrain our people to keep this bitterness out of their thoughts and their lives, and I think the advice we have given to the British Government is sound advice.

We say, hit the Nazis in the places where you can most hurt them. Don't go and try to slaughter men, women and children merely in retaliation. Confine yourself to military objectives. Hit them in the factories, hit them on the canals or on the docks, or on the railways, hit them in the places where it will hurt, and hamper their capacity to make war. God knows, I understand that means human life, too, but what can we do? With what alternatives are we left?

Many times since I have arrived in this country I have been asked by men and women, how long our people can continue. The length of time that we continue this struggle depends not merely upon the will of our people, but upon our capacity to hit back. The only thing that the Nazis understand, as some of the finest of our international comrades have told me time and time again, is the power to make them suffer, and while I think it may be difficult for the most skilled British pilots to reach Hitler, hiding in the cellar of his granite towers, still we may be able to hit some who think very much like Mr. Hitler thinks.

I have taken a lot of your time and I want to conclude. The collapse of France increased relatively the German air force several times over. It gave them jumping off points to attack our country, some of them only 25 or 30 miles away. If we go to Berlin, our bombers have to fly 620 miles there and 620 miles back. So you can see how much easier it is for the Germans to send waves of airplanes, even though they may not have more machines than we for the purpose.

The tax on our capacity is increasing. I am not going to humbug you, I am going to tell you straight what no British statesman has so far said. I say that bombing is having its effect upon our output. Bombing is bound to have an effect upon our output. Indiscriminate as it has been, although five out of every six bombs either fall in an open space or hit a home, yet some bombs do fall on factories. If you disorganize the life of a people, if you stop them from getting water and gas and that

sort of thing, that is bound to have its effect.

Why do I tell you this? In order to make a present to Hitler so that he can encourage his pilots to go on? No, I tell it to you so that you can realize the part you can play in helping us. Our output cannot be maintained at the height at which it was maintained when bombings were not taking place. Our people are working, even after the raiders have been over and the sirens have sounded—and my God, what sirens! Last night I heard the police siren going up and down the streets here in New Orleans, and believe me, the first night or two I spent in America, when I heard those sirens I made a dash under the bed immediately. Remember what I told you about the courage of the British people (laughter). Your police sirens sound to me at their best like a sort of anaemic kitten with the croup. I have heard much worse sounds—sounds which are heard in the night, disturbing the sleep of our people.

Our fellows in the factories are working all through that. They do not stop work even under gun fire. I visited a factory recently where I was told the morale of the people had fallen because of bombings. The roof was glass, and you know what splintered glass means. Incidentally, it was an enormous factory, not a small one. I said to the manager when I went there, "How are they now?" He said, "I am proud to tell you that they are working through 100 per cent."

We have a system of spotters, people we put on the roofs to watch until they are pretty certain airplanes are on top of them. That takes a bit of judgment with planes coming along at the rate of 150 yards a second. Yet our people are taking these risks.

We want planes, planes, and more planes. Our need is urgent and extensive. It may be true that the first line of defense of American democracy is the British Navy. I want you to make the American workshop the first line of defense of all democracy. This battle will be fought out in the workshops. Depending upon the resources, the capacity, the expedition with which you can produce munitions, depending upon that will be the fate of the whole of Europe, including the British Isles.

I want to repeat how grateful we are for the generous help we have received from you. I want you to realize that speed is the essence, now as never before, that the bombing is getting so intense.

When I came into this room I looked at the emblem here and I saw these words, "Labor Omnia Vincit—Labor Conquers All." I said to myself, "American labor can conquer the Nazis without firing a shot if necessary."

You have a great opportunity. Not only our people but the people of the world are looking to you with a great anxiety. When this great nation of yours was engaged in a struggle to establish its right for a self

government your Patrick Henry, in an historic utterance said something which has rung down the ages to us:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains or slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but, as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

Those words were destined to become the rallying cry of your nation. Today that sentiment is implanted in the souls of millions of people. The people of half of Europe, writhing under the Fascist and Nazi tyranny are saying it in their prayers. It rises from the hamlets and villages and cities of the stricken British Isles. It echoes over the mountains and across the plains of your neighbor Canada. It comes in increasing volume from the people of the whole British commonwealth of nations. One day that cry will rise with the roar of Niagara, sweeping away from the pathway of mankind forever, the oppression and tyranny that characterizes dictatorship. Men and women of the American labor movement, the power to hasten the dawn of that day lies in no small measure with you.

President Green: This has been a great day and a great session for the American Federation of Labor. We are tremendously fortunate in that we were privileged in this auditorium this morning to hear from one who came 3,000 miles across the sea, a story that has touched our hearts, appealed to our deepest emotions and challenged our judgment. Behold a man who, in convincing language, has told the story of a tragedy never equalled in all the world's history. He left his home when he received our invitation, bade farewell to his loved ones, his wife and children who, along with him, were suffering the terrors of nightly bombings by Nazi and Fascist airplanes. He traveled through a mine-infested sea from Liverpool to New York, risking his life, leaving his loved ones, who pulled heavily at his heart strings, to come to New Orleans to tell this heart-appealing, dramatic story this morning.

And he has told it. Every word carried conviction. And I thought when he was speaking, and as I looked at him, "Here is the leader of the great organized labor movement appearing before us and speaking to us, typical of the courage and democracy expressed by all the people of Great Britain. It is a dramatic appeal. No other audience in America has thus far been so fortunately favored as us, none have heard from one who has been dealing with the realities and meeting the realities of a world tragedy, as Sir Walter Citrine has. I agree with his analysis of the situation. Much depends on America, and not only on America but the working people of America.

And we are suffering under no illusion; we are realistic. It is true we have not lived with the realities of the situation as our dear friend Sir Walter has, but, nevertheless, we have appropriated to ourselves

and to our thinking every bit of the evidence that is available. We know there are no bombs being rained upon the factories in America. Production cannot be interrupted here by Nazi bombs, and so, fortunately favored as we are, we realize more than ever that we must face our profound duty and in our well-equipped factories in America, produce, produce, and produce as never before in order that our friends may win the battle for democracy.

We know if Britain wins we win; we know if they can crush this despotic movement, if they can substitute reason and civilized intelligence for the primitive life and barbarism, that America is safe.

God knows if Hitler could have accomplished his purpose and invaded Great Britain, following the surrender of the French army, the Nazi forces might have been knocking at our doors. We were here. Brother Citrine, impartially. We regretted ourselves that here, clinging tenaciously like the people of Great Britain to the principles of peace, having too much faith in men, relying too much on what we called honor, there has been too much delay in the development and launching of our defense and preparedness program here. But, awakened to a keen realization of it all, facing it here, our cry is, "Hurry up, hurry up America and send to Great Britain all that we have of physical and moral strength so that you may win quickly." The American Federation of Labor will make that our chief object to send a steady stream of war materials, of the things that Britain needs most of all in this great hour of their deepest need, so that they can successfully win this great fight. And we have faith with you, Brother Citrine, we believe that there is still a God in heaven ruling the destinies of men, a God of righteousness, and we believe that He will see that righteousness and justice will eventually triumph in Great Britain and they will win decisively.

President Green: Brother Citrine, you have the heartfelt thanks of this gathering this morning for your visit with us, for the scholarly, educational, philosophical and inspiring address which you have delivered. We recall your previous visit, we know now that you measure up in 1940 to the high standards of excellence we set for you and you set for yourself when you attended previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and even though you are a bit more streamlined than you were then, we thank you for coming with us.

May God Almighty bless you, keep you and protect your family while you are away. May you have a happy visit among your friends here, your devoted, loyal friends in America, and may Providence guarantee to you a safe return to your loved ones in Great Britain.

Thank you.

President Green: Now we have to present to you another old hero, one who has been holding aloft the flag of freedom, one who refused to yield to Hitler and his associates, a German rebel, a man who has been a rebel,

not against the German people, but against the dictatorial philosophy preached by Hitler and his associates. He rebelled when Hitler came, and he has been rebelling since.

It may interest you to know that he was in France when Hitler unexpectedly drove to the gates of Paris, and if Hitler or his agents could have laid hands on this rebel he would not be here to speak to us. He has endangered himself and sacrificed everything. His life is in danger now, but he is living in free America where he is protected. He represents the German underground labor movement, the movement that was destroyed in Germany by Hitler. Mr. Stampfer, our good friend, representing the German trade union delegation from New York.

MR. FRIEDRICH STAMPFER (Representing German Trade Union Delegation)

President Green, dear friends and brothers of the American Labor Movement:

It was in February of this year that I had the great honor and privilege of addressing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at that time in session in Miami. There I gave a detailed report about the special organization, fighting secretly and incessantly under most daring circumstances against Hitler. I refer to the German underground movement. Since then a tremendous military catastrophe has cut off for the present time nearly all of our connections in Germany. The breakdown of France took away from us the opportunity to continue our work in the same way as before. The leading men and women of our organization had to flee from Paris where we had our center for the last two years.

My former visits to America had one chief aim. I came to ask for assistance for our underground movement. We wanted to become still more efficient; to enlarge our spheres of action; to win over more people within Germany to our cause. All those unceasing efforts have cost much work and money. We put into that organizational work almost all the funds we had been able to save from the Nazi grip in 1933. Of course we soon needed more funds, much more, in order to cope with the Nazi efforts. The Nazis everywhere poured millions of dollars into their so-called "fifth-column" activities, in the many countries surrounding Germany and in America too.

I want to state here most gratefully that we found help in America. Our appeal was heard by our brothers of the American Federation of Labor as well as by our friends of the Jewish Labor Committee. Our organization in France and our American organization here—the German Labor Delegation in the United States—were assured of their full moral and material support.

With this good news I returned to Europe on May 1, 1940, eager to take up our fight against Nazism with redoubled vigor. But on the same day when I arrived in Paris—it was on the tenth of May—Hitler started his third "Blitzkrieg," the invasion of Holland, Belgium, and France. As you'll know, that invasion succeeded only too well. Within a few weeks the world had to face the complete collapse of France.

Now I am here once more. I came back to this blessed free country of America, this time after many months filled with danger and despair. I want to confess I consider it as a kind of miracle to be here at all.

For more than two years I lived in France, among the French people and their workmen. I think I know them well by now. I have a deep feeling of sympathy for them, who are now stricken by such a ruthless enemy. But the disaster is still greater for all those thousands of political refugees who previously had found a haven there from Nazi persecution. The collapse of France and the turn-about of the Vichy government towards Fascism has made their situation almost hopeless. However I do not give up hope that something can be done in the future for the numerous brothers of ours who are now trapped in Southern France, ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, threatened with sickness and starvation, or even with internment in a German concentration camp.

Through the brotherly help of your President William Green and the continuous assistance of the Jewish Labor Committee a group of those endangered labor people—including myself—were able to come here. We were successful in leaving all that horrible misery behind us and in reaching the free shores of America.

I want to state here publicly that only by that marvelous and energetic combined action of our American brothers here, the lives of my friends, my family, and my own person were saved. I assure you, we all shall never forget it. In the name of all my friends I express now and here my very deepest gratitude.

It is my firm belief that the best way of showing our gratitude is a solemn promise. It is our promise to continue our fight against dictatorships of all kinds, against Communism and Nazism, against Hitler and against everything he stands for.

It was with deep emotion that we listened here on Armistice Day to the words of President Roosevelt. We applauded his declaration that the fight for democracy in Europe is not lost; that the peoples now living under the iron heel of dictatorship will be free again; that finally liberty will be victorious over the forces of tyranny and barbarism. We most definitely share that belief of your great President. We are sure that some day victory will arrive.

The brutal conqueror of Europe may have robbed us of everything else. But

there is one thing that he was not able to take away. That is our firm conviction of the final victory of democracy. He could not break our pride. Still today we are proud of our past. As long as the organized German Labor Movement participated in German government affairs, we had liberty and freedom in Germany and—perhaps still more important—we had peace in Europe.

When Hitler had risen to power he quickly destroyed all that. He started his reign by setting fire to the Reichstag building. Later on he set fire to the whole world. He annihilated free and organized labor in order to abolish the civil rights of the people. He crushed the German Labor Movement in order to be able to make war; in order to attack the independent nations of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium. The first victims of the present war were those leaders of the German Trade Unions, who were shot or beaten to death in German concentration camps.

The murders committed then were followed by a new series of murders against hundreds of others. These again were followed by the present murders of hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

This war is not a war of nations. It is a kind of a gigantic civil war. In all countries which have been overpowered by the Nazis, the enemies of Labor were Hitler's advance guard. His victory was their triumph too. What else would a final victory of Hitler be for the German workmen, but an everlasting slavery!

Every open minded workman in Germany as well as elsewhere must know that today it is the English speaking world—that it is Great Britain and America—who are the last bulwarks of liberty in the world.

Liberty has always been a conception which is indivisible. Either it is at everybody's disposal or at nobody's. A nation which enslaves another nation is in itself a nation of slaves. A people which looks with indifference at the enslavement of other peoples, certainly will itself be enslaved some day.

Freedom of Thought and Freedom of Labor cannot be separated from each other. Every intellectual leader must know that there is no freedom of science any more, when the workman has lost his right of self organization. Every workman on the other hand must also know that he certainly will lose his right to fight for a better life when intellectual freedom is killed. Conditions became ripe for dictatorship in Europe only when many of the workmen were blinded by the flattering demagoguery of open and disguised communists, and when they began to lose their clear conception of Liberty. It is the good fortune of the American and the British Labor Movements that they have kept themselves detached from the spell which Communism tried to throw upon them. For that reason the American and British Labor Movements therefore have remained strong. Today Labor in the enslaved

and tortured nations is concentrating its hope and confidence upon the strong ones, especially upon you, the American Federation of Labor.

I am very happy to find here among us our old British friend, Walter Citrine. Millions of German Trade Unionists are still faithful to the principles of their organization. They all know and highly respect Walter Citrine as the president of the Trade Union International. I am quite sure they all agree with me when I extend to him our heartiest greeting.

The German workingman just as his British brother did not want war. Both of them have the same common enemy,—Hitler. They have one aim in common — to bring this war to a definite end, and to bring about a lasting peace which provides freedom for all. The main difference between the British and the German workingman today is the fact that the former can speak out his opinion openly, whereas the latter has been silenced.

I am deeply convinced that the time will come when the German workingman again will speak as freely as his American and British brother. The German Labor Movement will rise again. It will be as strong and powerful as the American and British are today. Then and then only the road will be clear for a better future of the whole world.

Let all of us unite our efforts for that purpose. Let us work together that the Day of common liberty and of common peace may not be too distant.

I thank you!

President Green: We thank our comrade and friend, Brother Stampfer, for his visit to this convention and for the address he has delivered. I know, and can assure him for you, that he is among real friends, men whose hearts beat in sympathy with his and those he represents, their hopes and their aspirations. We hope and trust that here in America he may pursue the pathway of peace and tranquility and that he may meet with a large degree of success in the noble work in which he is engaged. I know I express the sentiments of the delegates when I say we are happy that he has attended this convention and addressed you this morning.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Chairman Woll, of the Resolutions Committee: The Committee on Resolutions has completed its work and is ready to report. I therefore move that at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning be set aside to hear the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Committee on Arrangements announced a floor show in the Auditorium, be-

ginning at 9:00 o'clock, p. m., Monday. The committee asked that the delegates advise their wives to call at Secretary Meany's office and obtain tickets for the sightseeing tour Tuesday for ladies.

Delegate Schoenberg, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers: May I say for the benefit of the delegates to this convention that a number of people here who are able to understand German have prevailed upon Brother Stampfer, the man who addressed you, to explain to us exactly what has happened over in Germany. He is a man who for many years has hit the keynote of the German labor movement. We have arranged for a meeting on the mezzanine floor of the Roosevelt Hotel at 8:00 o'clock, where Mr. Stampfer will speak in his own language and tell us what has happened in Germany. I trust that you will come to the meeting and tell us what has happened in Germany. I trust that you will advise those who are not here who are able to understand German to come to the meeting. Bring your wives if they speak German, and bring any of your friends who understand the German language.

Several other chairmen of committees announced meetings in the Auditorium immediately following the adjournment of the morning session.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following letter and telegram:

Lafayette, Colorado,
November 21, 1940.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary
American Federation of Labor
Municipal Auditorium
New Orleans, Louisiana

Please extend to the delegates of the 60th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor my sincere congratulations and best wishes for greater influence and success.

In the hope we are approaching unity in the American Labor Movement, may I say that in such unity it will again be demonstrated that the American Federation of Labor has always risen and will rise again above and beyond every spurious and dual movement and will continue to be the champion and the expression of the hopes and aspirations of the workers of America even as the United States Government is our national expression and the hope of the world.

May you in your deliberations in the good cause, including among other things the confounding of dictatorships abroad, spare some slight effort in the confounding of dictatorship here in America, in or out of the realm of organized labor.

I am sure you are having a very successful gathering, doing a lot of good, and am

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

sure it is the most important convention ever held by the American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES R. LORD,
Former President, Mining
Department, American
Federation of Labor.

New Orleans La.
Nov. 23, 1940.

George Menny, Secty. and Treas.,
A. F. of L. Convention, Roosevelt Hotel,
New Orleans.

Crescent City Post No. 125, American
Legion, cordially invites all visiting legion-

naires attending AFL Convention to use facilities of its club rooms located at Royal and Conti streets. And to attend round up of Legionnaires in honor of National Commander Milo Warner on Tuesday, November 26, at eight p. m.

C. M. REYNOLDS, Adjutant,
C. LEONARD JONES, Commander.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., an adjournment
was taken to 2:30 o'clock, p. m., of the
same day.

Fifth Day — Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Costas, Crist, DiGuardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gallagher, Gresty, Hall, Higgins, Holcott, Hood, James, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Moore, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Powers, Joseph; Roark, Ruddick, Reid, Saltman, Sutherland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Younker.

President Green called upon Chairman Desoite for a supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Desoite, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

In accordance with communication received from Roy Horn, President of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, your committee on Credentials recommend the seating of William F. Kramer in place of John Pelkofer, who finds it necessary to leave New Orleans.

John F. Schmitt to replace Harry Nicholas as delegate from the Boiler Makers.

The committee recommends the seating of the above-named delegates.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary George, of the Committee on Legislation, who will continue the report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Secretary George reported as follows:

REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 78)

The Executive Council reports that, under authority granted by the Reorganization Act of 1939, the President issued and

there were put into effect Reorganization Plan Nos. IV. and V. Under plan No. IV the Civil Aeronautics Authority and the Air Safety Board were transferred to the Department of Commerce. The Executive Council supported the Air Line Pilots Association in opposing the transfer without success. Under plan No. V, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was transferred from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice.

Your committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REAPPORTIONMENT—S. 2505

(Pub. No. 481—76th Cong.)
(Executive Council's Report, Page 79)

The Executive Council, under this caption, reports the enactment of the law providing for reapportionment for the House of Representatives on the basis of the 1940 census.

Your committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WALSH-HEALY ACT AMENDMENTS—S. 1032

(Executive Council's Report, Page 80)

The Executive Council reports the introduction of a bill to amend the Walsh-Healy Act to extend its provisions to apply to purchases of \$4,000 or over instead of the present \$10,000. The bill (S. 1032) passed the Senate but has not yet been reported from the House Committee on Judiciary.

Your committee recommends that efforts be continued to secure enactment of this bill.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPRESSIVE LABOR PRACTICES S. 1970, H. R. 7454

(Executive Council's Report, Page 80)

Under this caption the Executive Council calls attention to companion bills in the Senate and in the House of Representatives (S. 1970 and H. R. 7454) to outlaw the

employment of labor spies and professional thugs and gunmen in labor disputes and the use of arms, and poison gas by employers. These bills grew out of the disclosure by the La Follette Committee on Civil Liberties. The Senate bill (S. 1970) passed the Senate but no report has yet been made by the House Committee on Labor.

Your committee recommends that every possible effort be given by all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to secure favorable action on this measure and to defeat all amendments to weaken or subvert its purpose.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITH THE UNITED STATES

H. R. 6324, S. 915

**(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 80-81)**

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the progress of companion bills of the Senate and House to provide more expeditious determination of the authority of administrative regulations under laws passed by the Congress. The House Bill (H. R. 6324) passed the House on April 18, 1940, and is on the Senate calendar. The Senate bill (S. 915) was passed by the Senate but later reconsidered. Determined efforts have been put forth to secure action but so far without avail.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its activity in this direction.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL—H. R. 801

**(Executive Council's Report,
Page 81)**

The Executive Council reports that the Anti-Lynching Bill, which has consistently received the support of the American Federation of Labor has passed the House of Representatives and has been favorably reported from the Senate Committee on Judiciary.

Your Committee recommends that all possible effort be continued to secure enactment of this measure.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAYMENT OF POLL TAX AS A PREREQUISITE FOR VOTING H. R. 7534

**(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 81-82)**

The Executive Council reports the failure of the House Committee on Judiciary to make a report on H. R. 7534 to prohibit the requirement of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting for Federal offices. A petition to discharge the Committee from further consideration of the bill is on the Speaker's desk.

Your Committee recommends continuation of efforts to secure enactment of this legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MOTION PICTURE FILMS DISTRIBUTION—S. 280

**(Executive Council's Report,
Page 82)**

The Executive Council reports that despite the opposition of the American Federation of Labor and 276 crafts that would be adversely affected, the Senate, by a vote of 46 to 28 passed the bill (S. 280) to prohibit block-booking of motion picture films. However the bill still remains in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and efforts are still being exerted to prevent its enactment.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WIRE-TAPPING—H. J. Res. 571 (Executive Council's Report, Pages 82-83)

The Executive Council calls attention to a House Joint Resolution to permit wire-tapping by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the interest of national defense and in the apprehension of individuals engaged in any subversive or "fifth-column" activities.

While the American Federation of Labor is wholeheartedly in sympathy with and will render full co-operation in the national defense program and in the suppression of any Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or other subversive activities, because of potential dangers to organized labor in the original resolution, amendments have been proposed which are now before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce where

the resolution was referred after having been passed by the House.

Your committee recommends continued activity to secure satisfactory safeguards for organized labor in any measure adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF GRADUATES OF CERTAIN SCHOOLS—S. 1610

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 83)

The Executive Council reports that, pursuant to the action of previous conventions, S. 1610, a bill to prohibit discrimination in favor of graduates of certain schools in appointments to Government positions, was introduced and passed the Senate, and is now pending on the House calendar. Efforts are being made to secure a special rule for its consideration.

Your committee recommends that these efforts be continued with the object of securing enactment before the close of the present session of Congress.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE EMPLOYEES—S. J. Res. 71

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 83)

The committee reported jointly upon this subject of the Executive Council's report and Resolution No. 71, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law a bill granting post office employees an increase in pay of \$100 per annum after the first 10 years of service, and \$100 per annum for each succeeding 5 years of service, up to and including 30 years of service, as embodied in the Mead Bill, S. 487, 70th Congress.

The Executive Council reports that S. J. Res. 71, to restore to employees of the Government Printing Office certain leave privileges of which they were deprived under the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, has

passed the Senate and is now pending in the House.

Your committee recommends that efforts be continued to secure its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUGAR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 83)

The committee reported jointly upon this subject of the Council's report and Resolution No. 75, which is as follows:

Favoring Legislation to Protect Sugar Industry Workers

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Michael J. Dwyer, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men and women affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who work in the seaboard refining states handling, storing, refining, and distributing cane sugar, and

WHEREAS, Jobs have been lost by these men and women in the last several years because Federal Sugar legislation has caused less cane sugar to be handled, stored, refined, and distributed by these workers, and

WHEREAS, This legislation has restricted refining work through quotas and has otherwise permitted competition from unorganized and cheaply-paid workers in the tropical refineries to take jobs away from our seaboard cities, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting Congress to enact sugar legislation in 1941 which will exclude entry of any refined sugar into the United States which has been made by tropical labor and at the same time will not permit the expansion of production by any group receiving Government subsidies so that American organized workmen can regain their lost employment.

Numerous legislative proposals before the 76th Congress points out the divergence of interests of the many groups presenting their views to the Congress. The Executive Council also states that, due to the controversial nature of the subject, the Congress extended the Sugar Act of 1937 instead of enacting new legislation. The said act requires the Secretary of Agriculture to determine the amount of sugar needed for domestic consumption each calendar year and to set a quota for domestic production and for importation.

Because of the divergent interests of different organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor your committee recommends that Resolution No. 75 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the organizations affected and to continue its efforts to secure satisfactory legislation to protect the workers involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUGAR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 83-84)

The committee reported jointly upon this subject of the Council's report and Resolution No. 92, which is as follows:

Proposing Amendment of Sugar Act

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin W. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Section 301 of the Sugar Act of the United States provides that no benefits shall be paid to any planter who employs children under 14, and

WHEREAS, The years of 1937, 1938 and 1939 the large plantation owners employed children and therefore were denied the benefits of the act, and

WHEREAS, Congress voted, in effect, to set aside the law after it had been violated and to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to these exploiters of child labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled deplores this anti-social legislation and calls on all city, central and state federations to help in preventing such action to occur again in the future.

The Executive Council reports on a legislative proposal to amend Section 301 of the Sugar Act of 1930 (which prohibited the payment of subsidies to producers of sugar cuts or sugar cane who had employed children under fourteen years of age) to permit the payment of subsidies to producers who had unknowingly violated the anti-child labor provision. This proposal was opposed by the Executive Council and was consequently amended to provide that payments might be made with respect to crops produced prior to enactment of the legislation and with a deduction of \$10 for each child for each day or portion of day employed.

Resolution No. 92, as presently worded is misleading but its intent is understood to be in opposition to the employment of

child-labor and in opposition to the payment of any subsidy to any employer of child labor. Your committee thoroughly concurs in that intention and recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to continue its efforts to abolish the employment of children in industry.

The report of the committee is unanimously adopted.

EXPORTATION OF DOUGLAS FIR PEELER LOGS AND PORT ORFORD CEDAR LOGS—S. 1108

(Executive Council's Report, Page 84)

The Executive Council reports that a bill placing an embargo on Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs as a result of resolutions adopted in previous conventions.

The adoption of this legislation would be in the interest of not only great numbers of workers in the wood-working industry but also in the interest of conservation of valuable natural products.

Your committee recommends that efforts to secure enactment of this legislation be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MARITIME LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 90-93)

Under the caption of "Maritime Legislation" the Executive Council details the history of sixteen bills affecting the maritime industry that were before the 76th Congress, eight of which were enacted into law.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure enactment of the pending legislation that is in the interests of the workers.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Government Controlled Hiring Halls For Seamen

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A bill, H. R. 10316, called the Bradley Bill, has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, This bill sponsored by the ship-owners and the Maritime Commission is one of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever directed against American seamen, and

WHEREAS, This bill has for its purpose the re-establishment of slave markets under the auspices of the United States Government in the form of government-controlled hiring halls for seamen, and

WHEREAS, The seamen, after years of bitter struggle have done away with private and government hiring halls and have, through direct bargaining with the ship owners, established their right to sell their own labor through their own unions, and

WHEREAS, This same type of legislation has been attempted before, and has been defeated by the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record giving the Sailors Union of the Pacific 100 per cent support in their fight against the passage of H. R. 10316.

Resolution No. 135 asks that the support of the American Federation of Labor be given to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific in their opposition to legislation for the establishment of government-controlled hiring halls for seamen.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MARITIME LEGISLATION— NAUTICAL SCHOOLS

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 91)

The committee reported jointly upon this section of the Council's report and Resolution No. 136, which is as follows:

Opposing Senate Bill 4299 Establishing Training Ships For Seamen

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Maritime Commission was created by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 under the present administration for the specific purpose of rebuilding the American Merchant Marine, and

WHEREAS, Ever since the establishment of the Maritime Commission it has gone out of its scope and deliberately attempted to introduce legislation against the in-

terests of the seamen, and its policy up to the present has been towards regimenting the seamen, and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has also established so-called training schools and training ships on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard for the specific purpose of training seamen for the American Merchant Marine, and

WHEREAS, The Sailors Union of the Pacific has constantly and bitterly fought the establishment of these training ships for the reason that they are breeding grounds for scabs, who can be used against union seamen in the event of a strike, and

WHEREAS, There is absolutely no necessity for training American seamen, due to the fact that today there are thousands upon thousands of American seamen unemployed because the Maritime Commission has permitted the ship owners to sell American ships by the hundreds to foreign countries, thus selling the American Merchant Marine short, and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission, in cooperation with the State Administration in California, have signified their intentions of establishing a training ship in the port of Hueneke for the purpose of training "greenhorns" to become seamen, while thousands of skilled, trained American seamen are "on the beach" unemployed, and

WHEREAS, At the present time Bill S. 4299 has been introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Overton of Louisiana which has for its purpose the building and establishing of more training ships and schools to train "landlubbers" to become seamen, and

WHEREAS, This looks like a deliberate plan is being concocted to train thousands of "landlubbers" for the Merchant Marine Service, so that in time the anti-union bureau in Washington, in cooperation with the shipowners, will be able to replace the present day union seamen with Maritime Commission trainees, and does break up the strong Seamen's Union movement which now exists. Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record backing up the Sailors Union of the Pacific in the fight against Senate Bill 4299, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record opposing the establishment of a training ship for seamen in the port of Hueneke, California, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record to back up the Sailors Union of the Pacific in their fight against the attempts of the National Administration to regiment the American seamen through the United States Maritime Commission.

Resolution Number 136 urges opposition to the establishment of training ships for seamen and protests the attitude of the United States Maritime Commission.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and give any necessary assistance to secure satisfactory adjustment of their complaint.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Congressional Investigation of "United States Merchant Marine Association"

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is evident that due to their importance to the life of the Nation, the unions in transportation industries are particularly vulnerable to attack by forces opposed to unions and collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The beginning of such an attack has already begun against the Masters, Mates, and Pilots organization, and

WHEREAS, High ranking Navy Officers and men holding high and important offices in both financial and industrial institutions of great prominence have appeared as sponsors for an organization named "United States Merchant Marine Association", and

WHEREAS, This association has for its object the breaking up of the union in the marine transportation industry, and

WHEREAS, This organization is now engaged in distributing false and misleading propaganda to the public about our merchant marine, its personnel and organizations, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to submit this or a similar resolution in order that the American Federation of Labor Executive Committee give all possible aid so that a Congressional investigation of the United States Merchant Marine Association and its sponsors be immediately undertaken.

Resolution Number 143 requests that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take steps to secure a Congressional investigation of the anti-union activities of the United States Merchant Marine Association, among the sponsors of which are high-ranking Navy officers as well as men holding high positions in both financial and industrial institutions.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MARITIME LEGISLATION — LICENSED OFFICERS—S. 3268

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 92-93)

The committee reported jointly upon this section of the Council's report and Resolution No. 144, which is as follows:

Favoring S. 3268 Regulating Numbers of Licensed Deck Officials on Ocean and Coastwise Vessels

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America are sponsoring Senate Bill 3268 to amend revised statute of the United States for the better protection of life and property, Section 4438, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that section 4438 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"Any ocean or coastwise vessel, propelled by machinery and required to be manned by licensed officers when being navigated, when not under way, but in service and not in a laid-up status, shall have on board at all times a licensed deck officer in charge of the deck department and a licensed engineer officer in charge of the engine department. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to apply to any motorboat, as defined in the first section of the Motorboat Act of April 25, 1940. Any officer authorized to enforce the navigation laws shall enforce the provisions of this paragraph." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to give all possible aid for the passage of this amendment.

The report of the Executive Council discloses that S. 3268, a bill to provide that licensed officers shall be on duty at all times when a vessel is in service, has been reported favorably to the United States Senate and is now on the calendar of that body.

Resolution Number 144 requests the endorsement of that measure by the American Federation of Labor and continued aid in securing its enactment.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Ruling of Comptroller-General Depriving Fishermen of Marine Hospitalization

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The fishermen, according to Federal laws, are classed as seamen and have always enjoyed the benefits of marine hospitalization; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary ruling by the Comptroller-General has caused untold hardships on fishermen who are now without the protection and benefits of medical service which other seamen are receiving; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its officials to vigorously protest this discrimination, and that the officials are hereby directed to bring all their efforts possible to remove these restrictions; be it further

RESOLVED, That President William Green and the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor be requested to make every attempt to change this decision of the Comptroller-General.

Resolution No. 147 protests a ruling by the Comptroller-General of the United States which deprives fishermen of the benefits of marine hospitalization to which they have heretofore been entitled and requests the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in securing a reversal of the ruling.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Approval of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gannor, Michael J. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messen-

gers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alfias, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Bernice M. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation Laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Resolution No. 84 requests that this convention reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor in its approval of the United States Employees'

Compensation Commission and its administration of the laws with which it is entrusted and also that the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission be maintained as an independent agency of the United States Government.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Labor Representation On the U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Resolution Number 83 requests reaffirmation of the previous action of the American Federation of Labor that we favor the maintenance of the United States Civil Service Commission as a bi-partisan board to administer the laws and regulations affecting personnel, including administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement system, and that we urge that at least one member of the Commission be chosen from the ranks of organized labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension and Improvement of the Civil Service System

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B.

Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system as distinguished from the spoils or patronage system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its Sixtieth annual convention reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Resolution Number 81 requests that this convention reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor in favor of extension of the classified civil service to all positions in the civil service of the United States Government except those determined to be policy-forming in fact.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 68, 70 and 82, which are as follows:

Proposing Endorsement of H. R. 4904 for Annuity Legislation for Widows of Post Office Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a Widow's Annuity for post office employees, as outlined in the provisions of the Randolph Bill, H. R. 4904, 76th Congress, which provides for annuities for widows of retired post office employees, and for proportionate annuities for widows of employees who die while in the postal service.

Proposing Endorsement of H. R. 5406 Amending Retirement Law For Government Employees

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of retirement legislation for government employees, the provisions of the Randolph Bill, H. R. 5406, 76th Congress, which provides for optional retirement after 30 years of service and compulsory retirement at age 60, for all groups regardless of roster title.

Endorsing Thirty-Year Optional Retirement Plan for Government Employees

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent Law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants, Therefore be it.

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Resolution Number 82 requests that this convention reaffirm its endorsement of the efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees to secure amendments to the United States Civil Service Retirement law to provide that employees may retire at their own option after thirty years of service and to provide adequate annuities for their dependents. It has the endorsement of all organizations of Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution Number 70 requests the endorsement by this convention of H. R. 5406—76th Congress, a bill to provide for optional retirement of Government employees after thirty years of service and compulsory retirement of all employees at 60 years of age.

Resolution Number 68 requests the endorsement by this convention of H. R. 4904—76th Congress, a bill to provide annuities for widows of Government employees and annuitants.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution Number 82.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarle., National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gaior, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International

Association of Machinists; Mrs. Bernice B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalizations of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unequalled adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision equitable automatic promotion system for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry, Be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution Number 86 asks that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in securing legislative enactments or administrative orders to effectuate the improvements in standards of employment of Government employees as set forth by their respective conventions.

the specific improvements sought being in conformity with the objectives of the American Federation of Labor as endorsed in previous conventions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 67 and 86, which are as follows:

Endorsing Seniority Legislation for Post Office Clerks

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing the enactment of seniority legislation for post office clerks, as outlined in the provision of the Flannery Bill, H. R. 3937, 76th Congress.

Proposing Seniority Principles for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemond, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Resolution No. 85 provides for the endorsement by this convention of legislation to provide an equitable system of seniority for Government employees.

Resolution No. 67 is practically identical in its purport but refers only to postal employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence in both resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 73, 77 and 145, which are as follows.

Proposing Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a bill providing for the establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, as embodied in the Pearson Bill, H. R. 3113, 76th Congress, which provides mainly that the Court be composed of a representative of the Civil Service Commission, a union representative selected by the appealing employee, and a third to be selected by the first two.

Proposing Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has as one of its major objectives, the establishment of an impartial Court of Appeals in the Federal Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, There is no law in the Service which makes positive provision for granting to civil service employees the right of a fair hearing before an impartial body in event of charges leading to dismissal, demotion, or suspension, and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy of the existing provisions of law may give rise to arbitrary action by officials or react unfavorably against organization by intimidation of union activities. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in New Orleans, La., request the national legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a legislative bill designed to accomplish this purpose and make every effort to secure its passage in Congress.

Favoring Enactment of H. R. 3113 Providing For Court of Appeals For Postal Employees

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a law granting postal employees the right of appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving removal from the service, reduction in salary, or other severe disciplinary action; and

WHEREAS, Injustices may frequently be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measure; and

WHEREAS, The right to be heard before an important tribunal is an inherent right; and

WHEREAS, We believe it to be unfair and undemocratic to permit one to hear the facts and mete out the punishment without granting the employee the right to be heard; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at New Orleans, go on record as favoring the enactment of the terms of the Pearson Court of Appeals Bill H. R. 3113 by the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolutions Numbers 73, 77, and 145 request that the Executive Council and the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every means at their command to secure the enactment of legislation providing for an impartial Board of Appeals to which Government employees threatened with dismissal, demotion, or severe disciplinary action may appeal for hearing and proper adjustment, such legislation to provide that the aggrieved employee shall be represented either directly or through his organization in the personnel of such Board.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation Recognizing Right of Government Employees to Collective Bargaining

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A cardinal principle of American democracy is the right of citizens to organize in unions and bargain collectively, and

WHEREAS, Legislation recognizes the right of government employees to become members of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, Government officials often decline to enter into agreements affecting working conditions of government workers on the grounds that no express authorization has been made by the constituted legislative authority. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, favor the enactment of legislation giving to government workers the right to enter into collective bargaining agreements.

Resolution Number 76 seeks the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of legislation giving authority for the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements between Government employees and administrative officials.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by the addition, after the word "agreements" in the last line, the words "regarding conditions not determined by legislation".

The Resolve would then read:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, favor the enactment of legislation giving to government workers the right to enter into collective bargaining agreements regarding conditions not determined by legislation."

With that amendment your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Approving Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph

f. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; W. A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General and other policy forming officials of the Post Office Department have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokespersonship through their duly elected representatives, and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of The American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

Resolution Number 87 calls attention to the fact that under the present administration the Postmaster General, the Assistant Postmaster Generals and the administrative officers under them in the Post Office Department have, by word and act, recognized the right of all postal employees to organize for their mutual welfare and to be represented by their own duly chosen representatives, a right that was secured to them legally in 1912 through the efforts of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and the American Federation of Labor, but which has been previously conceded grudgingly.

The resolution requests that this convention commend the Post Office Department officials for their fair and progressive attitude on personnel relationships and urge that they impress upon administrative officials in the field service the duty and responsibility of practical observance of the principles of collective bargaining.

The resolution also expresses the hope that similar personnel relationships may be

established in all Government establishments where they do not now exist.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 71, 88, 146, which are as follows:

Approving Pay Increases For Postal Employees On Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment into law a bill granting post office employees an increase in pay of \$100 per annum after the first 10 years of service, and \$100 per annum for each succeeding 5 years of service, up to and including 30 years of service, as embodied in the Mead Bill, S. 487, 70th Congress.

Approving Pay Increases for Postal Employees On Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and governments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for postal employees as embodied in a bill intro-

duced by Honorable James M. Mead, Senator from New York, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated postal organizations to secure its enactment.

Approving Pay Increases For Postal Employees on Longevity Basis

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Senator Mead in the Senate, and Representative Flannery in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, have introduced bills to establish a principle of longevity pay for postal employees; and

WHEREAS, Periodic increases in pay bolsters the morale of the employees and promotes greater efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The seniority principle embodied in longevity pay bills gives tangible recognition and reward for continuous meritorious service, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, do endorse the principles of longevity pay for Postal Employees and urges the Congress of the United States to adopt a system of longevity pay for postal employees.

Resolutions Numbers 71, 88 and 146 request that this convention endorse the principle of longevity pay for postal employees and instruct the Executive Committee to support the efforts of the affiliated postal organizations to secure legislation to provide promotions in salary on a longevity basis.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Legislation Reducing Hour Requirements of Substitute Post Office Employees Qualifying For Annual Leave

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Substitute post office employees are required to work 2,448 hours in a fiscal year in order to obtain sick and annual leave equivalent to that obtained by regular employees, who are required to work but 1,904 hours to secure the same leave, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing legislation that

would reduce the number of hours required before substitute post office employees are entitled to the full quota of sick and annual leave from 2,448 to 1,904 hours per year.

Resolution Number 69 requests endorsement of the efforts of the affiliated organizations of postal employees to secure the enactment of legislation to adjust the basis of credit for substitute service to conform to the forty hour week.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 66, 79, and 89, which are as follows:

Endorsing Campaign of National Federation of Post Office Clerks to Secure Progressive Pay Increases For Substitute Clerks

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing the campaign of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure raises in the hourly rate of pay for substitute clerks, so that the rate of pay after the first year of service would be equal to the pay received by a regular clerk, and to advance each year until the rate of pay is based on \$2.100 per year, divided by 1,904 hours of work.

Proposing Higher Pay For Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Substitute workers of the Postal Service are required to work under very irregular conditions, and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of how many hours he will work and how much money he will receive imposes an additional hardship upon him, and

WHEREAS, The work he must perform is identical with that of the regular employees, he must qualify on the same examinations, without receiving any increase in compensation regardless of the length of time he is a substitute, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the 1940 Convention request the national legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced into Congress legislation designed to remedy this discrepancy in the wage scale between regular employees and substitute

employees by the enactment of a graduated pay scale bill affecting all substitute workers.

Proposing Higher Pay for Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Miles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked, and

WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years, and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service.

Resolutions Numbers 66, 79, and 89, are identical in their purport and request the endorsement of this convention of legislation to provide a graduated scale of pay for substitute postal employees to conform to the pay of regular employees for like service and longevity.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution Number 89.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Restrict Use of Temporary Employees in Post Office

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the United States Post Office Department the temporary employees and acting clerks are employed for extended periods of time when emergencies do not exist, and

WHEREAS, Such a policy is a menace to Civil Service, being an unnecessary evasion of the principles of Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, The employment of temporary employees and acting clerks, except for the month of December, has lowered the morale of classified substitutes by deterring their appointment to regular positions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, urge the passage of legislation by the Congress of the United States prohibiting the use of temporary employees and acting clerks, except during the month of December, and during any real emergency, provided that such an emergency cannot be said to exist for more than two weeks in any three month period, and that where it is necessary to increase the force of greater periods than this, that regular civil service appointments be made.

Resolution No. 139 provides for the endorsement of legislation to prohibit the employment in the postal service of uncertified temporary employees except in genuine emergencies extending not more than two weeks in any three months.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Campaign to Secure Enactment of S. 490 to Conform Overtime Rate of Pay to Shorter Work Year

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to secure the enactment into law of the provisions of S. 490, 76th Congress, relating to adjustment of the overtime rate of pay to conform with the 253-day work year.

Resolution No. 72 urges a vigorous campaign to secure the enactment of legislation to adjust the basis of computation of overtime pay of postal employees to conform to the forty-hour week.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Higher Standards of Employment for Rural Letter Carriers

Resolution No. 60—By I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

RESOLVED, That rural routes in densely populated areas requiring more than forty hours per week to service and under forty-five miles in length, should be adjusted and reclassified, as to pay, on a parity with the regular city delivery service, with a five day week in all cases where it is possible.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That no rural carrier should receive less than \$2.00 per day equipment allowance.

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our opposition to the practice of extending rural routes of unreasonable lengths and we seek Department cooperation or legislation if necessary, for a correction of this disparity.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the mileage pay status of rural carriers as prior to July 1, 1934, be fully restored with an equipment allowance for all rural carriers of six cents per mile per day.

RESOLVED, That we seek passage of H. R. 9272, providing Civil Service Status for all rural carrier substitutes.

Resolution No. 90 outlines the objectives of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in seeking adjustments of salary and equipment allowance and the establishment of the five-day week and improvement of other working conditions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension of Civil Service to Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 74—George L. Warfel, Delegate, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees, and

WHEREAS, The members of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers of the United States

Postal Service remain unclassified, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 60th annual convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will extend the civil service so as to include the Special Delivery Messengers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue to cooperate with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or Executive Order, such extension of the classified civil service.

Resolution No. 74 asks that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its cooperation with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in seeking legislation to place Special Delivery Messengers in the postal service within the classified civil service.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 78 and 171, which are as follows:

Proposing General Legislative Program for Government Employees

Resolution No. 78—By James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend that legislative steps be taken to establish a Court of Appeals for all Federal institutional employees. Such a Court would be a safeguard to the rights of all concerned.

RESOLVED, That the custodial-mechanical merger as established by the United States Bureau of Prisons be dissolved and abolished, and that all mechanics be restored to the status held by them before said merger of duties was put into effect. This merger is contrary to the principles of Organized Labor and unfair to mechanical officers. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor recommends corrective legislation that will effect a severance of these two branches of service, i.e., custodial and mechanical.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation that will establish the working period for all Federal institution employees as a forty (40) hours, five (5) day week, with compensatory leave or time and one-half for overtime.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation to

establish a twenty-year optional retirement and twenty-five-year compulsory retirement for all prison service employees, due to the extra hazard connected with this work.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend legislation which shall limit the hours of duty for any prison service employee, on emergency duty, to twelve hours, which must be followed by an eight-hour rest period before said employee may be called for further duty. This is a safety measure necessitated by the extreme strain of emergency duty.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation which shall establish compensation during training for all employees of the Federal prison service or training on government time.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation to provide all employees of the Federal prison service with uniforms in those cases where the wearing of uniforms is compulsory.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the requisite legislation that may be required to place the employees of the Federal prison service under the scope of the "Automatic Promotions Within Grade" regulations now in effect in other branches of Government service.

Legislative Program of the American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program.

1. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50 per cent of the average compensation for those receiving compensation in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at 55; unqualified disability retirement after 55 years of age; joint survivorship annuity privileges for present annuitants; continuance of persons who have recovered from disabilities on the annuity rolls until reinstated; and additional deductions from compensation if necessary, to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

2. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to fully protect the rights of employees.

3. Minimum compensation of \$1500 a year for all full time employees.

4. Five day week distributed over five consecutive days with no decrease in pay.

5. Extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to the entire executive civil service.

6. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

7. Elimination of so-called average clause and the substitution thereof of statutory automatic increases in compensation.

8. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

9. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

10. The defraying, by the Government, of the cost of travelling by employees and their dependents, and the cost of transportation of household effects whenever an employee is transferred from one duty station to another for the benefit of the Government.

11. Shorter hours, adequate compensation, and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration Facilities, employees in Federal Penal Institutions and employees in the Public Health Service.

12. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such service.

13. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof where applications for reallocations are pending.

14. Reclassification upward of all guards in the government service so that their grade and pay will be commensurate with duties performed.

15. Pay for per diem and piece work employees when holidays are granted by Executive Order.

16. Compensatory leave within the next thirty days for classified employees on per annum salary who must perform official duties on Sunday or holidays established by law or Executive Order.

17. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

18. Straight eight hour shifts for all nurses working in government hospitals.

19. Extra compensation of 50% for employees called upon to do flying duty when such activity is not a part of their daily duties.

20. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees.

21. Consideration of length of service, experience and general fitness to be given in all examinations to determine qualifications under Executive Orders extending the classified service. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of New Orleans endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Resolution No. 171 recites twenty-one objectives of the American Federation of Government Employees as adopted by that organization and requests the endorsement and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in its efforts to secure necessary legislation.

Resolution No. 78 is a similar resolution dealing with some of the same subjects and some additional ones. Some of the provisions of Resolution No. 78 appear to deal with matters of a local or administrative character that can be adjusted through the organization.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 171 be amended by addition of the Second, Sixth and Seventh Resolves of Resolution No. 78 and that Resolution No. 171, as so amended, be adopted.

Resolution No. 171, as amended by the committee, reads:

Legislative Program of the American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program.

1. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50 per cent of the average compensation for those receiving compensation in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at 66; unqualified disability retirement after 55 years of age; joint survivorship annuity privileges for present annuitants; continuance of persons who have recovered from disabilities on the annuity rolls until reinstated; and additional deductions from compensation if necessary, to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

2. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to fully protect the rights of employees.

3. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full time employees.

4. Five day week distributed over five consecutive days with no decrease in pay.

5. Extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to the entire executive civil service.

6. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

7. Elimination of so-called average clause and the substitution thereof of statutory automatic increases in compensation.

8. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

9. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

10. The defraying, by the Government, of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents, and the cost of transportation of household effects whenever an employee is transferred from one duty station to another for the benefit of the Government.

11. Shorter hours, adequate compensation, and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration Facilities, employees in Federal Penal Institutions and employees in the Public Health Service.

12. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such service.

13. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof where applications for reassignments are pending.

14. Reclassification upward of all guards in the government service so that their grade and pay will be commensurate with duties performed.

15. Pay for per diem and piece work employees when holidays are granted by executive Order.

16. Compensatory leave within the next thirty days for classified employees on per annum salary who must perform official duties on Sunday or holidays established by law or Executive Order.

17. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

18. Straight eight hour shifts for all nurses working in government hospitals.

19. Extra compensation of 50% for employees called upon to do flying duty when such activity is not a part of their daily duties.

20. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees.

21. Consideration of length of service, experience and general fitness to be given in all examinations to determine qualifications under Executive Orders extending the classified service. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of New Orleans endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

RESOLVED, That the custodial-mechanical merger as established by the United States Bureau of Prisons be dissolved and abolished, and that all mechanics be restored to the status held by them before said merger of duties was put into effect. This merger is contrary to the principles of Organized Labor and unfair to mechanical officers. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor recommends corrective legislation that will effect a severance of these two branches of service, i.e., custodial and mechanical.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation which shall establish compensation during training for all employees of the Federal prison service or training on government time.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does recommend the necessary legislation to provide all employees of the Federal prison service with uniforms in those cases where the wearing of uniforms is compulsory.

Your committee recommends that the remainder of Resolution No. 78 be referred to the American Federation of Government Employees with the assurance of the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in securing proper corrective action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undetermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Resolution Number 93 recites that because of climatic conditions, workers in the Canal Zone become superannuated at an earlier age than similar workers in the United States and provides that the Executive Council be instructed to support legislation to amend the Canal Zone Code so as to permit Canal Zone employees and employees of the Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama to retire at their own option at 55 years of age and 25 years of service and also to extend retirement benefits to widows.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Higher Employment Standards for Panama Canal Pilots

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Legislative Committee, assist in preparation and introduce legislation for the Panama Canal Pilots, who are now endeavoring to secure fair wages and working conditions, after 25 years of futile struggle with the Administration of the Canal Zone. Action by the Legislative Committee is desired at the earliest opportune moment.

Resolution Number 131 requests that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor assist in the drafting and introduction of legislation to provide improved wage and working conditions for Panama Canal Pilots.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 138 and 166, which are as follows:

Endorsing Higher Wages for Mare Island Navy Yard Employees

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A Wage Board hearing was recently held at Mare Island, California, to consider wages of all federal employees in classes 1, 2, 3 and 4-a, and

WHEREAS, Committees of the various crafts coming under these classes presented data according to the procedure laid down by the Secretary of the Navy and the National Wage Board, and

WHEREAS, These committees representing nearly seventy per cent of the Navy Yard personnel presented wage data on a comparable work basis showing that an upward revision was in order, and

WHEREAS, Although this increase ranged from ten cents an hour on up, the local Fact Finding Board recommended an increase of only three-tenths to eight-tenths of a cent an hour, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living in the vicinity of the Navy Yard has been greatly increased by the national emergency, and there has been very little increase in wages, and

WHEREAS, The need for a continuous fight must be waged in order to realize the fruits of our work in the preliminary wage hearing, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention at New Orleans, go on record as supporting us in our fight for higher wages by requesting the National Wage Board to bring in a recommendation for an upward revision of wages.

Navy Department Wage Schedules

Resolution No. 166—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, In 1928 a Schedule of Wages for Employees in Navy Yards was established, and

WHEREAS, This schedule remained the basis for wages except for the general reduction created by the first and second Economy Acts so that the Schedule for Wages paid since the reduction created by the Economy Acts were restored, has been the same as paid in 1928, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Wage Review Board, after four months of consideration prepared a Schedule of Wages to go into effect November 18, 1940, which, in the case of skilled mechanics, has advanced wages a fraction of one cent per hour, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department expects the affiliated unions to assist in securing for the Navy some 50,000 additional mechanics within the next six months, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion that the present Schedule of Wages completely fails to establish a Schedule of Wages which is justified by the present situation in which the Navy Department, the War Department and private industry engaged in production for national defense are all endeavoring to secure competent mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department should establish a Schedule of Wages which will measure up to wages paid for skilled mechanics in private industry, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to cooperate with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and other International Unions affected, so that the Schedule of Wages going into effect November 18th may be reopened so that adequate increases in wages may be provided for, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter immediately after the adjournment of this convention, with the Secretary of the Navy, and if necessary with the President of the United

States, so that a Wage Schedule will be established which will lead skilled mechanics to accept employment in navy yards under wages equal to those which can be secured in private industry.

Resolutions Numbers 138 and 166 deal with the recent award of the Naval Wage Board granting increases in pay to navy yard workers ranging from three-tenths to eight-tenths of one cent per hour. Resolution No. 138 refers to workers at the Mare Island Navy Yard while Resolution No. 166 refers to all employees affected by the award of the Navy Wage Board.

Resolution No. 166 recites that the schedules of wages prevailing previous to the recent award, which became effective November 18, 1940, were fixed in 1928 and that while there has been no increase since that time, temporary reductions were effected by the Economy Acts of 1932 and 1933. The resolution requests that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to cooperate with the Metal Trades Department and other International Unions affected in petitioning the Secretary of the Navy and, if necessary, the President of the United States to reopen negotiations by the Navy Wage Board with the objective of establishing wage schedules equal to those prevailing in private industry.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution Number 166.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Navy Yard Employees Substituted in Supervisory Positions Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John K. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Resolution Number 94 requests that the Executive Council be instructed to seek amendments to existing laws that will insure the payment to employees detailed to supervisory duties the standard rate of pay for such positions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Eliminate Pay Rate Discriminations in U. S. Navy Department

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Several previous Metal Trades Department Conventions and American Federation of Labor Conventions have adopted resolutions bearing upon the elimination of the intermediate and minimum rates of pay as established under the Schedule of Wages for Field Service Employees of the United States Navy Department, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department and the officers of the American Federation of Labor have not been successful in their efforts to have this condition eliminated, and

WHEREAS, The President of the Metal Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor have not been able to see the President of the United States as instructed by conventions to confer with him regarding the sustaining of one rate of pay for employees of the Navy Department, and

WHEREAS, The President of the International Molders' Union of North America has on many occasions attempted to have this condition eliminated for foundry employees, U. S. Navy Department, and has conferred with the Acting Secretary of Navy, Charles Edison, on this subject without the desired success, and

WHEREAS, Conditions of employment in the Navy Department have undergone several important changes since the National Defense Program was instituted and the

several foundry departments of the Navy are having a difficult time in securing competent employees for the work being produced, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has recently appointed a new Secretary of Navy, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the International Molders' Union of North America immediately request a conference with the Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of discussing the elimination of the intermediate and minimum rates of pay for foundry employees in the Navy Department Service, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Molders' Union introduce a resolution dealing with the above subject at the coming convention of the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Molders' Union request that proper legislation be drafted or that the A. F. of L. endorse any proposed legislation that may be pending before Congress.

Resolution Number 95 recites the difficulties encountered by the International Molders' Union of North America in endeavoring to secure a satisfactory adjustment of wage rates for Molders in United States Navy Yards with particular reference to the elimination of minimum and intermediate rates of pay and discrimination between workers performing like service and requests endorsement by this convention of legislation to correct the condition complained of.

The first and second "Resolves" of the resolution embody instructions to the president and the officers of the International Molders' Union of North America. Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by eliminating those "Resolves".

Your committee recommends that the last "Resolve" be amended by the addition of the following: "to eliminate the minimum and intermediate rates of pay for molders and foundry workers as established by Civil Service Regulation No. 2000.

As amended, your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation Providing Civil Service For National Cemetery Employees

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor,

WHEREAS, The United States Government is contemplating the establishment of a national cemetery in San Mateo County, California, and

WHEREAS, The rate of pay for workmen employed in national cemeteries is far below the wage scale provided for in the working agreement of the cemetery employees' union in this area, and is detrimental to organized labor and the Cemetery Employees Union, and

WHEREAS, All United States Government employees, with the exception of armed forces and cemetery employees are classified in their respective crafts under civil service, and

WHEREAS, Men working in the national cemeteries should have the protection of civil service and be classified as cemetery employees and enjoy a wage comparable to that earned by organized cemetery workers, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the minimum wage payable under civil service for said national cemetery employees shall be One Hundred and Fifty (\$150.00) Dollars per month, with two weeks' vacation with pay per year, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and communicate with its representatives in Congress in the endeavor to place all national cemetery employees under civil service at a minimum salary of One Hundred and Fifty (\$150.00) Dollars per month, with two weeks' vacation with pay per year.

Resolution Number 137 points out that the rates of pay of employees in national cemeteries are below the wage scales for similar workers in private employment where such workers are organized and that said employees of national cemeteries do not enjoy the benefits of the classified civil service.

The resolution requests that the American Federation of Labor seek the enactment of legislation to place employees of national cemeteries within the classified civil service and that their compensation be increased to a minimum of \$150 per month and that they be given at least two weeks annual vacation with pay.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by striking out the third "Whereas" and the first "Resolve" and that the second "Resolve" be amended by striking out all after the words "civil services" and inserting "and the salary classification Act of 1923 as amended."

With these amendments your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Wagner Bill to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Senator Robert Wagner of New York has introduced into the U. S. Senate, legislation designed to extend Old Age benefits, under the Social Security Act, to agricultural and domestic workers, to state, municipal, and non-civil service federal employees, and to employees of non-profit religious, charitable and educational institutions, and

WHEREAS, This legislation is also designed to require full U. C. C. coverage of all employers, regardless of the number of workers employed, and of non-civil service government employees and workers in charitable institutions, and

WHEREAS, Labor has for years urged the passage of such legislation, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as fully endorsing these legislative proposals of Senator Wagner, and urging passage thereof, and it is further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to Senator Wagner.

Resolution Number 134 calls for endorsement of S. 4269, a bill to extend the coverage of the Social Security Act, introduced by Senator Wagner of New York. As this subject has been disposed of by the Committee on Resolutions, whose report was adopted by this convention by unanimous vote, your committee recommends that this resolution be laid on the table.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Restrict Government Employees on Leave Taking Outside Employment in Competition With Unemployed Workers

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The United States Government by reason of existing legislation, Civil Service regulations and classification laws, has extended to its employees the best of working conditions, both as to hours and wages, and leave, and

WHEREAS, These conditions are such as to render it unnecessary for such employees to accept outside employment to the detriment of the vast number of unemployed, and

WHEREAS, It has been reliably reported that some of such government employees accept employment as retail clerks while enjoying leave from the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Such practice is a detriment to the gains which labor has made in its struggle to establish a five-day, thirty-hour work-week, and

WHEREAS, This practice strikes at the very roots of the principles which led to the establishment of the short work-week as enjoyed by the majority of government employees, and

WHEREAS, The hiring of government employees by retail employers hinders the opportunities of our bona fide union members who are in good standing but are permanently or temporarily out of work, and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to secure work for its less fortunate members whenever possible, by advocating the thirty-hour work-week for all employees to overcome the curse of unemployment, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Sixtieth Annual Convention condemns the practice of employers hiring government employees for intermittent labor and also any government employee for accepting such work as being destructive to the employment policy of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to remedy this situation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, War, Navy, Interior, Labor, Commerce, State, and Treasury, to the Attorney General, and to the Postmaster General.

Resolution Number 61 recites that some employees of the United States Government in the District of Columbia engage in other employment in competition with other workers and calls upon the convention to condemn the practice and the employees and requests that legislation be enacted in reference to it.

The Committee deprecates the existence of any condition which would make it necessary or desirable for any worker or group of workers to accept employment other than their regular employment.

However, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence before the Committee to warrant a recommendation that legislation be sponsored placing restrictions on a specific group.

It is therefore recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to pursue inquiries to ascertain the prevalence of dual employment and the reasons therefor, and that the Executive Council take such steps as may be advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Merit Rating Under State Unemployment Insurance Laws

Resolution No. 112—By Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record in opposition to what is generally designated as employers' experience rating systems in connection with the administration of the various State unemployment compensation laws, and

WHEREAS, Some 40 states have legislative provisions in their respective State laws which provide for employers' experience rating in one form or another, and these employers' experience rating provisions will come into operation in practically all of said 40 states within the period of the next two years, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has pointed out that the provisions of such experience rating laws may result in either making the existing benefit payment provisions less liberal or will act as a brake in the future against further liberalization of the benefit payment provisions in State laws and, in addition, may in many cases endanger the solvency of the State funds, out of which benefits are paid, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, with a view to safeguarding the existing benefit payment provisions in State laws, and with a view further to liberalizing the existing benefit payment procedures in State laws, prepared a bill which would, if passed, amend the Social Security Act so as to set up certain "minimum standards" with respect to benefit payment procedures, and

WHEREAS, Said bill was introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States on January 9, 1940 by Congressman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts (H. R. 7762), and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record in opposition to employers' experience rating provisions as a part of State unemployment compensation acts, and

WHEREAS, Some 43 State legislatures will hold legislative sessions in the year 1941, Be it hereby

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor send out a statement on behalf of the American Federation of Labor recommending to each State Branch of the American Federation of Labor that such State Branch introduce a bill into its State legislature for the repeal of any provision providing for employers' experience rating which has been heretofore written into the State unemployment compensation act.

Resolution Number 112 calls upon the President and the Executive Council to send a communication to each State Federation of Labor urging introduction in the respective state legislatures of bills for the repeal of any state laws providing for employers' experience rating in connection with unemployment insurance.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted and that the Executive Council call upon the legal counsel of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a uniform law for States to be furnished to the various State organizations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Merit Rating Under State Unemployment Insurance Laws

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always opposed the adoption of any merit rating plan for reasons too often expressed to need repetition here, and

WHEREAS, We do not oppose horizontal reduction of contributions where the Reserve Fund has been so built up as to eliminate any possibility of its insolvency in the future, and

WHEREAS, There are now pending in Congress legislative proposals designed to prohibit any State merit rating plan, but to permit, in appropriate cases, horizontal reduction of contributions, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby goes on record as favoring and demanding Congressional legislation designed to prohibit merit rating in any State, but to permit, in appropriate cases, and only after complete elimination of employee contributions, the horizontal reduction of employer contributions.

Resolution Number 133 requests endorsement by this convention of national legislation to prohibit employers' merit rating in

connection with unemployment insurance but to permit in appropriate cases, after complete elimination of employees contributions, horizontal reduction of employer contributions.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a study of this subject and to take such action as seems most advisable to secure the elimination of "Employers Experience Rating plans without injury to the workers or the unemployed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Secure Unemployment Insurance For Agricultural Workers

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are among the worst sufferers from unemployment by virtue of the seasonal nature of their work, and

WHEREAS, The wages of agricultural workers are so low that it is impossible for them to accumulate a reserve, while employed, to tide them over periods of unemployment and, in fact, many of them are barely able to subsist on wages paid during this period of employment, and

WHEREAS, To the penalties of seasonal work and low wages the Legislature of California and the National Congress have added the further penalty of denial of the benefits of Unemployment Insurance by excluding agricultural workers from the protection of the Act, and

WHEREAS, The chief beneficiaries of such exclusion are the large-scale industrialized farms, field packers and shippers, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, hereby instruct the Executive Council to prepare and introduce legislation for the purpose of having enacted into law the intent of this resolution.

Resolution Number 140 provides that the Executive Council be instructed to have introduced and to secure the enactment of legislation to extend the benefits of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Physical Examinations for Applicants for Employment—Resolutions Nos. 96, 117, 160 and 176

Several resolutions dealing with physical examinations for applicants for employment were referred to this Committee. These resolutions are:

Calling for Legislation to Prohibit Requirement of Physical Examinations of Applicants for Employment

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George F. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The workers of this nation are being forced into physical examinations by the Insurance Companies for the protection of the finances of those companies insuring manufacturing firms against laws giving compensation to the workers, and

WHEREAS, These examinations are so drastic that they prevent workers that are capable of doing a full day's work, from obtaining employment because of minor defects and who are fully competent to look after their own physical condition, and

WHEREAS, These physical examinations throw workers out of opportunities to secure employment because of an age limit put on by the Insurance companies and it is proving a hardship to the workers in being able to provide for their families, yet they are still in the prime of life. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record to submit to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor those resolutions calling upon those bodies to call on all State Federations of Labor to have laws passed in the various States prohibiting physical examinations of human beings when seeking employment or while employed by any manufacturing concern that is operating for profit, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention when they return to their local unions introduce resolutions to their Central Bodies calling on the State Federations of Labor to introduce amendments to the laws of the various states prohibiting physical examinations of human beings as a condition of employment.

Protesting Health Examination of Printing Trades Mechanics in Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of Labor has appointed a special committee to gather information as to why the United States Civil Service Commission demands rigorous health examinations and an arbitrary age limit as applied to the skilled mechanics of the allied printing trades employed in the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that a few years ago no health certificate was required, or no age limit was necessary to secure employment in the Government Printing Office, and

WHEREAS, There is no restriction placed by commercial employers of the printing trade when they hire craftsmen, and

WHEREAS, Such requirements are discriminatory inasmuch as older persons are barred from employment, although from long experience they have skill and ability, and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that electrotypers are not required to lift heavy weights, and to bar them and other allied craftsmen from obtaining work does not spread employment, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the abuse of power as exercised by the United States Civil Service Commission to the end that the Honorable Secretary of Labor may be able to remove the restrictions now imposed on allied printing trades craftsmen so that they may be employed for ability instead of health certificates.

Opposing Requirement of Physical Examination for Workers Employed on National Defense Projects

Resolution No. 160—By Central Labor Union, Lake County, Indiana.

WHEREAS, Our National Defense Program is the program of our Nation as a whole, and

WHEREAS, Many workmen are definitely being discriminated against because of some physical defects that in no wise hinder their ability, either as mechanics or laborers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being vig-

orously opposed to workmen being required to pass physical examinations on governmental defense program projects, in order that equal work rights may be obtained by many of our citizens that are now being discriminated against simply because they may have some physical defect that in no wise interferes with their ability to perform the work necessary for our National Defense Program.

Protesting Medical Examinations For Workers on Defense Construction

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 13

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, With the advent to the national defense program many problems have presented themselves to the various affiliates of the Building and Construction Trades organizations and to the Building and Construction Trades Department, each of which have gone to much effort in furnishing the selected builders and contractors of the Government with men in the respective trades, oft necessitating the moving of men from an hundred miles to hundreds of miles to the end that the work may be speedily executed, and

WHEREAS, A mistaken effort has been made, written into this employment on the part of the employers, namely the demand of medical examination of the workers, though in open employment this is not the practice, Hence it has caused considerable confusion which is not to the welfare or the expeditious fulfillment of the defense program, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record protesting such medical examinations and that the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the officers of the respective affiliates of the Department use their every effort to have this rule of employment changed and the medical examination eliminated in the employment of men, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department have this resolution introduced before

the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

HARRY C. BATES,
RICHARD J. GRAY,
L. P. LINDELOF.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the necessary action to carry out the intent of this resolution.

The subject of physical examinations in relation to employment has never before received such widespread consideration as it is receiving now. Until a few years ago, the industries which were affected by the requirement for physical examinations were generally those in which workers were subjected to dust inhalation, contributing to diseases such as silicosis, tuberculosis, and the like. In recent times, however, the requirement for physical examinations has extended to occupations and industries such as the printing trades, building trades, and the like. The resolutions referred to call attention to the prevalence of physical examinations in these occupations. Likewise, the tendency towards physical examinations of workers is on the increase because of the adoption of laws by many states providing workmen's compensation as a result of occupational diseases.

Past history indicates the justice of the complaints made by the delegates of the Molders Union; of the California State Federation of Labor; of the Central Labor Union, Lake County, Indiana; and of the Building Trades Department. Many employers have used, and still use, the physical examinations as a means of unjust discrimination in the hiring of employees and in the retention of them in employment. It is also known that many employers in the country, and some of their insurance carriers, have utilized the physical examination as a subterfuge for dismissal of employees in a manner so as to deny them workmen's compensation benefits. This Committee, therefore, agrees with the facts contained in the resolutions and on which the protests against physical examinations are made.

However, your Committee is informed that the laws of certain states and the rules adopted by certain compensation commissions, provide for physical examinations of workers in one form or another. Likewise, certain legal questions present themselves in connection with requirements which seek to prohibit physical examinations as a condition precedent to employment. Likewise, certain voluntary plans of physical examinations are in operation by agreement between industry and labor. These plans have for their base limited physical examinations surrounded with safe-guards so as to assure fairness in the examination and to prevent denial of compensation benefits and other-

wise to maintain a just method of procedure. Naturally, your Committee has not had the opportunity of analyzing the laws of the various states pertaining to physical examination or the rules promulgated by the various compensation commissions of the country, nor has it had an opportunity to study the voluntary plans referred to.

The subject, however, is of such vast importance to organized labor that it is the opinion of your Committee that a prompt, thorough and efficient study be made of the laws, regulations and plans pertaining to physical examinations and that the entire subject be explored so that appropriate and uniform recommendations may be adopted consistent with the best welfare of workers in industry and in conformance with law. To that end your Committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor soon after the adjournment of this convention appoint a committee of five who shall undertake the study of this subject and report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, or to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for appropriate action. In the performance of its work the Committee shall have the assistance of the services of the General Counsel and of the Director of Research of the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee moves the adoption of this recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Enforcement of Fair Labor Standards Act in Garment Industry, Southern California

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of organized labor, the Fair Labor Standards Act was enacted by the Congress of the United States to prevent the use of the channels of interstate commerce to spread and perpetuate labor conditions detrimental to the health, efficiency and well-being of workers, and to wipe out unfair methods of competition, and

WHEREAS, Largely through the efforts of the thousands of organized clothing workers in this country a minimum wage and maximum hours provision applicable to the apparel industry, setting forth higher standards of pay and granted under the law to workers in unorganized industries, has been made part of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and

WHEREAS, Through the insidious efforts of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and other opponents of the war against poverty and insecurity, of which the Wage and Hour Law is a part, thousands of workers in the garment industry in Southern California have been denied the living wage and decent hours of work guaranteed to them by law, and

WHEREAS, This open defiance of the law has not been subject to the penalties provided as part of the law, and

WHEREAS, In times of great national and international stress it is doubly important that the lot of the working man and woman be protected against the inroads of reaction and greed, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, call upon the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor, entrusted with the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, to take immediate steps to bring the garment manufacturers of Southern California into compliance with the minimum standards of the law and to bring to the garment workers of California the reality of a living wage and decent hours guaranteed by the law of the land, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge the Congress of the United States to increase the appropriation granted the Wage and Hour Division so that it may more effectively carry on its appointed task; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution become part of the official proceedings of this Convention and that the Secretary of the Convention be instructed to send copies of this resolution to Madam Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C. and to Colonel Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor.

Resolution Number 141 requests that the American Federation of Labor call upon the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Law to see that the law is enforced in the garment industry of Southern California and that Congress be petitioned to increase the appropriation of the Wage and Hour Administration and that copies of this resolution be presented to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and to Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take the necessary steps to insure the universal and impartial enforcement of the Wage and Hour Law.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 63, 64, 91, 132 and 142, which are as follows:

Proposing Legislation to Prevent Awarding of Government Contracts to Unfair Employers

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate J. J. Handley Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor is the bulwark of our democratic form of government, and

WHEREAS, The principles and objectives of organized labor make for happy and healthy people, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement is first to defend our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, There are employers who are tearing down the principles and policies for which we stand, and

WHEREAS, The department of contracts of the United States government is giving contracts running into millions of dollars to employers who refuse to enter into labor agreements with organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Those employers are working their employes under conditions that are below the standards of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek ways and means and if necessary legislation to prevent the awarding of government contracts to employers who are unfair to organized labor.

Opposing Granting of Government Contracts to Firms Violating Labor Laws

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Connecticut Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, went on record as opposing the granting of government contracts, especially those given out under the ten billion dollar national defense program, to firms which violate such labor laws as the Walsh-Healy Act, the Wage Hour Law, and the Wagner Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Connecticut Federation of Labor to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to work for the passage of this resolution at the National Convention.

Opposing Granting of Government Contracts to Concerns Violating National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Blais, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is now the law of the land, and

WHEREAS, Certain large corporations who bid on government contracts have flag-

rantly and wilfully violated the law by employing coercion and intimidation and even by resorting to violence to impede or prevent workers from exercising their rights granted to them under the law, and

WHEREAS, It is intolerable that such employers who have wilfully and deliberately violated the law of the land shall be enabled to make profits on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act has already established the policy of granting government contracts only to employers who have complied with conditions as to wages and hours established under the Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention goes on record in favor of extending the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found by a recognized government agency to have violated the Federal statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and that every effort be made to bring about the enactment of an amendment which will embody this change.

Proposing Amendment to Walsh-Healy Act Requiring Compliance With Labor Laws on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain concerns which have openly flouted the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing are permitted to bid on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, Concerns which violate the law of the land should be prohibited from benefiting from government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Act has already established the policy of the government to grant contracts to concerns provided they meet specified conditions with respect to wages and hours, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Walsh-Healy Act be extended to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found to have violated the Federal Statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Proposing Amendment to Walsh-Healy Act Requiring Compliance With Labor Laws on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Certain concerns which have openly flouted the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing are permitted to bid on government contracts, and

WHEREAS, Concerns which violate the law of the land should be prohibited from benefiting from government contracts, and

WHEREAS, The Walsh-Healy Act has already established the policy of the government to grant contracts to concerns provided they meet specified conditions with respect to wages and hours, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in New Orleans, pledges its support to lend its strength and resources to extend the Walsh-Healy Act to prohibit the granting of government contracts to concerns which have been found to have violated the Federal Statute guaranteeing workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Resolutions Nos. 63, 64, 91, 132, and 142 urge amendment of the Walsh-Healy Act to prohibit the awarding of contracts by the United States Government or its Departments or Agencies to concerns which have been found to have denied their employees the right to organize and to bargain collectively.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 91.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Repeal of Woodrum Amendment Eliminating Prevailing Rates of Pay On Relief Work

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The so-called Woodrum amendment eliminated prevailing union rates and conditions on WPA work and this section of the appropriation bill providing for relief has never been eliminated, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every effort to have this provision in the relief appropriation bill repealed.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution and that the Executive Council be instructed to continue efforts to have the provision for the prevailing-rate of wages on relief work restored.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Govern Selection of Site for New Abbott Vocational School, District of Columbia

Resolution No. 80.—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There is to be constructed in the District of Columbia a new Vocational School to be known as the Abbott Vocational School, and

WHEREAS, Many children of members of organized labor in the District of Columbia attend this Vocational School, and

WHEREAS, It is proposed to build this Vocational School in a very undesirable and remote section of the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union has protested against the building of this Vocational School on such an undesirable and remote location and has suggested that it be built on a site owned by the District of Columbia centrally located, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States legislates for the District of Columbia because the citizens of the District of Columbia are denied the right of suffrage. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor to petition the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to provide that the new Abbott Vocational school for the District of Columbia be built on a site owned by the District of Columbia centrally located and within reach of the large majority of the children of the District of Columbia who will attend this Vocational School.

Resolution No. 80 provides that the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to seek legislation to require that a new vocational school to be built in the District of Columbia be centrally and conveniently located for the majority of the children for whom it is to be provided.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Retirement Legislation For Air Line Pilots

Resolution No. 65.—By Delegate David L. Behncke, Air Line Pilots Association.

WHEREAS, The Air Line Pilots employed by commercial air lines throughout

the United States are engaged in a pioneering industry, and through their efforts, skill, and courage air line safety and flying in the United States has surpassed that of every nation in the world, and

WHEREAS, It takes long years of training, constant study and research, and the demand is for employment of men as air line pilots of comparatively young years, and

WHEREAS, In the event of a fatality to an air line pilot, his wife and children who have been totally dependent upon his earnings, are without means of support, and

WHEREAS, Insurance companies throughout the United States have uniformly refused to accept air line pilots for more than a nominal amount of insurance at a premium rate that is exorbitant and unable to be kept up by most pilots, and because of which most pilots are not able to secure proper insurance coverage, and

WHEREAS, The air line pilots of the United States are an important part of our first line of defense in the event of war and that approximately seventy-five per cent of the said pilots are trained as officers of the National Guard, Army, Navy, and Marine Air Reserves of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The present social security laws are inadequate to take care of the needs of pilots as presently constituted, and

WHEREAS, Their active earning lives are relatively short, it being quite probable that pilots will not continue their careers, except in rare instances, beyond 50. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this Sixtieth Convention does hereby unanimously recommend that legislation be enacted by Congress to provide for the retirement of pilots at an age not later than fifty-five (55) years of age, and a pension of a monthly minimum of \$200., and because of the fact that the pilot is a first line of defense and a good right arm of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, that the United States and the air line companies of the United States contribute jointly to the cost of retirement for air line pilots. In addition to the above, the legislation should contain provisions for eligibility for wife's benefits and child's benefits in general following the eligibility requirements of old-age and survivors' insurance, and such other provisions as will adequately meet the peculiar problem confronting the air line pilots of the United States.

Resolution No. 65 recites the difficulties encountered by air line pilots in securing insurance, stating that, because of the hazard of their occupation, insurance rates are exorbitant and that only a nominal amount of insurance can be obtained. It asks that this convention endorse legislation that will provide retirement at not later than 55 years of age with a minimum of \$200.00 per month pension, same to be

financed jointly by the air line companies and the United States Government. It also requests that adequate provision be made for widows and dependents of said pilots.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution as drafted.

Your committee is not unmindful of the desirability of an adequate retirement system nor is it unsympathetic with the desires of any group to establish suitable superannuation benefits. The committee suggests that the workers involved in the air transportation industry and their employers should make proper provisions for an equitable retirement system for the workers in that industry.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 60 and 148, as follows:

Proposing Pensions for Workers Who Constructed Panama Canal

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Labor Council, California.

WHEREAS, The construction of the Panama Canal in the early 1900's not only joined two oceans together but was the greatest engineering feat of its time, and

WHEREAS, This great job could not have been completed without engineering and planning, but such engineering and planning would have been of no avail had it not been for the workmen who did the work after the plans were made, and

WHEREAS, The Army and Navy and Public Health officials and employees who participated in the construction of this project have, after their life of usefulness, been taken care of by the United States Government through pensions and otherwise, but no such recognition has, as yet, been given by the Congress of the United States to the men who did the actual job, many of whom contracted tropical diseases during their stay in the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, There are approximately fifteen (1500) hundred of these men, mechanics of various trades, who are the veterans of this construction job and who are yet alive, and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress at the present time Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674 which, if enacted into law, would provide a pension for these former workers on the Panama Canal and give some recognition to their services in that undertaking, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Convention in New Orleans in November, 1940, that it go on

record as endorsing the two companion bills above mentioned, and lend its support to secure the passage thereof.

Proposing Pensions for Workers Who Constructed Panama Canal

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The construction of the Panama Canal in the early 1900's not only joined two oceans together, but was the greatest engineering feat of its time; and

WHEREAS, This great job could not have been completed without engineering and planning, but such engineering and planning would have been of no avail had it not been for the workmen who did the work after the plans were made; and

WHEREAS, The Army, Navy and Public Health officials and employees who participated in the construction of this project, after their life of usefulness, have been taken care of by the United States Government through pensions and otherwise, but no such recognition has as yet been given by the Congress of the United States to the men who did the actual job, many of whom contracted tropical diseases during their stay in the Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, There are approximately fifteen hundred of these men, mechanics of various trades, who are the veterans of this construction job, and who are yet alive; and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress at the present time Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674 which, if enacted into law, would provide a pension for these former workers on the Panama Canal and give some recognition to their services in that undertaking; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Convention at New Orleans, go on record as endorsing the two companion bills, Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 1674, and lend its support to secure the passage thereof.

Resolutions Nos. 60 and 148 recite that Army, Navy, and Public Health officials and employees who were engaged in the construction of the Panama Canal have been provided for through pensions or otherwise and requests the endorsement of S. 1162 and H. R. 1674—76th Congress, companion bills to provide pensions for the workers not otherwise provided for who worked on the construction of the Panama Canal.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Legislation which is signed by all members of the committee:

I. M. ORNBURN,
LEO E. GEORGE,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
C. M. HARVEY,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
ROBERT DALE,
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
JOHN DONLIN,
JAMES B. BURNS,
THOMAS V. GREEN,
GEORGE S. COUNTS,
M. T. FINNAN,
JAMES E. PETRILLO,
DON M. BURROWS,
CHRISTIAN MADSEN,
DAVID BEHNCKE,
JAMES MYLES,
ROBERT LESTER,
T. J. STEPHENS,
JOSEPH P. DRALEY,
Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I thank all members of the committee for the excellent service rendered in consideration of the legislative matters referred to the committee and in the submission of its report to this convention.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Tobin, Chairman of the Committee on Laws, for a report of that committee to the convention.

Vice President Tobin: The Secretary of the Committee, Edward Volz, President of the Photo-Engravers Union, will make the report for the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

To the officers and delegates in attendance at the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

Your Committee on Laws to which was referred two proposals of the Executive Council and seven resolutions presented to the Convention has held a number of lengthy sessions at which thorough and careful consideration was given to the various propositions submitted and begs leave to submit the following report and recommendations:

Proposing Amendment to Article XI, Section 11, A. F. of L. Constitution Regulating Basis of Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The present Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article XI, Section 11, provides that:

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof," and

WHEREAS, Organizations of members up to 50 are entitled to 2 delegates, and up to 100 to 3 delegates, that the said figures represent a great injustice to larger local unions, as for example: a local union of 13,000 members is entitled to only 30 delegates to the Central Labor Union while 10 small local organizations of 100 members each, totalling 1,000 members in all, are allowed the same representation, namely, 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 50 members each, totalling 750 members, are allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 10 members each, totalling 150 members in all, would be allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; as the one organization of 13,000 members; therefore the 10 local organizations of 100 members each with a total of 1,000 members have thirteen (13) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members, and

WHEREAS, A comparison of the per capita tax paid shows that 10 local unions of 100 members each, totalling 1,000 members in all, pay \$20.00 per month for per capita tax, totalling \$240.00 per year, that they have the same representation in the Central Labor Union as the one local with 13,000 members that pays \$260.00 per month or \$3,120.00 per year per capita tax, and

WHEREAS, In practical operation the said Section 11 has worked to the detriment for the effective affiliation of organizations in the Central Labor Union. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the said Section 11 be amended to provide that all local unions whose membership consists of 100 or less shall be entitled to 2 delegates to the Central Labor Unions and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof.

This resolution is similar in intent and purpose to a proposition presented by Delegate F. A. Ackerman of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the Convention at Cincinnati last year. It is also somewhat similar in intent and purpose to resolutions presented and considered at the Tampa convention in 1936 at which time a clarifying amendment was adopted.

The introducer of this resolution now under consideration, Delegate Lillian Herstein, appeared before your committee and urged its adoption while delegate Frank X. Martel, of the Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan, Federation of Labor appeared to urge rejection.

After due and careful consideration your committee again voices the opinion that the amendment as proposed would defeat the very purpose of the introducer as explained to the committee and result in a lessening of interest in City Central Labor Unions.

Your committee accordingly recommends disapproval of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I realize that this resolution is a perennial coming from the Chicago Federation of Labor. It was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor. We feel very strongly that the present method of representation of affiliated bodies to central bodies is a violation of the pure democratic principle. We feel that on the present method of representation it is altogether possible that several small unions representing a minority of the membership affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor could control the Chicago Federation of Labor. We feel that the present ruling discourages large unions from paying on their full per capita tax and asking for their full representation.

Now, some of the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor feel that it is a case of taxation without representation. I feel that the more important thing is that it is a violation of the democratic principle, because it could result, as I said before, in a group of small unions representing a minority of the membership affiliated with our central body controlling it.

I realize that the committee has recommended nonconcurrence, and I understand that there is no standing committee on law. I would like to recommend, if it is parliamentary, that the subject matter of this resolution be considered during the year by the Executive Council, so that an amendment could be recommended at the next convention that would be more truly democratic.

I offer that as an amendment to the committee's report.

The amendment was seconded.

Vice-President Tobin: Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment offered by the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor. The same arguments were presented

before the committee. This is in substance the same resolution we have had several times before this convention previously, and there are only about two cities in the country the amendment would apply to, if you amend the constitution as suggested by this resolution. You would injure the central bodies of nearly all the other cities.

The claim is made by the Chicago Federation of Labor that there are some large local unions that are not getting the full representation in accordance with the tax they pay. There are only two cities where such a condition would apply—New York and Chicago. I happen to represent one organization that has a large membership in Chicago, perhaps the largest of any, and we are not kicking about the present form of representation.

But if the suggestion contained in the amendment to the constitution was adopted—and the same suggestions have been rejected by this convention—it would injure the small local unions and the Federation in these two cities by a merging together of the Teamsters, the Carpenters, the Musicians, and possibly the Ladies Garment Workers, who could control the entire Federation in those two large cities. All that they would need would be an understanding, and they could destroy the representation of all the small local unions. To my mind it would be a pity to do that. It would be an injustice, and I think the report of the committee should be adopted.

There is no need of this amendment, because if we were to grant this special favor to the Chicago Federation of Labor by amending the constitution, and perhaps to the New York Federation of Labor, which doesn't seem to be interested in the amendment, we would injure the central bodies and the small local unions in nearly all the rest of the cities of the country.

I trust the amendment will be voted down and the report of the committee adopted.

The amendment offered by Delegate Herstein was lost on being put to vote.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by a unanimous vote.

Calling For Representation of Local Building Trades Councils in A. F. of L. Convention, State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 154—Central Labor Union, Gadsden, Alabama.

WHEREAS, Building and Construction Trades Councils over the country have, for many years, voiced the desire to be represented by delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and Building and Construction Trades Council, and the respective State Federations of Labor, and to be represented by

delegates to the regular meetings of the respective Trades and Labor Central Bodies, and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Unions are allowed delegates to same, it appears that Building and Construction Trades Councils should be allowed delegates on the same basis, inasmuch as said councils are virtually the "backbone" of the A. F. of L. today, and

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Council of Jefferson County Alabama and vicinity, went on record the first day of August, 1940, urging the Construction and Building Trades Annual Convention and the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to act favorably on this proposition to allow Building and Construction Trades Councils delegates at said assemblies, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this action be given widespread publicity among other Building and Construction Trades Councils in order that a large number of resolutions may be sent to the Building and Construction Trades Department and the A. F. of L. immediately, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Coyne of the Building and Construction Trades Department and to Secretary Meany of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be requested to place this resolution before the proper committees at the coming conventions of the Building and Construction Trades Council and A. F. of L. soon to convene at New Orleans, La., and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Executive Board of both bodies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates at the convention of the Building and Construction Trades Council and the Convention of the A. F. of L. soon to meet at New Orleans, La., be, and are hereby requested to vote to amend the Constitution of the A. F. of L. to conform with the request of the Building and Construction Trades Councils.

Your Committee was advised that a similar resolution was presented to, and considered by the convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of this Federation but that no action was taken.

Your Committee accordingly disapproved of the resolution.

Secretary Volz: Mr. Chairman, I move concurrence in the action of the Committee and adoption of its report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Joseph Franklin, President, Boilermakers, in the Chair.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 103, 104, 155, and 156, which are as follows:

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of President

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Since his election to the office of President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green has served in that capacity diligently and faithfully, and

WHEREAS, During all these years of service the membership of the Federation has greatly increased, increasing immensely the work and responsibilities that go with this office, and

WHEREAS, Labor at all times rightfully demands adequate compensation for work performed, and

WHEREAS, There can be no question that the work and responsibilities of the chief executive of the Federation have greatly increased, it seems fitting that in some substantial form recognition of these facts should be shown by this Convention, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article VI, Section 4, of the Constitution be amended by striking out the figure \$12,000 and inserting the figure \$20,000.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of Secretary-Treasurer

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, George Meany in accepting the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation did so without any increase in salary over that paid him as President of the New York State Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the work of the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation, with its increased membership and responsibilities, is such that substantial recognition of these facts should be shown by this body, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article VII, Section 7, of the Constitution be amended by striking out the figure \$10,000 and inserting the figure \$15,000.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase For the Office of President

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates James Maloney, Dale Clutter, William Wallace, W. W. Campbell, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, In our judgment the salary paid to the President of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to properly reimburse him for the great services he renders to the labor movement. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 4, Article VI, of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council when necessary and shall preside over their deliberations and shall receive for his services \$25,000.00 per annum, payable weekly.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution to Provide Salary Increase for the Office of Secretary-Treasurer

Resolution No. 156—By Delegates James Maloney, W. W. Campbell, Dale Clutter, William Wallace, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, In our judgment the salary paid to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to properly reimburse him for the great services he renders to the labor movement, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 7, Article VII, of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Inasmuch as resolutions 103, 104, 155 and 156 proposed amendments to the Constitution to provide for increases in salary for the offices of President and Secretary-Treasurer, these resolutions were considered jointly by your committee.

After due deliberation and in view of the fact that the salary of the President and Secretary have not been increased since 1920 although the duties of these offices have multiplied in the interim and the membership of the Federation has materially increased, also due to the fact that the present incumbent William Green has held the office of President since 1924—a period of 16 years—without any increased remuneration, but with honor and satisfaction, while Secretary-Treasurer George Meny, accepted office in the Federation without any increase in salary from that received as President of the New York State Federation of Labor, although considerable personal sacrifice was entailed, your committee recommends that the salaries of these two officers be increased to \$20,000 and \$18,000 per annum for President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively, and submits the following substitute amendments:

Amend Section 4 of Article VI by substituting the figures "\$20,000" for the figures "\$12,000" appearing on the fourth line and making the entire section read as follows:

"Section 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly."

Also amend Section 7, of Article VII by substituting the figures "\$18,000" for the figures "\$10,000" appearing at the end of the seventh line and making the entire section read as follows:

"Section 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly."

Your committee recommends concurrence and approval in these substitute amendments.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: I move concurrence in the action of the committee on the adoption of their report. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I rise, Mr. Chairman, to offer an amendment to this committee's report. I move, Mr. Chairman, that the report of the committee be amended by striking out the figures, "\$20,000.00" in reference to the salary of the President of the American Federation of Labor, and substituting therefor the figures "\$15,000.00" and by striking out the figures "\$18,000.00" in reference to the salary of the Secretary-Treasurer and substituting therefor the figures "\$12,000.00."

Delegate Addy, Paper Makers: I second the amendment.

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: Now, Mr. Chairman, speaking on the amendment I think that the delegates to this convention should consider well before increasing the salaries of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to the figures recommended by the Committee on Laws. I also say that whoever is elected President of the American Federation of Labor, and whoever is elected Secretary-Treasurer at this convention should consider well before accepting any such increases.

Let us not forget, fellow delegates, that this trade union movement of ours is idealistic in concept and humanitarian in purpose. The American Federation of Labor is not a business institution operated for private profit. We cannot go to the world of business for comparisons when determining the salaries of our officers.

Possibly the position of President of the American Federation of Labor is worth more than \$12,000.00 a year. It may be worth more than \$20,000.00 a year, or it may be worth more than \$50,000.00 a year, if we measure it by the yardstick of what is paid business executives or corporation attorneys.

But I submit, Mr. Chairman, that we cannot measure it by any such yardstick, any more than we can compare the salary the people of the United States pay their President with the salary that the stockholders of General Motors Corporation pay their President.

Why is it that the President of the United States is only paid \$75,000.00 a year? Why is it that Senators and Congressmen are paid only \$10,000.00 a year, and cabinet officials \$15,000.00 a year? Why is it that Senators like Senator Wagner and Senator Norris and many other exceptionally able men have been willing to give the greater portion of their lives in serving the people of the United States for salaries that are ridiculously low as compared with what is paid in private industry?

Why was it that Samuel Gompers was willing to carry the burden of the presidency of the American Federation of Labor all those years with never a complaint about the smallness of the salary? We all know why. We know that there are men and women in this world—and thank Heaven we have them—who have a passion to serve their fellowmen. Our trade union movement is full of such men and women, but our trade union movement has no monopoly upon this type of human being. They can be found in all walks of life, in government service, in the field of education, in the church. To those human beings who have a passion for human service, the work they are doing, the service they are rendering comes first. The financial compensation is secondary. Samuel Gompers was that kind of a human being and so is William Green. I yield to no person, I yield to no delegate seated in this convention in my respect and admiration for the man who has acted as President of the American Federation of Labor for the past sixteen years. I have

sat in these conventions during all these years and watched this man grow in ability and stature. I have watched him grow in the esteem and confidence not only on the part of the members of the American Federation of Labor, but of every section and segment of the American people. Millions of Americans trust William Green because they believe that this man is working for something infinitely bigger and greater than the salary he receives.

Now I know that the introducers of these resolutions to increase the salaries of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor by \$8,000.00 a year were actuated by the best of motives and intentions. But this is a case where the President and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor should say, "Save us from our friends." Why, here is George Meany, who has served as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for only one year, and yet his friends would load an \$8,000.00 increase in salary upon him. They could not possibly do anything worse to this comparatively young man than to do that.

Let us not forget, brother delegates, that Uncle Sam is calling 900,000 young Americans to the colors, and they will get \$30.00 a month. Some of these young men who will be called to the colors are not so many years younger than George Meany. There is plenty of time to increase his salary to \$18,000.00 a year.

I sometimes wonder if the prosperity that has come to our movement in recent years hasn't gone to our heads a little. If salary increases are in order let's go about it moderately and let's not give all of the increases to the top men. At our next convention we may find it necessary to give a little boost in the salaries that are paid the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, who are out in the field, out there in the fight on the line. They are only receiving \$60.00 a week. We had better think about those fellows a little bit.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am asking the delegates to this convention to think before turning down my amendment. There are millions of American working men and women watching this convention. So are the 900,000 young men who have been called to the colors. The eight or nine million unemployed workers, the millions of workers who are still on part time, the WPA workers, the one-third ill-clad, ill-housed, poorly-sheltered that President Roosevelt talks about, not to mention the 15,000,000 sunken bellies that John Lewis talks about. I am asking the delegates to this convention to support my amendment.

Now I am through, but as one delegate to this convention I would not be representing my constituents properly and I would not be voting in a manner that would meet with their approval if I voted for any salary increases other than those proposed by my amendment.

Delegate Weber, American Federation of Musicians: I am in earnest, I am a member of the committee. I voted for the increase in wages for reasons that are following: The President of the American Federation of Labor did not have an increase in 16 years, consequently the increase you are giving him now is partly reimbursement for the time he served while underpaid. The President of the American Federation of Labor holds the most responsible and most difficult position of any officer of any American labor movement. The destiny of the entire American Federation of Labor is in his hands. He works day and night—for what? To protect and safeguard the interests of the American Federation of Labor. I know what has happened in the Executive Council in many meetings, and they always refer matters to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

I want to call your attention to one condition. When a split occurred in the labor movement, which we all deplored, the American Federation of Labor was notoriously poor. The CIO had \$200,000 a month at their disposal, and they used it for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor. They had organizers paid \$100.00 a week, they had publicity agents, they had the front pages of all the newspapers, and the result was that the American Federation of Labor was on the way out and that the CIO would be the labor organization of the future.

The American Federation of Labor realized that they did not have enough money and then an assessment was put on that was erroneously called a "war chest," but was only a defense fund. It is true that from convention to convention, from one meeting of the Executive Council to another, the entire responsibility of the American Federation of Labor rests in the hands of the President. What are we organized for? To better the economic conditions of the workers. We contend day and night for better conditions, but if we look long, if we look to the men who have served for 16 years without an increase, we realize that the man is worthy of his hire. I repeat that I have sat on the Executive Council and I know our President was overworked and underpaid for many years. Naturally, he would not come and ask for an increase in wages, but I say the work he does warrants the increase in salary that we are asking for him. As President of the American Federation of Labor he must represent it, and I know what that means and what it calls for today. He meets senators, congressmen and congressional committees, he must entertain and be entertained; he must represent you. Inasmuch as we stand for the principle of better working conditions, I say the President of the American Federation of Labor is entitled to the small increase the Law Committee has recommended.

Now, as to Secretary Meany. Not everybody can fill every position. I agree there are some positions I could not fill and some positions that you could not fill. He was immensely successful when he served as President of the New York State Federation of Labor. When it came that we had to change the Secretary, what did he do in one year? In my opinion, he is the most talented man the American Federation of Labor could have picked. He made a wonderful Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, he saved the organization in one year \$45,000. We took him out of a position where he received \$10,000 and put him in a position where he has greater responsibilities. I hope the report of the committee will be sustained.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: I would just like to call to the attention of the delegates that all of these matters that have been presented this afternoon were presented to the committee, and the committee gave them thorough consideration. Fifteen members of the committee were present, but one voted against the recommendation and the amendment that is before you. In considering this recommendation, the committee had in mind the fact that the salaries of the officers of this Federation have not been increased in 20 years, and I doubt if any delegate sitting in this body representing his members could hold his office for 20 years without securing an increase for those whom he represents.

Now, when we hear of a 5 per cent increase, we don't think it amounts to a whole lot, or at least our members don't feel that it amounts to a whole lot, and yet such increases are granted year after year, and if we had a similar increase for our officers their salaries would be far beyond that which the committee is recommending. And in the 20 years since these salaries have been increased, I wonder how many organizations have gone along without reducing the hours for their members. I think it would be well to take into consideration that our officers have no set hours and that they are never finished. In reaching its conclusions, the committee did not consider higher proposals that were presented, although there was an inclination to do it. However, in reaching their conclusions, they compromised between the two proposals that were presented, and fifteen of the sixteen committee members present were in favor of the recommendation that they are asking you to concur in.

Delegate McCurdy, Garment Workers: I believe the delegates will agree with me when I make the assertion that these two men occupy perhaps the most important positions in the United States of America today. Realizing the importance of these positions and realizing the fact that these men representing us as our spokesmen, representatives of so many working men and women of the nation, re-

flecting their attitudes to the general public in the very important matters with which we are confronted today, carry with their positions greater responsibilities than the representatives of any organizations on this continent today.

It is true that there may be those amongst us who feel the Committee on Law is not making the proper recommendation, there may be those amongst us who may feel the committee's recommendations do not go far enough. While I am a comparatively young man, I have carried my union card for 30 years, and I think I have a knowledge of the type of men who are representing the great American Federation of Labor.

I think these men should not be placed in an embarrassing position. I feel that they would rather not hear the discussion today relative to an increase in wages. They are not that type of men, in my opinion. I feel it is embarrassing for them to sit and listen to this discussion because of the high type of men they are. And so, having no desire to take up the time of this great organization, knowing that the great house of labor has always, down through its history, been willing to recompense those who have served them so faithfully and well, I favor the report of the committee. I am not one who wants to wait until a monument is erected to their memory. I believe they should be rewarded while they are on earth and that they will reap some reward for the labors they have performed.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: It seems at this minute we are engaged in a most important demonstration of collective bargaining, because right now we will or will not demonstrate to the world that we believe in the principles to which we have given not merely lip service, but genuine adherence at all time. As we go to our other fields of activity we will be strengthened or weakened by refusing to give the full amount asked for by the Committee on Laws. I stand firmly for the committee's increase recommendation, and I sincerely hope the amendment will not prevail.

Delegate Rose, Hatters: The question that we are debating this afternoon, I know, has been debated in the labor movement for many, many decades. There are two viewpoints on the question of salaries for labor leaders. There are some who hold the viewpoint that if a man is a leader of organized labor and he receives a salary far superior to what the rank and file get he may lose his common touch, or fall in his ability to understand and serve organized workers.

There is another one that is realistic, one is that you cannot present a good example to the entire economic world unless you, yourselves make the example within your own house. These viewpoints are being debated, not only for national and international leaders, but they are being debated for officers of state federations and for managers of local unions. As far as I can

see, this afternoon the increase involved is only \$16,000. Knowing the size of the American Federation of Labor, I regard the speech made by the first speaker as slightly demagogic.

We must consider salary in the light of the position the man occupies. We don't have to make comparisons when we consider the salaries of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the industrial leaders. Why not compare the salaries of our officers with the salaries of international organizations, and in many cases the managers of local unions? The delegates want to give expression to our esteem and regard for the leaders of our organization, particularly now when we have a divided labor movement, because our leaders have not been subject to the attack of demagogues and so-called revolutionary elements.

Now as to the interpretation of the rank and file. We have an example of the labor leader in the United States who until recently was the President of the CIO, who was supposed to be the idol of the unorganized and down-trodden, who was supposed to be the idol of the Communists of the United States, and did not contradict his revolutionary ardor and devotion to the cause to get \$25,000.00 a year.

I favor the report of the committee because it gives us an opportunity to demonstrate the esteem and loyalty we have for the leaders of our American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kane, Warehousemen's Union 19897 Jersey City, N. J.: I want to add a few more points, and I don't think it is really necessary to elaborate after the wonderful orations that have been given by the delegates in favor of this amendment. But I do want to say that if there are any of us who have any intention of negotiating contracts within the coming year, if we don't concur in this recommendation we might be set back for a couple of years until we are in position to give additional wages to our representatives.

Aside from that I know President Green and Secretary Meany, I know they have traveled all over the United States, and I know they are union widowers, their wives never see them from one end of the week to the other. I am in the same position, but my union would never under any consideration turn down this recommendation.

I honestly feel that we should concur in this recommendation.

Vice-President Tobin: It seems to be one of the privileges and duties of the chairmen of committees to have to defend the report of the committee. I am not defending this report of the committee today because I am chairman of the committee. I am defending it as a delegate to this convention who has served on the Committee on Laws for nearly thirty years and who

has been a continuous delegate for 33 years to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

We announced meetings of our committee, the time and place of our meetings and the subjects under discussion, and there was not one protest from any delegate made to that committee. There was one objection by one of the members of the committee which, to be truthful, was a very mild objection, but not one delegate in this convention appeared in opposition to this proposal as contained in the resolution submitted by the United Garment Workers.

We had another resolution submitted by James Maloney and his associates, representing the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. That resolution called for an increase in salary for the President to \$25,000.00 and for the Secretary to \$20,000.00. We first discussed that resolution, submitted by an old-time delegation, and the committee disposed of it by considering the second resolution submitted by the United Garment Workers. We brought you this report which you have before you now.

I regret that there has been some opposition, but that is the privilege of any delegate. On the other hand, I am happy that the opposition, by its expression, has given us the opportunity which we might not have had otherwise to say some of the things that should be said in dealing with this subject.

I am one of the few left—and there are just a few of us left—who were in the Elks Club in New York City immediately after the burial of Samuel Gompers and who participated in the selection of William Green as President of this Federation. There were nine of us present at that meeting. President Green was our unanimous choice. He himself knew nothing about whether he was to be chosen as the head of the Federation or not. He solicited no votes. That is a good many years ago—16 years ago. He has been elected by this convention unanimously ever since that selection. He has never asked for an increase in salary, he has never complained, and he has gone through perhaps the most crucial and painful experience in the last four or five years that was ever endured by a representative of labor. In the meantime the Federation has prospered and has grown under his leadership and under his patient counsel, with a determination to go on regardless of the suffering. The man has had abuse heaped on him from one end of the country to the other, the most bitter and unjust attack being made on him, not because he is Bill Green but because he is President of this Federation.

The man you now have as your Secretary-Treasurer came to our convention last year in Cincinnati as a delegate from the New York State Federation of Labor. He knew no more about what was going to happen to him than any of you delegates now know what is going to happen to you within the next five years. I happened to be one of those who asked him to take on this

task, this position of Secretary-Treasurer, but I could not promise him any extra remuneration. He was getting the same salary in New York, and the trade unionists of New York as a whole in the State Federation, one of the best of its kind in America, did not want to lose him. They almost beseeched him to remain with them. His family is still living down there, because among the things that are dear in life are the associations and the personal feelings and the understandings that obtain for our wives and children in the localities in which they live. After considerable persuasion and after making suggestions as to his successor, hating to run the risk of endangering the continued progress of the New York State Federation of Labor, upon the assurance of men who had the best interests of this Federation at heart, he consented to accept the position of Secretary-Treasurer. The gates of the New York State Federation of Labor are now open to him to return at a higher salary than he is getting here, when he wants to return, and I know what I am talking about.

During the year we have had many vexing questions before our Executive Council. We are not always in harmony. Behind those doors there are disagreements of a serious nature, but when decisions are rendered they are carried out as far as they can be humanly observed by the men who compose the membership of that Council, unless they interfere with the duties and the obligations of the individuals who comprise the Council in respect to their own International Unions.

We found that the time was coming when, in order to maintain what we believed to be the dignity of this Federation and the faith reposed in it by the multitudes of the membership, that it was necessary for us to consider eliminating the old custom that had obtained since the very beginning of the Federation, by dispensing with the publication of advertisements in *The American Federationist*. We discussed this very perplexing question at more than one meeting, and then we decided to refer the entire subject matter to the Secretary for exploration, to bring in a report at the next meeting of the Executive Council. He made the investigation, he went into detail as to the cost of printing, of paper, of profits made in advertising, the moral effect it had upon the Federation, the continuation of that advertising. His report was adopted by your executive Council and he was given power to reconstruct *The Federationist*, under the editorship of the President, who cannot take care of all the details in the Federation, although he is still the editor of *The Federationist*.—the Secretary-Treasurer was given instructions to proceed, and he did proceed.

For the first time in the history of the Federation advertising of corporations and others was eliminated from the *Federationist*. A new setup was brought out, practically a new *Federationist* was created as a result of that one act of the Secretary. There are many others that I could refer to,

but as a result of this one act alone a saving of \$42,000.00 was effected, as was reported to the Executive Council.

Now certainly there are men that have given their lives to this movement and starved to death in their early years. Many of them are associated with me in the Teamsters. They are getting better wages now and they are entitled to it, and they owe no apologies to any man. But I very well remember spending many nights and days with the former President of this Federation, whom I admired and respected and whom I defended when he was attacked in the Denver convention, when an endeavor was made to displace him as head of our institution. I spent many nights and days with Sam Gompers, and if ever there was a man who had sacrificed himself for any cause or institution in which the safety and the economic betterment of the workers was concerned, it was Gompers.

I saw that man time after time when the miserable pittance that he received from this organization was too small to meet his needs. He was endeavoring to raise his family, and some of these accommodations were provided for by you and me in the different cities to which he went.

At the time of his death we had raised his salary of \$12,000.00 a year. That was the recommendation of the Committee on Laws, the same committee of which I am Chairman today. That occurred two or three years before he died, and after 48 years of service to this labor movement, from the very early days when the Federation was created, fighting the Knights of Labor, battling against oppression which can scarcely be understood by the present generation, that man passed out with only \$10,000.00 or \$15,000.00 to his name, outside of the little home he owned in Washington. That is the story of Gompers. That is the story of the financial salaries of this Federation.

Now let us take the case of the present head of the Federation. If he remained as Secretary of the United Mine Workers of America he would now be receiving—the salary which Thomas Kennedy, the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America is receiving, \$20,000.00 a year. The President of the United Mine Workers of America, who has done a great deal for that organization, the man who says there are 25,000,000 or 40,000,000 shrinking stomachs in America—a statement which is a wonderful dream because it is not true, because during the recent national controversy those things were disproven. I do not say that man is getting any less or any more than he is worth, but with all these shrunken stomachs he receives \$25,000.00 a year and he accepts it.

Does any one of us deny or can we deny that Bill Green is not doing as much work at least as the Secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, for whom I have a very high regard? And let me add this. You can all talk about the sacrifice that

men should make and that men have always made in this movement. As a mark of recognition of that sacrifice, as a mark of approval of their actions, as a tribute to them for what they have done, as a means of encouragement and hope to them for the future, when you are able to pay as you are now you should not hesitate, for these reasons, to adopt the report of the committee as submitted to you and vote down the amendment.

Thank you.

Chairman Franklin: Are there further remarks? If not, the vote will be taken on the amendment to amend the committee's report by substituting the figure "\$15,000.00", for the figure "\$20,000.00", and substituting the figure "\$12,000.00" for the figure "\$18,000.00". That is the question now before you, and those who favor the amendment offered to the committee's report will make it known by holding up your hands. There are about six.

Those opposed to the amendment do likewise. The amendment is lost, overwhelmingly.

Those in favor of the adoption of the committee's report will make it known by the same sign, raising their right hands.

Those opposed will raise their right hands.

It is more than a two-thirds vote, and I declare the committee's report adopted.

President Green in the Chair.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Secretary Volz: The committee reports jointly upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 58, under the caption, "Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor", and Resolution No. 102.

Following is the report of the Executive Council on this subject matter:

Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor

This report to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor makes clear the success which has attended the widespread efforts of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on organization activities. The emphatic need for financial income equal to the amount the American Federation of Labor is receiving through per capita tax and assessment, has been clearly established. The field in which there is a demand for organization work and organizing activities, is growing and expanding. Apparently the workers everywhere are turning to the American Federation of Labor.

To meet the increasing needs for organization work and services to those organized, the American Federation of Labor must be supplied with adequate financial income. In order to accomplish this pur-

pose and to place the income of the American Federation of Labor upon a permanent and assured basis, the Executive Council makes the following recommendation:

That the assessment of 1 cent per member per month levied by the convention which was held in 1937, and continued by each succeeding convention, be discontinued, and that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

"The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies as follows: From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of 2 cents per member per month; from local trade unions and federal labor unions, 36 cents per member per month, 12½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention."

Such an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor would, in the judgment of the Executive Council operate in such a way as to provide and guarantee an income which would enable the American Federation of Labor to properly service organizations formed, and to carry on aggressive, successful campaigns among the unorganized workers of our nation.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment to Increase Per Capita Tax Payable By National and International Unions

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, James Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, International Brotherhood Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

WHEREAS, The delegates representing the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers introduced a resolution at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Cincinnati, Ohio, last year, to increase the per capita tax of international and national unions from one cent a member

a month to two cents a member a month and

WHEREAS, This resolution, although defeated, received considerable support from the delegates to that convention, and

WHEREAS, Happenings in the world of labor during the past year demonstrate more than ever the necessity of increasing the revenue of the American Federation of Labor, not by an assessment of one cent a member a month, but by an increase in the per capita tax, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That part of Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, pertaining to per capita tax from national and international trade unions, be amended by striking out the words "one cent" a member a month and substituting therefor the words "two cents" a member a month.

Resolution No. 102 and the foregoing report of the Executive Council were considered jointly inasmuch as both referred to per capita tax and revenue.

Your Committee was pleased to note the success which has attended the widespread efforts of the Federation in carrying on organization activities as outlined in that part of the Executive Council's report referred to it under the foregoing caption, which likewise recommends discontinuance of the organizing assessment and in lieu thereof increasing per capita tax so as to establish a sound financial basis of operation.

Without exception all members of the committee voiced appreciation of that which has been accomplished, as well as the need for continued organizing activity to meet a growing desire—evident among workers everywhere—for affiliation with, and membership in the American Federation of Labor.

We agree fully with the Executive Council that a definite financial income adequate to meet increasing needs for organization work and necessary service to those organized is essential. Also that the guaranteed income of the Federation should at all times be adequate for this purpose and placed on a firm and permanent basis, so as to provide the required finances to properly function and at the same time carry on a continuous aggressive campaign of organization among workers in all lines of industry, and throughout the entire nation.

Your committee accordingly gave extensive thought and careful consideration to the subject matter and proposed amendment of Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution referring to per capita tax and revenue.

We are in full accord and thoroughly sympathetic with the Executive Council's proposal to discontinue the one cent per member per month assessment, levied by

the 1937 convention and since continued for the purpose of organization and expansion, and in lieu thereof, to raise all necessary revenue for this and other purposes by increasing the per capita tax through amendment of the Constitution. Your committee however hesitates to approve of or recommend a definite and permanent basis of taxation inasmuch as it lacks adequate information to properly decide this question and is of the firm opinion that a thorough examination and study of the entire financial structure and requirements of the Federation to effectively and efficiently conduct its affairs in such manner to assure continued strength and progress is necessary and essential prior to reaching conclusions and deciding upon a permanent basis of taxation.

Your committee accordingly makes the following unanimous recommendations:

(1) That a committee of three, one of whom shall be the Secretary-Treasurer, be appointed by the Executive Council for the purpose of making a thorough and comprehensive study and survey of the needs and requirements of the Federation to meet all obligations—financial and otherwise—in such manner as to assure continued stability, progress and advancement, said committee to report its findings to the Executive Council prior to the next convention of the Federation along with recommendations relative to amount of per capita tax necessary to meet all likely demands without the necessity of an assessment.

(2) That the Executive Council upon receipt of the foregoing report and survey based on definite and accurate information, determine and make recommendations to the next convention relative to the needs and per capita tax requirements indicated as necessary for the Federation to function in a satisfactory and aggressive manner without supplementing assessments.

(3) That pending report of the proposed Fact-Finding Committee above outlined and recommendations by the Executive Council the per capita tax for national and international unions for the coming year shall be two cents per member per month, and for local trade and federal unions, thirty-six cents per member, with the distinct and definite understanding that this is but a temporary arrangement and that a more permanent basis of taxation—based upon the findings of the committee previously referred to and recommendations of the Executive Council—will be decided at the next convention.

(4) That the present emergency assessment of one cent per member per month be discontinued.

Secretary Volk: Mr. Chairman, I move concurrence in the action of the committee and approval of its report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks, all those who favor the motion to adopt the committee's report will please say "aye." Those opposed please say "nay."

The motion is carried by more than a two-thirds vote of the convention.

Suspensions of National and International Unions

Page 59, Executive Council's report:

The American Federation of Labor is definitely committed to the preservation as well as the practice of democracy. Our great organization seeks to apply the principles of democracy in a broad and comprehensive way in the administration of its affairs. We firmly believe in majority rule in the formulation and execution of administrative and organizational policies in accordance with democratic rules and procedure. We maintain that the membership of the American Federation of Labor shall formulate its policies, control and administer its affairs and determine its course through majority decisions arrived at in thorough democratic fashion at annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with this principle, the Executive Council recommends to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that a national or international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention; except in cases where two or more national and international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create or form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against said organizations, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The foregoing subject matter submitted by the Executive Council dealing with the democratic principles and procedure of the Federation, in the formulation of policy to control its affairs by majority vote, as well as practice to be observed in the suspension of national and international unions, received lengthy and careful consideration by your committee which, after due delibera-

tion recommends concurrence in the proposal as submitted to the effect—

"that a national or international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention; except in cases where two or more national or international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create and form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against said organizations, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor."

We further recommend that the Secretary-Treasurer with approval of the Executive Council be empowered to make the necessary insertions and amendments in the Constitution to make these proposals effective.

Delegate Blais requested to be recorded as in opposition to that part of the proposal empowering the Executive Council to suspend even in the event of two organizations conspiring to create a dual organization, and contended that such power should rest with the convention.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, I move concurrence in the action of the committee and adoption of its report.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I rise at this moment to amend the report of the Committee on Laws. I refer to the action of the Executive Council's report which reads:

"In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against such an organization, a hearing held upon the said charges, and if found guilty said organization may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor."

I suggest stopping right here and deleting the rest of the sentence, which reads:

"As provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor."

The laws of the American Federation of Labor, as I read them, do not give suspended unions the right to appeal to or to vote in

convention of the A. F. of L. I suggest that after the words "American Federation of Labor" there be added the following:

"at which such suspended union shall, however, be entitled to representation with the same voting strength it had prior to its suspension."

If this amendment is seconded, I will explain my amendment.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Central Labor Union: I will support the amendment offered by Delegate Dubinsky.

Delegate Dubinsky: The delegates know that I am on the floor of the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the first time since 1935. We were greeted cordially by President Green.

You will note that in the report of the Executive Council satisfaction is also expressed over the fact that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has re-affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I will not go into a long history of the matter, the conferences and discussions I had with President Green and Vice-President Matthew Woll, and the letter received by our convention when we acted on the matter of reaffiliation. That letter which is dated May 30, 1940, reads in part as follows:

"At a meeting held in the city of Washington beginning May 13, the Executive Council decided to recommend to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which will be held at New Orleans beginning November 18, that the one per cent per month per member be discontinued."

You have just acted on the question of the per capita tax and I want to say the decision is satisfactory and in accordance with the statement contained in that letter.

The same letter states further:

"The Executive Council decided at the same meeting herein referred to, to recommend to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all suspensions of International Unions in the event such action seems absolutely necessary, be ordered by a majority vote of the delegates in attendance at an annual convention of the American Federation of Labor."

"This would mean, if the recommendation of the Council is followed, that the power and authority to suspend national and international unions would be vested exclusively in conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

The letter is signed by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Our convention, held in May-June of this year, discussed at length the question of our reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We had been independent for a year and a half, having withdrawn from the C. I. O. by refusing to participate in its

national and constitutional convention in the Fall of 1938. I pointed out to our delegates that there were several conditions in the way of our reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor: The 1¢ special assessment and the power of the Executive Council to suspend international unions. The anti-racketeering resolution was not a subject of discussion; it came as a mandate from the convention to our delegation to this A. F. of L. Convention.

I advised President Green that if the Executive Council could remove these two objections—the discontinuance of the 1¢ assessment and act on the question of suspensions—it would not only pave the way for our own reaffiliation, but it would also solve the question of the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union, in which we were very much interested. While we were in session at our convention, we received that letter, advising me of the official action by the Executive Council, which cleared up the two questions that troubled us so much.

I immediately summoned the General Executive Board of our organization into session. I presented to them the letter, and I recommended, and they unanimously approved, the acceptance of the Executive Council's recommendations in good faith. I assured our Board that the Council had acted in good faith; that their public pronouncements and official acts are always made in good faith, and that not only would they recommend, but they would advocate at the convention, sanction of their recommendations, which were certain to receive the approval of the convention.

We submitted the Council's proposals and our favorable recommendation to our convention, which was attended by 600 delegates, of whom 594 voted in favor of our reaffiliation. Our convention also decided to invite President Green to address the delegates. The following day, President Green appeared before our convention, and I have before me the convention proceedings which contain the verbatim address by President Green. He spoke for about an hour on the significance of our rejoining the AFL; its importance to the labor movement; how happy he was at our decision, and so on. I will quote only two short paragraphs from his address.

I am quoting President Green:

"Every word written and included in that letter was carefully weighed and considered, and I was inspired to send it because of the constructive address delivered by President Dubinsky on the opening day of your convention.

"Now, I repeat and emphasize that all the pledges and promises stated and implied in that communication will be carried out by the American Federation of Labor.

(Prolonged applause.)"

What do we find? The Executive Council recommends that the power to suspend inter-

national unions be vested in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, but in cases where two or more unions are found guilty of conspiring and organizing for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor, in that event the Executive Council may suspend them, subject to appeal, which is meaningless, as I have already stated, as the constitution does not give a suspended union the right to be seated and to vote on the question.

I do not want to speak, Mr. President, on behalf of dual unionism, and I agree with the framers of this decision that the Executive Council may be justified in asking for special powers in dealing with the matter of dual unions. The argument is presented that since international unions have powers to suspend their locals in cases of emergency, why should not the AFL have such powers under similar circumstances? The answer is that most unions hold conventions every two, three, or sometimes even every eight years. The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, meets annually. Assuming, as is argued, that the AFL convention meets in November and that a dual movement may be started right after the convention,—do we have to wait until October or November, when the American Federation of Labor will be in session again to deal with such a situation?

It is my opinion and my deep conviction that in the only instance where the Executive Council has ever suspended unions, it has erred, and let me explain why. The Executive Council decided to suspend the CIO unions, our union included, in August, 1936. I was a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at that time. I pleaded with the Council that the unions be not suspended. I claimed that the Executive Council had no authority, no legal or constitutional authority, to do so, and I claimed, furthermore, that it was only sixty days until the next convention would meet, and if the matter would be submitted to the next convention, which was to be held in Tampa sixty days later, and the convention would decide that the CIO committee was dual, that the CIO would be disbanded, and if they failed to disband, our union would withdraw from it.

When I received that letter from President Green advising of the official action on suspension by the Executive Council I communicated at that time with President Green on behalf of our General Executive Board and I stated in that letter:

"We maintain that in the absence of undisputable and explicit power by the Executive Council under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the convention, and the convention only, is a proper source of authority and judgment in a situation involving issues of such grave importance and consequences as this controversy. By referring action to the convention, we believe the Executive Council would emphasize its regard for the constitutional rights of the international unions affiliated with the Federation and

would restore faith in democratic procedure in the organized labor movement.

"In the name of unity in the labor movement and in the hope that it is still not too late to avert a tragic division in the ranks of organized labor, we reiterate our request that the Executive Council lift this order of suspension and refer the matter to the next convention of the Federation which is to be held only two months hence in Tampa, Florida, at which all the international unions may be fully represented, for full consideration and decision. Our International would regard a decision coming from the convention as a democratic solution of the critical controversy that is at present facing organized labor and would comply with its action."

The Executive Council at that time did not deem it advisable to accept our viewpoint. Now they accept our general proposition, but they raise the question of cases where dual unionism may be involved. Let me say, first of all that this recommendation of the Executive Council is not in accordance with the letter; it is not in accordance with the promise contained in that letter; that it is a repudiation of that pledge given to us, or at least a partial repudiation. I say this because this new condition was never discussed in that letter which stated that all suspensions shall be acted upon by a convention of the AFL only. The new condition says that any unions which unite and conspire to create and launch an organization of any kind, for "any purpose"—that is such a broad term—may be disciplined by suspension. Does this mean, for instance, if two or more unions decide to disagree on matters of legislative policy? It would seem broad enough to take that in as well.

I recognize that the question of dual unionism must be met. Therefore I am not objecting so much to the powers which the Executive Council would assume in cases of real dualism, but I am objecting to this power which would deprive such unions as are being charged from the right to be seated at a convention and to participate in the matter in question and have the right to vote.

We, more than any other international union appreciate the danger of dualism, having had more experience with it perhaps than any other union affiliated with the AFL. I cannot forget the period from 1925 to 1933 when the Communists organized dual unions in practically every one of our markets throughout the nation and we had to fight them with all our strength. Our Union was left practically bankrupt, and tens of thousands of our workers were victimized.

President Green, you and most of the members of the Executive Council know that at that time we spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in that fight. Our people became involved, as a result of that dualism, in a needless strike of 26 weeks and that strike was lost because of that dual movement.

When the CIO unions were suspended in August, 1936, the cry at that time was that

these ten unions should be given the right by the Executive Council to appear on the floor of the coming convention. Whether it was right or not raises a whole series of questions involving the question of what is dualism. What about unions which combine for political purposes, such as we have done in New York in the American Labor Party; what if unions in a few States affiliate for such purposes? There may be some who will interpret this as dual unionism because the American Federation of Labor has a different political policy.

The same is true of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which has been formed by some AFL unions. It is now held to be a Communist outfit, but originally it was formed by legitimate, bona fide American Federation of Labor unions. It was later pronounced a dual movement. Any trade union that subscribes to or supports or affiliates with it may be branded as a dual union and if they have large voting strength they may be denied the right to come to a convention to defend themselves.

Mr. Chairman, I recognize that you have a problem on the question of dual unionism. I recognize, at the same time, that issues have been raised involving the meeting of a promise and at the same time meeting the needs of the American Federation of Labor. That, I believe, can be done by adopting our amendment to the Executive Council proposal, which would then read as follows:

"Except in cases where two or more national and international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, if two or more organizations conspire to create and form a dual movement to the American Federation of Labor, charges may be legally and properly filed against such organization, a hearing held upon said charges, and if found guilty, said organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; at which time such suspended union shall, however, be entitled to representation with the same voting strength it had prior to its suspension."

I hope that the Chairman and the members of the Committee will see the fairness of this amendment and adopt it so that there can be unanimity of thought and action on this important question.

Vice-President Tobin, Chairman of the Laws Committee: I don't know that I quite understand the amendment offered by Delegate Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, seconded by Delegate Martel, of the Detroit Federation of Labor. Delegate Dubinsky, do you mean by your amendment that if a conspiracy, or secession, or a dual organization starts in January, or any time in the early part of the year, by two or more international unions who went out and called conventions for the purpose of destroying this Federation of La-

bor, that the Executive Council would have the power to suspend them—Correct me if I am wrong in my interpretation—but that in the meantime, after the Council had preferred charges, this suspension wouldn't take effect until the next convention in October or November, and that the said international unions would be entitled to representation, even if after trial they were notified by the Executive Council, of a right of appeal from the Executive Council? Is that the meaning of your amendment?

Delegate Dubinsky: Right.

Chairman Tobin: I wanted you to clarify the amendment.

Delegate Dubinsky: My thought was that a suspension on account of dual unionism did not involve those charges you refer to. You stated in your decision, "subject to appeal to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor." If they are not represented how can they appeal?

Chairman Tobin: You have answered. I shall proceed from there. Now, the committee—with one exception again on our committee—after discussing this amendment to the constitution for the greater part of two or three sessions, were unanimously of the opinion that the recommendation of the Executive Council on this subject should be adopted as the report of the committee. Now, let me say this for the information of the delegates: I was opposed to this amendment when it was submitted to the Council, because the little power that the Council has got, and which it very seldom exercises, there was an endeavor in this to take that little power away.

I am not talking for present membership in the Council. I am talking about a Council that should function the same as your Executive Board. I oppose, as an international official, denying that Council the right between conventions to suspend international unions if the Council believed they were guilty of crimes against the Federation.

The courts in many cases, especially in our own international union court cases which have gone to the higher courts, have intimated directly that international executive boards—such as your Executive Council—are the conventions between conventions. I know of no international executive boards that could under any circumstances function if you were to restrict them as the Council of the American Federation of Labor has been restricted over the years that have passed. I opposed this in the Council because you were tying the hands of the Council between conventions.

There are many crimes besides treason or rebellion, or secession and secession is not ignored because it aims to destroy the governments established within that particular union. But the majority of the Council decided otherwise, and believing principally that they were endeavoring to appease, justly appease, perhaps, the Ladies' Garment Workers and other unions outside

of the Federation, they were prompted to bring in this recommendation.

Now, we at least that have remained in this Federation and that have functioned in this Federation without any intent to hurt the feelings of anybody else, we, too, are deserving of some consideration. While I am on the Executive Council I function as best I see the light, but I believe it is not just to the Council to not defend the national organization I represent or to defend its interests in order to make somebody else more thoroughly satisfied.

Now, boiling it down, what does this amendment mean? It means this and nothing more. If it had not been for the fact that I was approached by our counsel, for whom I have a high regard, and told that the constitution was not clear enough as to suspensions and that the laws of the Federation should be so thoroughly clarified, that it was necessary to embody this amendment in the constitution.

Now, what does it say? Let me say this in passing, that you have a right to make the laws to govern your own convention and your own executive councils. It has been pointed out to us many times in recent years, "This is what your American Federation of Labor constitution reads." The inference has been that we should not do things that the unions that chartered the Federation refuse to do. It is not helpful. However, getting back to what I started to say, this amendment to the constitution submitted by the Executive Council after some deliberation, in almost 99 per cent of its substance, is what they interpreted as was the desire of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. But even if it wasn't everything that the Ladies' Garment Workers expected or in accordance with their understanding, that was the understanding of the Council. But, let me repeat to you, that even if it was not what the Ladies' Garment Workers expected or what they inferred from President Green's letter, you had the right to reject the proposition of this Council, and every man on the Council is within his rights in refusing as an international officer to go along with the Council if, in their judgment, the Council is not doing what is best for the international union.

For no reason whatever, no matter what crime they commit outside of the crime of rebellion or treason or secession, they cannot be suspended between conventions by the Executive Council. The court said the Council was the convention between conventions. You take all the other powers as the Council to suspend for anything out for the crime of rebellion or treason, or for the attempt of two or more international unions to enter into a conspiracy by secession and the establishment of dualism. That is the only cause or crime on which the Council between conventions can suspend those two or more international unions. This is where I think it is weak. One international union can rebel, can set up machinery even under

this clause, can issue circulars all over the nation denouncing the Federation, as I think might have been done in recent years—one international union can do all these things under the amendment and the Council cannot suspend it between conventions.

Now, let us see where we stand so we will know what we are doing. Unless Brother Dubinsky's amendment is adopted by a two-thirds vote of this convention it is lost. I may be wrong in my analysis, but I don't think it will get a two-thirds vote. I know the Teamsters cannot vote for it. The question comes on the original motion which is to adopt the report of the committee, which amounts to this: Unless you get a two-thirds vote to adopt this recommendation of the Council, which concedes 99 per cent of the requests of the Ladies' Garment Workers, this is lost, and then we are back to where we were before and the constitution remains the same and the Council will have the power to suspend international unions under the old constitution for other crimes besides the crime of rebellion. You had better hesitate.

Perhaps if we were playing strategic politics our international union, with its 4,000 votes, might vote against this recommendation. We don't want to do that. We want to be constructive, we want to be helpful, we want to see this Federation function, we want to appease those who disagree with us as much as we can without sacrificing this Federation.

That is the reason I appeal to the delegates to support the Executive Council that has given their time and their trouble and their thought and the suffering that they endured for hours of argument and disagreement—much as I don't like it—to support the report of the committee, which recommends to you that you amend the laws giving the right to the Executive Council to suspend unions, international unions that enter into conspiracies to destroy this Federation between conventions. I hope and trust that the delegates will follow the suggestions I have endeavored to make. It means just as much to you as it does to me. The future of this Federation will be involved by your action here today.

Delegate Brown, International Association of Machinists: Much has been said by both the mover of the amendment and the reply thereto. Possibly what I have got to say may be termed as repetition I feel I would be remiss in my duty if I did not say just a few words.

I am rather amazed at the proposal contained in the amendment. If I understand the amendment, it provides that two or more unions can proceed to launch a dual labor movement, and after they have been tried and the evidence carefully weighed, and during that procedure been sentenced, have an opportunity to present their case, and if the evidence is such that the plaintiffs have

proved that they are guilty of launching and conducting a dual labor movement, they are then to be suspended. So far I believe I am in agreement with Delegate Dubinsky. The suspended union shall then have the right to appeal, and when that case is heard, the amendment, I believe, provides that those dual unions then occupy the position of unions that should be seated. What puzzles me is how can you seat unions who have been tried and declared guilty and suspended?

A time may come when this convention will deal with an appeal resulting from the Executive Council suspending those found guilty of alleged dual unionism, but when that time comes I am confident that the convention at that time will agree that the defendant union shall be permitted representatives to argue the case on the floor, but I for one will never agree that a union charged and found guilty of conducting a dual labor movement should be permitted to be seated with all the rights and privileges of affiliated unions during the appeal procedure.

I cannot think of anything that is so fundamentally inconsistent as to take the position that those launching and conducting a dual union, after taking an appeal, to come to the convention and have all the rights and privileges of a bona fide union. It doesn't make sense to me.

Let me say by way of further warning that history shows that every time opportunity knocks on the door of organized labor dual unionism comes into the picture. What for? To retard and to interfere with that opportunity for making progress. The history of the movement further shows that every time opportunity came we had that experience, and as soon as opportunity passed away dual movements passed away because there was no further need to divide the movement.

I hope and trust that this convention, with all due regard to the good intentions of Delegate Dubinsky, will agree with the report of the Executive Council. Delegate Dubinsky has convinced me that he abhors dual unionism as much as I do, but I cannot agree with him that they should be allowed to come here and be clothed with the rights and privileges of bona fide unions. I trust that the convention will agree with the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and members of the convention of the American Federation of Labor—I supported Delegate Dubinsky's amendment to the committee's report because in my opinion the purposes of the Federation could better be served by discussing the controversial subject on the floor of the convention than in the daily newspapers of this and other cities throughout America. I believe the discussion here today has brought out some things that will make for a more intelligent understanding of the issues involved in the Executive Council's report, in the committee's report,

and in the letter sent to the International Ladies' Garment Workers convention, I am not so concerned with the decision on this amendment as I am with the possible effect on some of the international unions who are not now a part of the American Federation of Labor, and, if we are to accept the words of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor as being uttered in good faith—and I do accept them—then one of our objectives here is to secure the return under honorable conditions of some of the international unions, all, if possible, that were once a part of the American Federation of Labor.

I have heard this controversy discussed not only on the floor and in the cloakroom of the American Federation of Labor, but on the floor of one of the large international unions that is now on the outside of the American Federation of Labor, but whose officers are in the city of New Orleans for the purpose of discussing with the Executive Council's committee the detailed arrangement for the return of that international union to the American Federation of Labor. I think I am somewhat familiar with the temper of the membership of that international union.

Let me say to you, my friends, with all due respect to the analysis of this situation as made both by President Tobin of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs International Union, and President Brown of the International Association of Machinists, there are many men who sit in this convention who are beginning to concern themselves with the power that the American Federation of Labor now has over international unions. Maybe it is right that there should be more centralization of power in the American Federation of Labor. Who knows what controversy might arise that might prompt the officers of the Executive Council to suspend the officers of some other international union.

It is all well and good for Brother Brown to say that unquestionably after the suspension, when the time for appeal comes, this international union's representatives will be given a chance for a hearing on the floor of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Well, who can guarantee that if it is not in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor? Surely Brother Brown can't guarantee it. The President of the American Federation of Labor can't guarantee it, the Laws Committee cannot guarantee it. The only people who can guarantee it are the delegates themselves, and then only in such way as they are moved by the incident that caused the international union to be suspended.

I hold that the rest of the convention, the rest of the American Federation of Labor, ought to be big enough and strong enough, and ought to have sufficient confidence in its ability, in the light of experience during the last five years, to handle any insipid revolution or revolt, first, by suspending the organization participating

in it, and then making known to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, through such agencies as are at hand, the issues involved in the controversy that prompted these people to take the action that brought about their suspension.

In this case that is now covered in the committee's report and in its recommendation, the Executive Council sits as prosecutor, judge, jury and court of last resort, because without the right to state their case on the floor of the convention, the appellant will have to resort to the cloakrooms or the newspapers, and God help us when we try our case in the columns of the daily press. They have given us a fine manifestation of the manner in which they like to "egg" trade union officials in the calling of names.

I hope that whatever is done with this thing we will keep in mind not only the feeling of resentment that exists in these unions that participated in the formation of the CIO, but that we will keep in mind our responsibility not only to the preservation of the institution as it is now, but to the strengthening of the institution by a reincorporation within the American Federation of Labor of those elements that are now on the outside, that are desirable and who care to come, and also to keep in mind that in our desire to bring about a return of one of the oldest, and one of the international unions that first brought the American Federation of Labor into existence, that there we deal with the individual members of that union, because whatever the basis of return of the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor, it first must be submitted to the rank and file of the International Typographical Union. Already we see the membership in that great international union greatly confused by having this matter made a political football within the organization.

I hope, my friends, that this will be given further study and consideration. I do not care to urge the amendment as offered by Brother Dubinsky as being essential to the preservation of the American Federation of Labor, nor is it absolutely essential to the return of some of those who are now on the outside. I wonder if we can't take the time to work out a solution of this problem that more fully meets the occasion as it presents itself to us at this time?

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and delegates.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: Mr. Chairman, I desire to have a few words on this amendment and report of your Committee on Laws, because of my deep interest in this whole problem. I desire to say at the outset that I have always, through my experience in the city of New York and in the state of New York, desired the return in honorable fashion of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to this Federation. I might say at this

time that in addition I desire now the return of the International Typographical Union in the same manner, honorably both from the angle of the Typographical Union and from the angle of the American Federation of Labor.

I have an interest in this thing as a member of the Executive Council. When this subject came up I noted the rather ambiguous provisions in our present constitution relating to suspension of international unions. I do not want to bore this convention this afternoon at this late hour by reading two pages of the constitution, but I am sure many of the delegates present have read that section of the constitution, which was adopted as a rule of the Executive Council and which covers the suspension of national and international unions. I have read it, and frankly, it is not very clear to me.

When this question came up I desired some clear, concise declaration of power to suspend in cases of treason, and treason alone to rest in the hands of the Executive Council. I believe in bringing as many men as it is humanly possible to bring to the one supreme body of this organization, which is the convention of the American Federation of Labor held annually. I have no desire to rest any greater power in the Executive Council than that which is necessary for it to function and protect the interests of this Federation.

I want to say to Brother Dubinsky that this is the only angle that the Council discussed in this proposal of the Council. There was no question of politics or disagreement with legislative policy or any other thing—the only angle discussed was should the Council have power between conventions to suspend for treason. Brother Dubinsky states here this afternoon—I am pretty sure I understood him—that he is in agreement that the Council should have the power to suspend for dual unionism, the setting up of an organization to destroy this Federation of ours, but he makes the proposal that after such suspension is effected, that the union or unions so suspended should have the right to come into the following convention with the same representation that they might have had if they were not suspended.

This new section of the constitution lays down in very clear fashion the fact that the Executive Council shall have the power to suspend only in case of dual unionism, that all other cases shall rest with the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is the supreme body of this organization.

I notice in the report of the Committee on Laws the proposal that the Secretary-Treasurer shall fit these amendments into the constitution. I assume if the amendment made by Brother Dubinsky to the committee's report is adopted, that that portion of the committee's report will still carry, that these amendments must be fitted into the constitution.

Well, let us take the case that has been used before of two unions that sometime in the early part of the year decide to hold conferences and start an organization of some kind dual to the American Federation of Labor, to attempt to destroy the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council suspends them. Still these unions have the right to come to the convention. Under what sort of system and under what provision in the constitution? If they are suspended in January they cannot pay dues to the Federation while under suspension, and how in God's name they can sit in a convention in October, after refraining from paying dues and being under suspension for nine months is more than I can fathom.

In regard to the remarks of Brother Martel, I would like to point out that this amendment to the constitution applies to any case that comes up in the future. It is not retroactive, and as far as the International Typographical Union is concerned, if we are to believe their releases and believe the publicity they have given for some months on this question, the main cause for their objection and withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor has been removed by the action of this convention this afternoon.

After all, the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have a responsibility. They have a responsibility to maintain this organization, which has written a record of achievement greater than any other trade union organization in known history. We have got to maintain this organization, we have got to defend it from the enemies without the organization and from the enemies that spring up within our ranks. If the Executive Council itself hasn't this power, then I wonder what power you can give them to deal with a dual or secession or treasonable movement? I don't think there is anything undemocratic about this procedure. I don't know of any International Union in here, including the I. L. G. U., that would allow two or three or four unions to start a secession movement without having the power to discipline them immediately and suspend them.

So I say to you here that the suggestion made by the Executive Council is a practical one, that the only purpose the Council has in mind is to have retained the power to protect this American Federation of Labor by dealing with treason the minute it makes its appearance. I feel that the amendment offered by President Dubinsky should be defeated and the proposal of the committee adopted by this convention.

Delegate Zimmerman, International Ladies Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I agree with Delegate Tooin that the outcome of this decision will seriously affect the life of the American Federation of Labor, and our motives for introducing this amendment are, in the main, to preserve the unity of the American Federation of Labor. This is not a Garment Workers' question and we are not raising

it from the viewpoint of protecting the Garment Workers' Union. We are raising this question from the viewpoint of protecting the American Federation of Labor as well.

We agree on these questions. The only problem that comes up is how best to accomplish it, whether by giving the power to the Executive Council to guard the Federation against dual unions, or to leave this power in the hands of the convention and the delegates assembled there. We maintain that it will be more democratic and more to the interests of the American Federation of Labor to leave the power to suspend for any reason in the hands of the convention, with all unions able to participate in the deliberations and vote on the question.

The arguments made on the floor by several delegates, or several members of the Executive Council, that in case there is a conspiracy on the part of some unions the Executive Council shall have the power to act immediately to break that conspiracy by expelling or suspending these unions is not valid, because the recommendation of the Executive Council does not speak of conspiracy. It states definitely it should have the right to suspend two or more unions that combine for any reason whatsoever. To quote exactly:

"Unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose dual to the American Federation of Labor",

which may mean also, Brother Meany, that in case delegates disagree or unions disagree with the legislative program and they want to advocate a legislative program of their own, that that would be considered or might be interpreted by the Executive Council as dual to the American Federation of Labor, and in that case the Council will take it upon themselves to suspend these unions.

We maintain that such procedure will be highly detrimental to the interests of the American labor movement.

In speaking of the right of the convention to change the vote of the Executive Council I want to call to the attention of this convention the following. In the letter to our convention addressed to our President the Executive Council did not qualify this provision, but stated definitely that the Executive Council decided at the same meeting herein referred to to recommend to the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that all suspensions—definitely stating all suspensions—with the exception of suspension of international Unions, in the event such action seems absolutely necessary, be ordered by a majority vote of the delegates in attendance at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is the letter of the Executive Council signed by President Green.

Delegates only a short while ago expressed their great esteem for President Green and for the Executive Council, and I have no doubt that everyone in attendance here was sincere about it. Certainly we cannot repudiate this pledge made to us by President Green in the name of the Executive Council. As was already stated here, it was further elaborated by President Green at our convention, when President Green stated, "Every word written and included in that letter was carefully weighed and considered, and I was inspired to send it because of the constructive address delivered by President Dubinsky on the opening day of your convention."

In other words, this pledge that was made to our International Union was carefully weighed and measured by the Executive Council before this letter was sent to us. That was a pledge made to our convention. Certainly we would expect that the members of the Executive Council would so recommend to this convention, and that a convention must not repudiate the Executive Council. It seems that the Executive Council repudiated itself, because they have made this amendment, or they added this exception: "In case of dual unions", and let me state to you that it is not necessary to wait a year's time if there is a real conspiracy that will tend to undermine the American Federation of Labor or unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I believe there is a constitutional provision that authorizes the Executive Council to call a special convention, and in case there is such a movement on foot that becomes very dangerous to the life of the American Federation of Labor, to such an extent that we cannot wait until the next regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, then the Council has the power to summon a special convention of the Federation and let all the delegates in attendance act on the charges and act on the question of suspension. I believe in such cases we will safeguard the rights of all unions, we will prevent the possibility of a small group of men using power in a way that may not be to the best interests of the union.

When the power to suspend is left in the hands of members of the Executive Council and it is incorporated in the constitution, it may be true that the present Council may not abuse it. We do not know who the Executive Council will be in the future. We do not know who we may elect next. We do not know what kind of Council we may have later. If they have the power to suspend they may use such a provision to perpetuate themselves in power and prevent the majority of delegates from overruling decisions of the Council.

Therefore, fellow delegates, we don't know whether we can get a two-thirds majority of the delegates to this convention to vote for this amendment proposed by President Dubinsky or not, but we believe that in order to safeguard the interests of the unions affiliated with the American Feder-

ation of Labor, in order to preserve the unity of the American Federation of Labor, in order to show to the world and to all the unions that are yet to come into the American Federation of Labor that a pledge of honor is lived up to, I believe it will serve the best interests of this movement if this amendment is accepted, and also having in mind that we cannot wait too long, there can always be a special convention summoned to act on charges and suspension of International Unions. I hope all the delegates will bear this in mind and I hope we are able to convince two-thirds of the delegates of this convention.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: A point of information. We have passed the time of adjournment and I make a motion that we continue in session until this subject before the convention is decided.

President Green: The Chair has not looked at his watch and I do not think we have reached that hour as yet.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: In the discussion that has occurred on the floor it seems we are asked to agree that one or more International organizations can destroy the labor movement without the movement having any redress to protect itself for an entire year. Suppose the Executive Council pacified the Ladies Garment Workers and would have made such a recommendation to this convention. I for one am of the opinion that this convention would have voted down the Executive Council and would not have agreed that two or more organizations that conspire to wreck the labor movement could get away with it and the labor movement have no redress whatsoever for an entire year.

Now they have read to us the letter from President Green. The Executive Council had the letter before us for two days. We read it very carefully and we finally reached the opinion that by no stretch of the imagination could anyone consider that the promise of President Green included a promise that two or more organizations could commit treason to wreck the American Federation of Labor. That is the thing in a nut shell. We hold that no organization has that power, and that no authority of the American Federation of Labor, except a convention itself, could confer any such power.

Now as to an appeal to the convention in the case of a dual movement, that is all there is to it, no matter what may be said otherwise. An organization may be found guilty by the Executive Council of attempting to destroy the American Federation of Labor. Then are we to be asked to give to that organization the right to be seated at the next convention and vote on their own case? They are not paying any dues because they are suspended, and yet they would have the right of appeal, because the recommendation of the Executive Council gives them that right. It naturally follows if they have the right of appeal they can send their representatives to the convention and submit their case to the conven-

tion and have a hearing, and then the convention can decide on the case.

But if they should be reinstated with all power to vote on diverse questions, and to be considered in good standing, that is absolutely ridiculous, after they have been suspended for 12 months.

We do not hold on the Executive Council that the promise of President Green could be so construed as meaning that no matter what these organizations do, when they are reinstated, that they could combine for the purpose of forming a dual union. That is the situation in a nut shell and I don't believe any self-respecting organization would agree to any such a humiliating thing.

President Green: If there are no objections the rules of the convention will stand suspended and we will stay in session until we dispose of this question. Hearing no objection, that will be the order.

Vice-President Woll: There seems to be much confusion regarding the issue directly presented by the report of the Committee on Laws, and by the amendment offered by President Dubinsky. Most of the discussion does not deal with the issue raised by that proposed amendment, but deals exclusively with the question of allocating the power of suspension, whether it be retained in convention or delegated to the Executive Council.

First, as to the charge made that the Executive Council proved unfaithful to assurances and promises given—it cannot be denied that the statements presented to the convention as reported in the letter of President Green are just as they have been read to this convention. It is equally true that the statement was made, too, that those assurances were given in the month of May just prior to the convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers' convening. It is also true that in the interim between May and the time of the Executive Council meeting to prepare its report to this convention, that further consideration indicated what, in the minds of the Executive Council, presented itself as a situation that ought of right be safeguarded.

And so in the true interests of the membership of the American Federation of Labor it sought to safeguard that interest, at the same time maintaining its faith and loyalty to the assurances given to the Ladies' Garment Workers.

I would therefore not accuse the Executive Council of lack of faith or of loyalty or of devotion, or of maintaining understandings reached. Rather would I commend the Council if a serious situation developed in its mind, or even if assurances previously given had indicated weakness in those assurances, to seek to safeguard that particular thing.

Now the Ladies Garment Workers, in making its amendment to the report of the Committee on Laws, recognizes that situation. If I correctly recall the words of President

Dubinsky, he does not object to power being vested in the hands of the Executive Council, if there be a combine of two or more unions for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor. He now asserts that it should be vested in the Council, at least he raises no objection by the amendment offered. So, then, why these accusations of disloyalty, the constant references to letters of President Green, the assurances given, if by their own agreement and statements at this moment they agree that under certain conditions the power to suspend ought to be delegated to the Executive body functioning between conventions. And if that be true, and it is not denied, let us then forget that question. If that were a subject of debate I would perhaps express my opinion on that. They would be contrary to those expressed by Vice-President Tobin, because I am one of those who believes in giving the greatest freedom of action to convention delegates and the least possible power to executives. That is not, however, the issue presented in this particular instance. The question presented by the amendment offered is that, assuming — and it is assumed by that amendment—that power is left in the hands of the Executive Council to suspend in the event of an emergency, in the event of treachery on the part of two or more—and I might say in passing that if the language of the Council is not clear on that point those who have spoken in behalf of the Council have clearly indicated their intent or the meaning of that language. If the amendment were directed in that regard I would heartily support it, because language can and ought to be a little more specific. But that can be done by the rider attached by the committee, that the Executive Council incorporate the sense of this motion into the constitution.

But what do they propose? That when two or more organizations conspire—and I use the word "conspire" rather than the word "agree", because it does not make any difference—it is the combining of two or more which constitutes conspiracy — they agree that if that is the case and it is a threat of dualism, destruction of the American Federation of Labor, in that event the Council shall have the power to suspend. That is agreed to by the amendment offered.

The only question that arises is that after having been suspended, what shall be the rights of the suspended unions during their period of suspension? That is the only issue raised by the amendment offered. If we are going to confine our arguments to the point at issue, that is the only question: What shall be the status of a suspended union or unions guilty under the proposed amendment and having been found guilty?

The Executive Council proposes that the organization found guilty shall have the right of appeal to the convention, according to its laws. It is indicated that we have no specific laws on this question. That may or may not be true, but the recommendation is definite and clear, that the guilty organization shall have the right of appeal to the

convention—and I dissent from those who would say that a subsequent convention could deny a suspended organization the right of appearing on the issue of suspension and presenting to that convention its reasons why the Executive Council has erred. So the appeal would be to the convention as a jury to determine as between the power exercised by the Executive Council and the organization penalized. The language is clear, that they would have the right to appeal, and that cannot be subterfuged away or denied or relegated to the rear.

But they propose instead, what? That the suspended union may be privileged to come to the subsequent convention with the same right as it enjoyed just immediately prior to its suspension. I think I understood the language correctly. What does that mean? It means though it has been found guilty of a most treacherous offense, it may come to a subsequent convention, present its appeal and argue its appeal to the convention as a jury, but in addition to that it may come and sit here as delegates from the moment this convention convenes until it adjourns, even after the convention may find it guilty or may sustain the Executive Council's action. It shall come here where all of us have paid our per capita tax and where our representation is predicated upon the payment of that per capita tax, divided by the twelve-months' period or whatever the time of affiliation, even though we have paid only one month's per capita tax. It provides that it shall then be entitled to full representation even contrary to the larger and legitimate law-abiding organizations in the American Federation of Labor. It will not only have a voice on the matter of the cause of its suspension and its appeal, but it will have a voice and vote on every question coming before the convention, thus placing the suspended organization at a premium where it may go on for five or six or eleven months seeking to destroy the organization, and then having done so come into this convention on a plane equal with the organizations that have loyally abided by its rules, laws and decisions.

Surely the Ladies' Garment Workers do not want to develop a situation of that type and character in our American Federation of Labor convention. I am confident that if they will study the true purport of the provisions of the amendment they will realize the danger they would bring into our administrative activities.

Yes, the courts are keenly watching whatever we are doing, and here they would be presented an enormous power to review the action of our convention even previous to conventions by a court of law.

I repeat, the issue presented is not the question of faith in the letter presented or assurances given. It is not a question of where power shall be allocated. They agree that the Council should have the power as indicated in the committee's report. The only difference presented by the amendment is what shall be the status of the suspended unions during the interim of suspension and

at the convention immediately following. The only civilized method of procedure that I know of is to give them the right of appeal on the issues presented. And should, perchance, they find that the Executive Council erred, then it is within the power of the convention to make proper redress against the organization injured. Pray do not give them full privileges and even greater rights in conventions than those who have not been charged of such heinous offenses. I do hope the Ladies' Garment Workers may see the light to withdraw their amendment and seek in some other course to avoid the difficulties they mention.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Inasmuch as the Executive Council has been defending its position exclusively, I would like the President of the American Federation of Labor to interpret the reason for a repetition of the position of the Council on an identical matter. With all respect to Vice-President Woll and his contention that there is only one point at issue, namely, the right of the internationals to appeal to the convention, I say that there is even more to this report.

I heard the Chairman of this committee say that he had been advised by counsel that the laws of this Federation were not sufficiently clear. Now, it is no closed book that I have always held that when lawyers enter the scene let honest men guard their liberties.

Now, just what does the committee mean? We have been debating this proposition from the viewpoint that if any two unions conspire for the purpose of building dual unions, then it should be the right and privilege of the Council to suspend them. Nobody is in disagreement with that, but why didn't they say it once and let it go at that? But after that they amended their position and said that in cases where "two or more national or international unions unite and conspire to create and launch an organization for any purpose." That is still a matter before this convention. I say to you, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, that when you put discretionary powers in the hands of any man to attribute purposes you are getting on very, very dangerous territory.

I recall that the early labor movement had one thing to fight among other things, and that was the vicious word "conspiracy". Do you know that some of the finest citizens that settled Australia and Tasmania were members of the trade union movement who had been found guilty of conspiracy by the Privy Council of England? We had to fight the fight ourselves with the C. I. O. I know what dual unions mean, but when you give the Executive Council the right to do what you propose, and my organization and Secretary Brown's organization and Secretary Meany's organization come together to reach an understanding with each other, and perhaps we may be in disagreement with the Council, just as the early trade unionists were in disagreement with the Privy Council of England, do you mean to consider that conspiracy? Now, why not say that when unions meet for the purpose of forming dual

organizations that shall be guilty of conspiracy?

Vice-President Woll has got the Ladies' Garment Workers believing that they don't know what they are talking about, and if that is true, he might even be convinced that he has persuaded this Irishman that he doesn't know what he is talking about. I move that this matter be referred back to the committee so that they can tell us what purpose they have in mind to adjudge us guilty of conspiracy.

Vice-President Woll said, in the matter of the American Federation of Labor Unions, that they will be denied that great American privilege to appeal, and when the first court finds them guilty there can be no court to which they can appeal except under restriction. I am not holding a brief for the Ladies' Garment Workers, I am holding a brief for the Pattern Makers' League. We have had disagreements with the Executive Council and in various instances there were other organizations agreeing with us.

Mr. Woll says the eyes of the court are on us. Well, if they are they won't think much of this because it is denying people their day in court. You are going to place in the hands of the Council the right to attribute motive. I move that the matter be referred back to the committee for purposes of clarification, and let us know what we are guilty of when we are guilty.

President Green: May the Chair avail himself of an opportunity for just a few minutes to discuss the matter which has been presented in such an impressive way this afternoon. First of all, negotiations were carried on with representatives of that splendid organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, for the purpose of bringing them back home to the American Federation of Labor. It was not an easy task, because there were differences to compose, but we wanted them back, you wanted them back, and we wanted others who have left us to come back and be a part of the American Federation of Labor.

I communicated with the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and endeavored to satisfy him and his representatives upon two questions that were bothering them very greatly. One was the revenue of the American Federation of Labor. Our enemies had engaged in propaganda for the purpose of poisoning the minds of people against us, and in that propaganda they said we had assessed one cent a member for the purpose of creating a war chest with which to conduct war upon the rebel, rival movement. The other was on suspension of international unions. In accordance with understandings and discussions I corresponded with the executive officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. It was all in good faith and it is

now in good faith as everybody attempted to carry out any understanding reached.

When the matter came up in the Executive Council it was discussed fully and completely. The Council realized that there was apprehension in the minds of officers and members of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor with regard to their continued status within the American Federation of Labor. They were fearful that the Executive Council might, upon some flimsy reason, suspend their organization from the American Federation of Labor. There is no basis for it, because the Executive Council is as much interested in keeping the international unions within the American Federation of Labor as are the officers and members of international unions who are in it. They would be traitors themselves if they were inspired by a feeling of bitterness against any one that would result in the destruction of the American Federation of Labor.

The Council then said, "What shall we do?" They faced the facts and they decided there were 106 national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and not one of those international unions must be suspended by this Executive Council between conventions for any action of that international union of itself. The Council decided that if any international union was a bad boy between conventions, let him remain a bad boy until the convention met and then the convention could decide whether it should be suspended. In that respect the Council made it clear that no national union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor could be suspended between conventions for any action which it might have taken as an international union. That was designed to remove the feeling of apprehension that any international union could be suspended between conventions, and they interpreted that decision to mean that the obligation I gave to the International Ladies' Garment Workers was completely carried out.

Be a bad boy if you wish, be a rebel yourself, but we won't suspend you until the whole matter is presented to a convention and let it suspend you. Rob us of the power to suspend an international union because of any action that one international union might take of itself. Wasn't that going a long way? Wasn't that an attempt to remove apprehension or uncertainty? And then the Council said, "All right, but what are we going to do if two or three or four international unions set up a dual movement whose purpose is to destroy the American Federation of Labor?" In the discussion it was pointed out that international unions would not tolerate the exercise of rebellion and dualism by local unions chartered by the international union. It pointed out that if two or three or four local unions, chartered by the international union, conspired to create a dual movement, that international union

itself would act and suspend the charter of those local unions until they were ready to behave themselves.

The Council decided; as a matter of protection and self-preservation, that we must make provision for protecting us against destruction. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and naturally those who are charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of a great organization such as ours between conventions cannot sit like sacks of wheat or sacks of flour, fold their arms and see the movement they are charged with the duty of protecting destroyed.

We debated it for a long time. We took into account the proposition I made to the Ladies' Garment Workers, that no bad boy would be suspended, and that is what is recommended here, but when the house is on fire we cannot wait to decide, we must pour water on the flames. What would you think of a group who would see their house burning up and say, "We cannot put any water on it until some future date?"

I appreciate the feeling of my good friends, the Ladies' Garment Workers. But let us examine the record. The American Federation of Labor has never suspended international organizations between conventions unless a dual movement was formed. It has exercised that power reluctantly. It has exercised it only in extreme circumstances.

It is not looking for opportunities to put unions out, it is looking for opportunities to bring unions in, because our chief asset is solidarity, unity and numerical strength.

Now the proposal is that if the power to suspend dual unions between conventions is exercised by the Council, that those dual unions thus suspended shall be accorded the right to participate in the deliberations of a convention on equal terms with other international unions while their appeal is being heard and disposed of. I know the motive which inspires our friends to offer that amendment. It is after all to assure every one that only a convention can suspend. But let us examine the fact in connection with that, and in doing so may I present a picture. Here it is. A few years ago a group of nine or ten unions met and formed the CIO, a million members. The Executive Council suspended them. They appealed to every one of them to come before the Executive Council and answer the charges. Not one came, not one appealed to a convention.

But suppose the representatives of those nine national unions, with a million votes, had come into the convention under the terms of this amendment and voted their million votes upon the question of guilt. What would you think of that?

Now the other phase of the picture is this, that if this amendment is adopted then the convention is the jury and the one charged may come and present his case,

for I would officially rule that the representatives of any national or international union suspended by the Executive Council because of conspiracy must be accorded the right to be heard, and that means that their delegates may appear before the committee of the convention to which the appeal is submitted. Then when the committee's report is before the convention they must be accorded the right to be heard. But you cannot confer upon them the power to vote upon their own guilt or innocence. Only the jury to which the case is appealed can determine that. Did you ever hear of a court of law, a court of justice, following any other policy? Did you ever hear of the one charged with a crime voting with the jury as to whether he was innocent or guilty? True he must be heard and he must be given the widest opportunity to present his case, but no one ever knew of a plan of justice that the one charged with the commission of a crime should sit with the jury to vote upon his own guilt or innocence. I want to repeat again that I would officially rule that our constitution inherently provides that any one charged with the commission of an offense or any one representing an international union that might be suspended by the Council must be afforded the opportunity to present their case in the widest, fullest and freest manner not only to the convention committee but to the convention as well.

In that respect it occurs to me that his interests would be amply safeguarded. I have taken this opportunity to present these facts to you as a jury in this case for your consideration and your action. I know you will act wisely and in accordance with the spirit that moves you to do the right thing for every national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself.

Vice-President Tobin: I want to ask the president a question relative to his last statement, so that it will become a part of the record for future guidance of the Executive Council. It refers to your interpretation of the right of appeal from a decision of the Council. Does that mean that that will not apply to the right of appeal after a union is suspended by a convention?

President Green: Not after it has been suspended by a convention. I am speaking only up to the point where the appeal is presented to and acted upon by the convention.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman, may I ask you a question, too, on the same matter?

President Green: All right, David.

Delegate Dubinsky: You stated that the accused has no right to vote and cannot be a participant in the jury. Do you mean to say that those who accuse, if you apply

the procedure of the law, would have the right to vote, too?

President Green: Who?

Delegate Dubinsky: Those who accused an international union of conspiracy, so to say. You have referred to those that have been accused, that they should not have the right to vote. Those that accuse, those who act as district attorneys in the case, have they the right to vote?

President Green: You mean those that filed charges?

Delegate Dubinsky: Right.

President Green: If they are in good standing and entitled to representation in the convention, you can't deny them that right.

Delegate Dubinsky: Then President Green, did I understand you before when you said the reason for the suspension of the ten unions was because they should not have their million votes at the convention? That is my argument, that I want them to have their votes until the convention decides on their guilt.

President Green: I beg your pardon. Please be fair. I said that after they were suspended, because the Council believed they were guilty of forming a dual movement, then if they would come into the convention after the suspension with the power to vote upon their own guilt or innocence, they would have the right to exercise their full voting strength in passing upon their own guilt or innocence.

Delegate Dubinsky: President Green, you are aware that at that time the claim was made for the suspension was decided upon in order to eliminate the million votes of those unions at that convention.

President Green: That was not true, David.

A large number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: The question recurs on the amendment offered by Delegate Dubinsky.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: How about the question to refer?

President Green: I did not recognize the motion at the time it was offered, because there was no second to it so far as I know. Now the question is upon the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate Dubinsky. All those who favor the adoption of the amendment will please raise your right hands. Seventeen votes, as I see it.

Now, those opposed. I don't think there is any necessity of counting that vote, because it is so obvious.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Mr. Chairman, I want the record to show that a motion was made and seconded and denied by the Chair. The motion was to refer, and it was seconded by at least half a dozen delegates.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: That motion, if you will pardon me, was made at the end of a long speech, hence it was completely out of order.

President Green: You raise that point of order?

Delegate Swartz: I raise that point of order now, if necessary.

President Green: The Chair recognized it at the time but did not raise it as a point of order. The amendment is lost.

The question now recurs upon the recommendation of the committee.

All those who favor the adoption of the report of the committee will please hold up their right hands. Those opposed by the same sign.

It is clear to the Chair that the report of the committee has been adopted by more than the necessary two-thirds vote of the convention.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman, may I ask you this question? The report just now adopted states that when two or more unions launch an organization for any purpose. Would it be acceptable to the committee, now that the report has been adopted and we voted against it, to substitute for these words, "an organization for any purpose," the words "a competitive economic organization"?

President Green: Brother Dubinsky, I think we have handled that in a way that is satisfactory.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: The foregoing completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which has been signed with the approval of the following members:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman.
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary.
JOSEPH N. WEBER,
DENNIS LANE,
WM. QUIRK,
J. J. FARNAN,
CHARLES SAND,
DALES ALLISON,
JAMES KILLEN,
WM. TRACY,
WILLIAM J. GORMAN,
JOHN F. O'CONNOR,
HERBERT RIVERS,
JASPER N. DAVIS,
J. P. McCURDY,
WILLIAM MCCARTHY,
JOHN J. FAGAN,
MORRIS BIALIS.

COMMITTEE ON LAWS.

Secretary Volz moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Laws as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 7:10 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, November 26, 1940.

Sixth Day — Tuesday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 26, 1940.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 10:00 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Costas, Crist, Di Guardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gresty, Higgins, Hood, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Roark, Reid, Southerland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Younker.

President Green: The Rev. Thaddeus B. Clark, Pastor of the First Unitarian Church of this city, will pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Thaddeus B. Clark, Pastor,
First Unitarian Church)

Our Father, we ask Thy blessing upon this gathering. Help us in our deliberations. May our counsel be wise and just. Let us give our efforts unceasingly and unsparingly to the service of the whole nation and all men. May we love all men by making the actual task of this world we live in better and more harmonious, and may we discover that here we can live the life more abundant. Amen.

Committee To Escort National
Commander Milo J. Warner

President Green: I desire to announce the appointment of the following committee to meet the National Commander of the American Legion, who will address the convention tomorrow—Brother James Burns, President of the American Federation of Government Employees, Myles P. Murphy, of the Post Office Clerks; John F. McAnan, of the State, County and Municipal Employees, Albert Adamski, of the United Garment Workers' Union, and Brother Harry J. Steeper, of the Musicians. I hope those who are named on this committee will take

notice and arrange to meet the Commander of the American Legion and bring him to the ball at a time suitable to his convenience tomorrow.

Resolutions Presented by
Unanimous Consent

President Green: I have had presented to me a resolution expressing sympathy on the death of our old friend Jerome Jones, of Atlanta, Georgia. It is a noncontroversial resolution. The delegate who transmitted it to me asked for unanimous consent for its introduction. Are there objections? Hearing none the resolution will be accepted and referred to the Resolutions Committee.

The resolution is as follows:

Expressing Sympathy On Death
Of Jerome Jones

Resolution No. 182—Submitted by Dewey L. Johnson, Atlanta Federation of Trades; J. O. Morgan, Georgia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jerome Jones, father of the southern labor movement, founder of the Atlanta Journal of Labor, and president-emeritus of the Atlanta Federation of Trades and the Georgia Federation of Labor, died in Atlanta, Georgia, early Tuesday morning, September 24, 1940, in his eighty-sixth year, and

WHEREAS, His service to the worker in general and organized labor in particular, his persistent espousal of the cause of public education, his fight for civic betterment and the promotion of human welfare brought him into nationwide prominence as one of the country's most constructive citizens, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desires to recognize him not only as one of its own number but as one who has by his active life of service, earned for himself the undying gratitude of his comrades and has transmitted to the labor movement a heritage that is invaluable,

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that the following be inscribed on the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor convention as a perpetual tribute to him and as a token of our love and esteem:

A Memorial To Jerome Jones

Jerome Jones was born in Nashville, Tennessee, July 4, 1865, the son of Welsh parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Jones. He

was the son of the editor of the Daily Nashville Union America. Early in life he espoused the cause of labor and was one of the organizers of the Central Labor Union of Nashville, the founder of the Nashville Journal of Labor. At one time Jerome Jones served in the Tennessee legislature.

At the request of Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, Jerome Jones went to Atlanta, Georgia, to assist in the promotion of the union movement in the southeast. He organized the Atlanta Journal of Labor, a newspaper which he edited up to the time of his death more than forty-two years later.

Jerome Jones was fearless and bold in the cause of right and earned national recognition for his conservatism, wise counsel, and his advocacy of conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes. In 1914, he, as Southern Representative of President Samuel Gompers, was called to Washington to assist President Gompers in securing the passage by Congress of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. This far-reaching legislation has been truly called the Magna Carta of the working man in America, declaring as it does that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce," and, therefore, not subject to anti-trust laws.

Jerome Jones was recognized as one of the ablest advocates of universal education and strongest supporters of the public schools, believing that only through education could the children of America be best fitted for efficient and happy living in a democracy. He was recognized by people in all walks of life as one who sought not to advance the cause of one group at the expense of another, not to enrich one at the loss of another but sought to achieve the advancement of one through the betterment of all. He was a sincere, loyal, constant and powerful force for social and economic betterment of the masses of the people.

His activities in behalf of the American Federation of Labor have covered more than a half century. This great patriarch of the labor movement, the "Samuel Gompers of the South" lived through that era when to expound the tenets of labor brought down the wrath and ire of most employers together with governmental forces. However, he lived to see, and we believe with God that watches above us preserved him to witness it, the greatest assembly of labor representatives ever known in the southeast. He lived to see the City of Atlanta honor the American Federation of Labor. He lived to see and hear employers on this occasion deliver messages to labor, avowing their trust in the labor movement. This occasion was the Southern Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, this past year. Jerome Jones, in his years of active effort for the labor movement throughout the South, saw great changes and mighty forces at work.

We recognize our indebtedness to Jerome Jones for his patient teaching of the fun-

damental principles of organized labor, for his example of unselfish zeal and faithfulness in the cause of the union movement and, above all, his supreme faith in man and in God, his creator. He truly was

"One who never turned his back, but
marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, tho right were worsted,
wrong would triumph,
Held that we fall to rise, are baffled to
fight better,
Sleep to wake!"

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: There is another resolution submitted by the delegate from Puerto Rico, expressing appreciation of the work done by Admiral Leahy while he served as Administrator in the Island of Puerto Rico. It is noncontroversial. Are there objections? Hearing none, that resolution is accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution is as follows:

Appointment of Governor of Puerto Rico to Succeed Admiral Leahy

Resolution No. 183—Submitted by P. Rivera Martinez, Delegate, State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, Admiral William D. Leahy was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico by the President of the United States in 1939, having taken possession of his office on September 11 of that year; and

WHEREAS, He has during the short period he has been in that post carried on a big task in the reconstruction and defense work of our Island, having been sympathetic to the cause of labor and unceasingly striving for the wellbeing of Puerto Rico; and

WHEREAS, He unflinchingly stood for the rights of all classes and never yielded to political demands insisting on depriving labor of representation in his Cabinet; and

WHEREAS, All well informed officials think of Governor Leahy as a man of superb all-around ability what he has demonstrated in all positions held, and

WHEREAS, All the press of the United States of the 23rd and 24th of November of this year carry the news that Governor Leahy has just been appointed Ambassador to France by the President of the United States, what represents a very well deserved promotion and recognition to the ability, intelligence and integrity of Governor Leahy; and

WHEREAS, While we feel gratified for his advancement into our public and international life, we have to regret that Puerto Rico is to be deprived of his invaluable services to our Island who never

before was served so faithfully and efficiently; and

WHEREAS, Changes in Governorship in the Territory of Puerto Rico have ever been seen with apprehension, since men unknown to the island are selected for no term and at the pleasure of the President, the people of Puerto Rico having no saying in the selection; and

WHEREAS, While we have been privileged with the services of Governor Leahy at this time, and with other good selections, however, there have been instances in which wrong selections have been made to the detriment of Puerto Rico and the Federal Administration; and

WHEREAS, political changes were effected in Puerto Rico in the last general election which will demand the ability, intelligence and determination of a type of man like Governor Leahy, in sympathy with labor and its problems, a social minded man determined to cope with all our local problems which are mainly social and economic, a firm believer in the New Deal and advocate of democracy that might guide our people in the right direction under the leadership of our President.

BE IT RESOLVED By this 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. THAT We feel gratified on the promotion of Admiral Leahy, Governor of Puerto Rico to the position of Ambassador of the United States to France and publicly express to him through these means our recognition and appreciation for his services to the people of Puerto Rico.

2. That in view of our interest in the wellbeing of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to wait on the President of the United States and to convey to him the message of this Convention that in appointing a New Governor for Puerto Rico, the interests of labor constituting the great majority in the island, be taken into consideration.

3. That the President of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed, in learning of the appointment of a new Governor for Puerto Rico, to confer with him and advise him on the necessity of following the very well established policy of keeping at the head of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, a man from the ranks of labor selected from among the members of the American Federation of Labor, as it has been the case in Puerto Rico since the organization of the Labor Department in 1931.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Bates of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Vice-President Bates: The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report

will be presented to the convention by Secretary Lynch, of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Lynch, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

OFFICIAL CHANGES

Page 40, Report of the Executive Council

This part of the Council's report covers two vacancies which occurred on the Council during the past year. One vacancy was caused by death, the other by resignation.

Both vacancies have been filled in accordance with the authority of the Council to fill such vacancies. The members appointed become the fourteenth and fifteenth Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee believes that the Council acted wisely in their selections.

Your Committee feels that the Council suffered a real loss in the death of John Coefield, who served on the Council for 12 years. His deep understanding of trade union policy and his interest in the affairs of labor generally makes this loss keenly felt in labor circles.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Page 159—Report of Executive Council

The Metal Trades Department has rendered important service in the matter of joint agreements covering an entire industry. In addition the Department has worked in conjunction with the Building and Construction Trades in working out inter-departmental agreements.

This cooperation between International Unions and Departments has effectively defeated C.I.O. efforts to establish dual unions in many industries, particularly in the west coast ship building and ship repair yards.

All Internationals affiliated with the Department have grown in membership during the past fiscal year. This has meant improved conditions of employment.

Your Committee commends the Metal Trades Department for its splendid efforts and accomplishments during the past year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

Page 57—Report of Executive Council

This section of the Executive Council's report set forth information with regard to steps taken by the Typographical Union and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to arrange a basis of accommodation for the re-affiliation of the Typographical Union with the American Federation of Labor.

We trust that the meetings arranged to be held during the sessions of the Convention by the Council and the Union will consummate an understanding and agreement for the re-affiliation of the important Typographical Union with the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT

Pages 167 to 181—Report of Executive Council

The report of the Executive Council in this matter covers many pages and sets forth fully and clearly what has been accomplished in the interest of the members of the affiliated international unions.

The report covers employment, wages, retirement, unemployment insurance, vacations and legislation for railway employees. It constitutes a yearly report of the many activities of this efficient Department of the American Federation of Labor. We commend the officers of the Department for a splendid report and their untiring efforts which makes such a report possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Page 56—Report of Executive Council

The Executive Council reports the steps taken to reconcile the differences between this important International Union and the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee is happy to note that such differences were met and overcome and that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is again a part of the bonafide labor movement, and is represented in this Convention by delegates of their union.

Your Committee expresses the hope that other International Unions which left the

American Federation of Labor will emulate the splendid statesmanship of this union and return to their proper house so that wage earners will be represented by one strong united family of labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Page 191—Report of the Executive Council

In the judgment of your Committee this part of the Council's report is of great importance. It meets with factual information many of the less than accurate charges flowing from the pens of glib publicists which are accepted as truth by an uninformed public.

The Council's report shows that more than twenty-one and one-half millions of dollars have been paid during the past year to the membership of affiliated unions in the form of sick, death, unemployment, old age, disability and miscellaneous benefits. These benefits are paid under constitutional provisions of the national and international unions but do not include the even greater amounts paid by local unions under provisions of local by-laws.

It would be safe to say that the members of unions in affiliation with the A. F. of L. received each year in the form of cash benefits at least twice as much as the figure set forth. That is important financial assistance from the viewpoint of any institution or organization. Benefit payments have been a part of the trade union movement since its inception. Only those officers charged with the responsibility of administering benefit payments can fully appreciate what such benefits mean to the families of our members during times of trouble.

Your Committee wishes to commend the unions which have rendered such assistance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHANGE OF TITLE

Page 50—Report of Executive Council

A hearing with regard to this matter was held by your Committee date of Friday, November 22, 1940.

All parties at interest appeared before your Committee. Careful consideration was given to all statements made by interested parties and your Committee recommends that this Convention adopt the report of the Executive Council with the distinct clarification made by International Officers of the Teamsters Brotherhood that the Team-

sters will not retain in membership any workers properly eligible to membership in any other affiliated international Union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION

Page 230—Report of the Executive Council

The Council will observe that: "The problems which we must solve and the decisions we must make will determine not only the future of democracy in this country but in the whole western hemisphere.

Attention should be directed also to the important fact that decisions made by our organization are not in themselves compelling. Such decisions take on importance only when supported by public opinion. Lacking public support our decisions may be self satisfying but they will be without significance or importance in shaping national policy.

Our organization is a voluntary organization. That means we are placed upon our honor to keep our movement law abiding, clean and in proper line with its publicly announced policies. To compute our importance from any other premise is merely to practice self deception.

During the past six years our organizations have grown in numbers because of enabling legislation. We are now protected against unwarranted interference in our efforts to build unions to protect the interests of workers.

Such legislation has contributed to building strength and influence in labor organizations.

But with this goes the implied responsibility that our newly acquired rights be used for the purpose intended. The clear purpose was to improve the conditions of employment of those workers who were unable to better their standards without strength of organization.

The Walsh-Healy Act, Bacon-Davis Act and the National Labor Relations Act could have no other purpose than to improve labor standards and conditions of working men and women who work.

The opposition of our Federation to Communism and all form of totalitarianism meets with public approval and support. Every effort we may make to keep our organization clean and self disciplined will meet with the same public support.

The Executive Council is to be commended for its strong pronouncements in favor of one "ism" and that Americanism. The Council should keep clearly in mind, however, that opposing foreign "isms" does not discharge our full duty toward Americanism. In order to protect our right to

exist as a free institution we must render full devotion to everything which Americanism implies.

Secretary Lynch moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Federman, New York, Fur Workers: Speaking to the Executive Council's report, I would like to know why it is that the Fur Workers Union of New York, who revolted this year in February or March and disassociated themselves from the International Fur Workers' Union and applied to the American Federation of Labor for a charter, which they received, is not mentioned in this report. So far as I find, they are making a great deal of progress in the fur working field. The Fur Workers in New York are absolutely terrorized if they do not want to go along with the Communists. The Furriers in New York received a charter from the American Federation of Labor. It is true there are only 500 of them, but it will not be long until the Fur Workers will return to the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Lynch: The reason the committee made no report on the Fur Workers is for the obvious reason that the matter was not referred to them.

President Green: The organization of the Fur Workers of New York into a Federal Labor Union directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was regarded as an administrative matter that was handled in an administrative way. It was one of the many Federal Labor Union charters issued by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. We were happy and are happy now, because these Fur Workers turned their face homeward. All of us know that the Fur Workers, particularly in the city of New York, who belong to the dual union, as we classify it, are controlled and have been controlled and are dominated and have been dominated by the Communist leaders who are in charge of the International Fur Workers' Union.

It is because these splendid men who came to the American Federation of Labor could no longer tolerate the domination over them by the representatives of the Communist organization that they came back to the American Federation of Labor. The same is true of a number of Fur Workers' locals in Toronto, Canada. Delegate Federman is doing a splendid work in Toronto, as well as in New York, and we appreciate the fine service he renders. We hope the prediction Brother Federman has made will come true. We extend to the Fur Workers in New York and elsewhere throughout the country the hand of welcome. We want them back home in the American Federation of Labor and we will be happy when they come back home.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Lynch, Secretary of the Committee: This concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council's report, and it is signed by the full committee:

HARRY C. BATES, Chairman
 GEORGE Q. LYNCH, Secretary
 ROBERT BYRON
 F. A. FITZGERALD
 JOHN M. GILLESPIE
 HENRY F. SCHMAL
 LEO J. BUCKLEY
 CHARLES M. RAU
 WILLIAM CAMPBELL
 FRANK COLEMAN
 IRVIN BARNEY
 ARTHUR HUGGINS
 A. C. D'ANDREA
 A. M. JURRUS
 SELMA BORCHARDT
 GEORGE L. BERRY
 W. D. MAHON
 EDW. WEYLER
 LOUIS STULBERG
 WM. SCHOENBERG

Committee on Executive Council's
 Report

Vice-President Bates: I move that the report of the Committee as a whole be adopted by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: Thank you, Brother Bates and Secretary Lynch.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for a report this morning upon the instructions given him by the convention yesterday.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: Pursuant to instructions and authority vested in the Secretary-Treasurer at yesterday's session of the convention to give effect to the convention action in adopting the report of your Committee on Laws relating to the power of the Executive Council to suspend national or international unions, I submit the following constitutional changes designed to carry out the intent and purpose of said convention action:

1. Section 12 of Article IX of our present constitution, which appears on page 24, to be amended by adding the following paragraph.

"A national or international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution; except in cases where two (2) or more national or international unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization, or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and if found guilty by it, said organization, or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive

Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself but without the right to vote."

In explaining the change in the rules adopted by the Executive Council, which now appear on pages 42 to 46 of the constitution, I wish to state that this is what might be termed a mechanical change in adopting a new section of the constitution covering the suspension of national or international unions. It is necessary, of course, to repeal the old rule which was referred to during the debate yesterday, under which this particular problem was handled, and in repealing those old rules it was also necessary to restate a portion of another rule having to do with state federations of labor. So this portion of the report which I now read contains changes necessitated by the fact that we have added a new sentence to Section 12 of Article IX.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: (Reading).

2. The Rules adopted by the Executive Council, which now appear on pages 42 and 46 are to be amended as follows:

Rule 1 appearing on pages 43, 44 and 45 to be eliminated.

Rule 2 to be renumbered Rule 1 and the words appearing in the last three lines "in the manner provided for in Rule 1 above for dealing with national and international unions" are to be eliminated and the following to be added in place thereof:

"In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) If the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor."

3. Rules 3 and 4, on pages 45 and 46, shall be renumbered 2 and 3 respectively.

In relation to that portion of the report of the Committee on Laws adopted by the convention, relating to the salaries of the President and Secretary-Treasurer, I submit the following constitutional changes. Article VI, Section 4 to read:

"The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations; and shall receive for his services \$20,000 00 per annum, payable weekly."

Article VII, Section 7 to read:

"The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000.00 per annum, payable weekly."

In relation to that portion of the report of the Committee on Laws adopted by the Convention in regard to changes in per capita tax, I submit the following constitutional changes. Article X, Section 1 to read as follows:

"The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-six cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10.00 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention."

That completes the report of the changes ordered by the convention in the adoption of the report of the Committee on Laws yesterday.

Delegate Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Body: I move that the language as read by the Secretary-Treasurer be inserted in the constitution and by-laws of the American Federation of Labor, as provided by the change in the laws as approved yesterday.

Delegate John C. Taylor, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 19708: Point of information. I notice that the statement read by the Secretary-Treasurer, in reference to trial on suspension charges, states that they "may" have a hearing, and then on its right to appear before the convention the word "will" was used. I wonder if that word "may" cannot be changed to "shall"?

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: I think that change is a proper one, that where charges may be filed, we should say that a hearing "shall" be held.

President Green: That is in line with the decision of the Chair and the ruling I made, that the representatives of any organization suspended shall have the right

to appear before committees, and on the floor of the convention to defend themselves against charges filed or in the presentation of any facts in connection therewith. The Chair desires to point out that the three objectionable words that were referred to by Delegate Lynch yesterday have been dropped.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: I want to commend you for the fact and I want to say to you right now that I even overlooked your bad hearing in not hearing the second to my motion, I even overlooked your bad parliamentary procedure in not entertaining a motion to refer, all because you have referred it and you have made these necessary and sensible changes.

President Green: Thank you, my dear boy.

All in favor of the adoption of the motion please say "aye". Those opposed will say "no".

The motion is unanimously adopted.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: We want to record our votes present, not voting on this question.

President Green: Delegate Dubinsky, representing the Ladies' Garment Workers, desires to have the votes of his delegation marked present, however the Chair rules that the motion was carried by far more than a two-thirds vote of the convention.

President Green: Now the Chair recognizes Chairman Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman and delegates, your Committee on Resolutions had before it 128 proposals, of which 12 are in the form of resolutions and the balance in the form of matters referred to it by the Executive Council—27 subjects in general terms and 29 sub-divisions thereof. I am very happy to report that in the consideration of all matters referred to your committee we had present every member of the committee, numbering 21, at the sessions, and that the report of your committee presents the unanimous findings and recommendations of the committee.

In all of the experience I have had with our committee on resolutions this has been the first instance where all members of the committee attended and participated in the report of the committee that is to be presented to you.

The Secretary of the Committee, Delegate Frey, will make the report of the Committee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary John Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, who will submit the report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate John P. Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The Committee, in submitting its report on resolutions, will endeavor to report the resolutions in the order in which they are

numbered in the proceedings, making exception occasionally so that certain delegates may be heard. The first exception will be to bring up Resolution No. 166, page 289 of the first day's proceedings, under the caption, "Navy Department Wage Schedules."

Navy Department Wage Schedules

Resolution No. 166—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, In 1928 a Schedule of Wages for Employees in Navy Yards was established, and

WHEREAS, This schedule remained the basis for wages except for the general reduction created by the first and second Economy Acts so that the Schedule for Wages paid since the reduction created by the Economy Acts were restored, has been the same as paid in 1928, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Wage Review Board, after four months of consideration prepared a Schedule of Wages to go into effect November 18, 1940, which, in the case of skilled mechanics, has advanced wages a fraction of one cent per hour, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department expects the affiliated unions to assist in securing for the Navy some 50,000 additional mechanics within the next six months, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion that the present Schedule of Wages completely fails to establish a Schedule of Wages which is justified by the present situation in which the Navy Department, the War Department and private industry engaged in production for national defense are all endeavoring to secure competent mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department should establish a Schedule of Wages which will measure up to wages paid for skilled mechanics in private industry, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to cooperate with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and other International Unions affected, so that the Schedule of Wages going into effect November 18th may be reopened so that adequate increases in wages may be provided for, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter immediately after the adjournment of this convention, with the Secretary of the Navy, and if necessary with the President of the United States, so that a Wage Schedule will be established which will lead skilled mechanics to accept employment in navy yards under wages equal to those which can be secured in private industry.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: The resolution is here as the result of an action taken by the Metal Trades Department. There was considerable disappointment expressed at the convention of the Metal Trades Department convention because of the schedule established for employees in the Navy Yard. The Navy Wage Review Board was in session for a month, considerable data was presented to the Board to warrant an award for a substantial wage increase. The award of the Board in a number of cases provides wage increases for tool makers, machinists and other metal trades of as much as 24 cents a week, a fraction of a cent per hour increase. We were amazed at that decision. It may interest the delegation to know that recommendations from the Local Board to the National Board were for substantial wage increase in some instances, and when they recommended an increase of from 6 cents to more per hour, the National Board recommended an increase of upwards of 24 cents a day.

It appears to me that Uncle Sam should take the lead in raising wage rates. Too often in making wage rates for Government employees, they are the wage rates arbitrarily set by employers in private industry. They are not always wages arrived at as a result of collective bargaining, but wages imposed upon workers by private management. It seems to me there should be a substantial upward revision in wages.

It is true that wages have increased in some territories possibly because the unemployed army is shrinking, but keep in mind that the unemployed army is not shrinking because of an improvement in private industries, the fact is that it is because of the marching army. That is a terrible indictment of our industrial system. I hope the time is not far distant when we will discard the cost-of-living rule in determining wages. Wages should be determined as a result of an effort to provide adequate domestic markets. We must have the public understand that the workers must receive enough in their pay envelopes to enable them to purchase the products of industry. If the wheels of industry are to keep turning, the workers should receive enough to buy the products of industry. These are times when Uncle Sam should boost wages.

Oh, I know some will say they will have to take care to prevent an increase in the national debt; but, let me say here that Uncle Sam is now handing out money galore for man-killing devices and instruments to destroy, and properly so during these times, and those who are receiving contracts, whether or not they are competitive contracts, are receiving enough to enable the owners of the industries sufficient to pay good wages. We want Uncle Sam to know that we want the award of the Navy Wage Board set aside.

Delegate Alifas, Machinists: Mr. President and delegates—this is not one of the run of the mine resolutions usually adopted by the American Federation of Labor conventions. This is a live issue at the present moment. While the Metal Trades Department was in session and the other Departments were having sessions here, and during the early part of this convention, mass meetings were held by the employees in the Navy Yards to protest the niggardliness of the award of the Board.

The wage scale that was in effect prior to this one was the result of a wage negotiation that took place in 1928. This schedule remained the basis for wages except for the general reduction created by the first and second Economy Act. The schedule for wages paid since the reduction created by the Economy Act were restored and have been the same as paid in 1928. They also had three rates of pay for each grade, but the maximum rate was considered the going rate and the second and third class rates were supposed to be for men below the standard of ability. At the present time a very large proportion of them are in the minimum rate, and during this period when they have been supposed to be trying to get skilled mechanics, owing to the national emergency, they have refused to hire any except at the third class rate of pay. They have not been able to get them. We hold that the reason they have not been able to get skilled mechanics for that rate is because the scale is too low.

I hope the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will take energetic action to boost the Navy Yard scale upwards. The private employers have appealed to the Navy Board to keep wages down in order to keep wages down in the Navy Yards. There is much sentiment in the Department on the part of some to resist the functioning of organized labor. We believe we have been badly treated in this matter. We have been listened to, but due to the fact that even in trifling matters we have endeavored to have adjustments made as they were, indicates that they have not taken the representation of organized labor seriously.

In the last year and a half delegations have visited the Department, and yet nothing has been done to remedy the condition we have complained of. This indicates that something more energetic on the part of organized labor will have to be done. We hope, headed by the great President of the American Federation of Labor, that we will be able to adjust the scale upwards and administer some justice to the Navy Yard employees.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, the committee believed that the resolution was sufficiently specific to meet all of the requirements if the report would be adopted. The resolution provides that the President of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with officers of the Metal Trades Department and the presidents of international unions who are interested, shall see the Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of having the present

wage schedule reopened, and if necessary, see the President of the United States. The committee believes that by approving the resolution the necessary steps will be taken.

A number of the international presidents seated in this convention have spoken to the President of the Metal Trades Department of the necessity of doing something immediately. The President of the Metal Trades Department believes that action should be taken without delay. The skilled mechanics have been advanced 3 cents and 2 mills an hour. Your committee is of the opinion that this is a condition that must be remedied if it is humanly possible. The committee believed it would accomplish the purpose intended by merely adopting the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 1 and 3. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposing National Council of Office Workers Unions

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Office Workers Unions in Minnesota have requested the assistance of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in the creation of a financially-sound National Council so as to lead to the formation of an international Union of Office Workers to be composed of workers that are eligible to join federal labor unions of office workers. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is requested to formulate plans for the creation of such a National Council of Office Workers Unions.

Proposing International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an international Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning national federation of office workers' local unions, and

WHEREAS, All organizational work among office workers at the present time

must of necessity be carried on by the local unions which cannot afford to conduct effective organizational campaigns, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that a functioning national council or international union is a prerequisite to the formation of effective organizational activity among the unorganized office workers and to the establishment of uniform wage and employment standards for office workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 48th Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor earnestly urges the immediate creation of a functioning national council or International Union of Office Workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in New Orleans request its officers to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate consideration and action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 2 and 37. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Six Point Economic Plan As Part of National Defense Program

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The purpose of a democratic government is to secure the economic, political and social advancement and freedom of all its people, and to safeguard the rights of all workers to continuous employment at rising wages, and in proportion to the Nation's ability to produce the essentials to raise life to higher levels, and

WHEREAS, A government conscripting its manpower in peace or wartime gives birth to the right and necessity of the exploited masses to demand from the Government in peace or wartime, that it eliminate the internal forces of exploitation for profits, which create unemployment, and want among the workers in the midst of abounding wealth sufficient to the well-being of all, and

WHEREAS, In our Nation, there are many millions of men, women, and youth, who are still suffering from unemployment, and low wages, inadequate medical care, and hospitalization and wretched housing, notwithstanding the fact that the national resources, labor power, and productive capa-

cities required for its solution already monopolize capital and its servants, and

WHEREAS, The American people have been called upon to unite their efforts and strength and to sacrifice, in behalf of national defense, and since the present Defense Program is definitely inadequate regarding the real needs of Labor; and because the elimination of unemployment and the protection and advancements of all the rights of the workers, and the raising of their living standards is indispensable to national unity and a decisive first line of national defense; and in view of the pyramiding profits of Big Business, proving no sacrifices by them, when compared with the continuous and historic sacrifices of the Nation's workers and their youth, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record for the achievement of the following program and objectives:

1. The establishment of a national six-hour day and thirty-hour work-week with no reduction in daily, weekly, or monthly pay; hours to be temporarily extended if and when actual shortage of labor exists, but not to exceed eight hours per day and forty hours per week.

2. Broadening the coverage of all Social Security, Old Age, Unemployment and Social Insurance categories so as to include all wage and salaried workers; sharp increases in the respective benefits and with weekly benefits through entire periods of total or part time unemployment; establishment of a Federal Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance system and providing educational opportunities in all Departments of Art and Learning for needy youth and adults.

3. The continuous operation of all industries at full capacity to absorb all unemployed adult and youth, and at trade union wages and conditions, and with vocational training facilities under trade union guidance.

4. Systematic wage increases for all workers in the Nation, and commensurate with the wealth produced by Labor with industry operating at full capacity in the production of all the essentials to life.

5. To oppose any inflationary measures, or devaluations, or manipulations of the currency, which tend to diminish the purchasing power or wage gains achieved by Labor, and to oppose any infringements on any of the civil rights of Labor.

6. For drastic taxation upon excess profits of all employers and corporations connected with National Defense Program, and Be It Further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the officers of the State Federation of Labor to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Labor Committee of the U. S. House and Senate; the Minnesota Representatives and Senators to

the Congress; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; all State Federations, and to the convention of the American Federation of Labor requesting their active support.

Proposing Six-Point Economic Program to Strengthen National Defense

Resolution No. 37—By Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

WHEREAS, The purpose of a democratic government is to secure the economic political and social advancement and freedom of all its people, and to safeguard the rights of all workers to continuous employment at rising wages, and in proportion to the nation's ability to produce the essentials to raise life to higher levels, and

WHEREAS, A Government conscripting its manpower in peace or wartime gives birth to the right and necessity of the exploited masses to demand from the Government, in peace or war, that it eliminate the internal forces of exploitation for profits, which create unemployment, and want among the workers in the midst of abundant wealth sufficient to the well being of all, and

WHEREAS, In our Nation there are many millions of men, women and youth who are still suffering from unemployment, low wages, inadequate medical care, and hospitalization and wretched housing, notwithstanding the fact, that the National resources, labor-power, and productive capacities required for its solution already exists, were it not for the violent opposition by labor-hating monopoly Capital and its servants, and

WHEREAS, The American people have been called upon to unite their efforts and strength, and to sacrifice in behalf of national defense and since the present defense program is definitely inadequate regarding the real needs of Labor; and because the elimination of unemployment, the protection and advancements of all the rights of the workers, and the raising of their living standards is indispensable to national unity, and a decisive first line of national defense; and in view of the pyramiding profits of Big Business, proving no sacrifices by them, when compared with the continuous and historic sacrifices of the Nation's workers and their youth, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the achievement of the following program and objectives:

1. The establishment of a national six-hour day and thirty-hour work week with no reduction in daily, weekly, or monthly pay; hours to be temporarily extended if and

when actual shortage of Labor exists, but not to exceed eight hours per day and forty hours per week.

2. Broadening the coverage of all Social Security, Old Age, Unemployment and Social Insurance categories so as to include all wage and salaried workers; sharp increases in the respective benefits and with weekly benefits through entire periods of total or part time unemployment; establishment of a Federal Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance system and providing educational opportunities in all Departments of Art and Learning for needy youth and adults.

3. The continuous operation of all industries at full capacity to absorb all unemployed adult and youth, and at Trade Union wages and conditions, and with vocational training facilities under Trade Union guidance.

4. Systematic wage-increases for all workers in the Nation, and commensurate with the wealth produced by Labor with industry operating at full capacity in the production of all the essentials to life.

5. To oppose any inflationary measures, or devaluations, or manipulations of the currency, which tends to diminish the purchasing power or wage gains achieved by Labor, and to oppose any infringements on any of the civil rights of Labor.

6. For drastic taxation upon excess profits of all employers and corporations connected with national defense program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Officers of the State Federation of Labor, to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt; the Labor Committee of the U. S. House and Senate; the Minnesota Representatives and Senators to the Congress.

These resolutions are identical in their provisions. They cover a number of subjects dealing with social security, with wage increases, with inflation, unemployment, taxation, and other subjects relating to national economics.

Your committee finds that these subjects are covered specifically in other resolutions and by the Executive Council's report.

For these reasons your committee believes it inadvisable to deal with these subjects in group form, and that they should be dealt with as heretofore, as separate and distinct subjects. We therefore recommend no further action should be taken on these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That Health Insurance Be Included in Social Security Legislation

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Sickness and its attendant drain on the resources of the workers and a cutoff of income at the same time is one of the great hardships always confronting the workers, and

WHEREAS, The average individual worker is in no position adequately to meet this hardship and to provide for a full measure of medical care for himself and family under the usual conventional methods, and

WHEREAS, Workers realizing this condition have through their labor organizations endeavored to promote health insurance, cooperative medical service and prepaid budget plan service, but such efforts on the part of labor have met with the obstinate opposition of the Medical Societies and Associations, and

WHEREAS, One example of such opposition has come from the Medical Society of Milwaukee County which expelled the doctors associated with the Milwaukee Medical Center and has through its members barred these doctors from the use of the facilities of most Milwaukee hospitals, and

WHEREAS, The American Medical Association has used similar pressure methods on hospitals in many cities, and

WHEREAS, Such pressure methods to bar workers, who want to use a prepaid budget plan for their medical needs, from hospitals are unfair and anti-social, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled goes on record in favor of legislation to include health insurance as a part of social security legislation.

Without recommending approval of the whereases, your committee recommends the adoption of the resolved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Prohibit Retaliatory Tax Policies of States Which Block Interstate Commerce

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the practice of the various states to enact retaliatory taxes on products of other states, and

WHEREAS, This practice is particularly conspicuous on the products of the brewing industry, and

WHEREAS, These retaliatory taxes are contrary to fair trade practices and are a hindrance to the free flow of commerce between the states, and

WHEREAS, These practices tend to erect artificial barriers in interstate commerce and are detrimental to all workers. If this practice is allowed to continue it will spread to other industries, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That legislative action be taken to prohibit by law the erection of these artificial barriers between the states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and present it to the next American Federation of Labor Convention and endeavor to have same adopted.

In view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has appointed a committee to study the entire field of taxation and report to the Executive Council for appropriate action, your committee recommends that Resolution No. 5 be referred to the Committee on Taxation of the A. F. of L. for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Creation of A. F. of L. Commission to Study a Plan to End Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes create chaos and ill will within the ranks of organized labor; likewise produce a feeling of resentment and disgust among employers who have agreed collectively with labor on wages and working conditions, thereby causing an unhealthy public opinion to be developed against labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes are heartbreaking to the workers not parties to the dispute who are usually innocent victims and kept out of work during the periods of the jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great advance in technical improvements has made trades interlocking, thereby making it almost impossible to decide where the jurisdiction of one craft ends and another begins, and

WHEREAS, The present system of trade union autonomy makes it necessary for some workmen employed at certain work to belong to more than one union and, in some instances, the worker will have to be in good standing in four different unions to work on a job and to keep from being involved in a jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great fraternal spirit of good will which was evident in the labor movement of a few decades ago when

transfer of membership from one union to another was common has about disappeared on account of the desire to exploit union men by demanding initiation fees when transferring from one craft union to another, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes and strikes, and the rapid disappearance of the transfer card between labor organizations is not to the best interests of the organized workers and the trade union movement. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the next convention of the American Federation of Labor elect a commission of nine—not more than four to be international officers and not more than one to be from any one international union—to study and work out a plan to end jurisdictional disputes by fixing definite jurisdictions and by devising ways and means of taking a referendum of the members of unions who have an overlapping jurisdiction on the subject of amalgamating such unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such commission shall hold all hearings and meetings necessary in order to be able to make a complete report of its findings to the 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenses including wages, travelling and per diem and clerical expenses of the commission be paid out of the treasury of the American Federation of Labor

Your committee would remind the delegates that the subject covered by the resolution has been previously considered by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, previous conventions having decided that it was not advisable or practicable for the American Federation of Labor to establish a committee or commission with power to deal with jurisdictional disputes.

The resolution calls for the appointment of a commission to study and work out a plan to end jurisdictional disputes by fixing definite jurisdiction.

While your committee believes it essential that every possible effort be made to adjust jurisdictional disputes when they arise, it is of the conviction that the method proposed in the resolution might well lead to graver difficulties, and for this reason your committee recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I think the action of the committee is wrong. We have enough trouble. I disagree with the report of the committee and I hope the majority of the delegates will disagree with it. I am satisfied that the great majority of the union members throughout this country disagree with the committee's report. We are having a bad situation around the country with jurisdictional strikes, jurisdictional disputes, and after it is all ended there is very little difference between them. The whole matter is hard-boiledness on the part of some

of the International officers, hard-boiledness on the part of the business agents. Possibly there will be only a few men on a few jobs in dispute, yet the work is tied up for weeks and months and local unions cannot settle it.

We have an agreement through the Executive Council that where a jurisdictional dispute exists no secession of work shall take place and the international officers of the unions involved will settle the matter between them. Now, they don't do this. Some of the international officers want their pound of flesh and the blood with it, and they will not settle. This question has been up for many years. I know that it has been up as far back as 1913, at the Vancouver convention, but it is going to be settled or you are going to have trouble. You have had one secession in the labor movement in the past five years, and that secession did not take place altogether between the heads of various organizations. There were fundamental issues there, and one of the fundamental issues was organization or lack of organization in the labor movement. This is one of the things that is going to cause trouble in the labor movement. You are going to get your unions smashed in certain parts of the country, for public opinion is not going to stand for the tying up of work during deliberations such as we have seen when we have public work started, to give work to the unemployed, and then a few individuals, through a jurisdictional dispute, will tie up that work and create unemployment in the community, when we have money to put the men to work at trade union wages and conditions.

We find in the oil fields in the West that members of organized labor have to have four separate union cards in order to work on a job. In the laying of pipe lines they have to have acetylene welders. These pipe lines are tubes and the acetylene welders are usually boilermakers on the job. Along comes the pipe fitter and he claims jurisdiction of that because it is a pipe, and he wants that man on the job to have a card. Well, if the boilermaker doesn't want to be tied up in a jurisdictional dispute he will have to get a card from the pipe fitter. The same thing is true all along the line, in the pumping plant, where the machines are in operation and the engineer is there doing the job, the engineer on maintenance work will have to get a pipe fitters card if he wants to do that acetylene welding, or a boilermaker's card.

This has resulted in a Welder's Union being formed by the C. I. O., on account of this damnable jurisdiction dispute among the members of the American Federation of Labor. For example, all this foolishness between the pipe fitter and the boilermaker—the boilermaker puts flues in the boiler and he has to use an acetylene torch in welding into the fire box. The next thing we will hear is that the pipe fitter will want to put the flues in the boilers,

claiming they are pipes, or in the combustion chamber.

There is only one way to get this matter settled. The British Trade Union Congress dealt with this thing back in the middle of the '20's. They appointed a commission like this, and the commission reported back to two conventions, and at the end of two years time they proposed a plan for the amalgamation of thirteen unions into three. The unions took a vote on the proposition and they adopted the recommendation, and something over a million men that started in thirteen unions were amalgamated into three unions.

One of the curses of our organization today in the trade union movement in America is that we have too many organizations that are interlapping each other. Your Executive Council is creating more and more organizations when it should be creating less.

We have certain changes coming up in the jurisdictional dispute between the lathers and the carpenters. Now the fact of the matter is that if the lathers could be taken into the Carpenters' Union a lot of these jurisdictional disputes in the trade union movement in the building trades would end. There is no getting away from that.

I hope the convention votes down the report of the committee or sends the resolution back to the committee and have them adopt a sensible manner of settling this jurisdictional dispute. It is the curse of the country, it is the curse of the trade union movement. It has brought hard feelings among the rank and file, and we are going to get no better. It is going to be settled, and it is going to be settled right.

We brought this thing up, not expecting to have it carried, but believing that we were starting an educational movement that will end this thing. If this convention doesn't do something to stop jurisdictional disputes, then jurisdictional disputes will be like Banquo's ghost, they will rise to plague them.

Your various Trades and Labor Councils, when jurisdictional disputes arise, appeal to the President of the American Federation of Labor to take action, and President Green is helpless to act. He has no way to act, you have him up against the guns on that proposition on jurisdictional disputes.

Let us do something to settle this issue in this country in a sensible, reasonable and democratic way, and the only way to do that is to have a commission from this convention to study the proposition for the next year and make a report and recommend something at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Woll: May I take only a moment's time of the convention first of all to say that we all regret jurisdictional controversies, we realize the evils of them and hope to avoid and evade them as much

as possible. It is of course unfortunate that the proposal of the delegate, instead of mitigating these difficulties, would only lead to increasing them. What does the resolution call for? It calls for the appointment of a commission of nine, this commission to be elected by the Convention, the commission to be composed of not more than four international officers. It does not indicate what the balance of the five members should be. Apparently they must be local officers or members. Then what is the power of this commission to be? To study and plan and devise—for what purpose? To fix the jurisdiction of each and every International Union—of course, first of all, a derogation of the rights of autonomy of all of our national and international unions. A body of nine, four of them international officers, the rest not indicated, to determine the jurisdiction of each and every one of our organizations. Then, if they find there is a controversy on jurisdiction or an overlapping how then shall that be adjusted? It shall be adjusted by a referendum of the organizations involved, and by an amalgamation of their respective organizations, even though the over-lapping be but slight in character, though bitterly fought on both sides, there must be a referendum—in derogation again of the autonomous rights of the organizations, leading nowhere.

That is why the committee recommends nonconcurrence and reports that every possible effort be made, every means available be resorted to avoid and to adjust jurisdictional controversies.

President Green: The Chair desires to make just a little explanation, because I fear that the public and perhaps the visitors in attendance at this convention may get a wrong impression from the explanation made by our very dear Scotch friend, Jimmy Graham from Montana. He refers to the controversy in the welding field. We who have been living with this problem know much about it, and the facts are that we have endeavored to eliminate jurisdictional disputes in that field. We did so by pursuing this policy: Conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council decided that no one organization should have jurisdiction over welding, but that all metal trades, the members of all metal trades organizations would be accorded the right to do welding. Now that means the Plumbers and the Steamfitters may use the welding torch or the electric welding apparatus, the Boilermakers may do the same, the Plumbers and Steamfitters having no complete jurisdiction over that, nor do the Boilermakers have complete jurisdiction, but each having the right to do the work and to use the tools. That was decided upon for the purpose of reducing or eliminating the bare possibility of a fight between these organizations as to which ones should do the welding.

Now my good friends, Delegate Graham tries to make it appear that any man doing welding must belong to four or five

or six unions. That would mean that if a plumber was doing welding he must belong to some other union. We sought to prevent that by making it possible for the plumber to do welding, the boilermakers, the electricians, the sheet metal workers, if necessary all metal trades organizations were recognized as having the right to do welding in their own respective fields.

I wanted to clear up that matter because I fear a wrong impression might have been left as a result of the explanation of my good friend, Delegate Graham.

Delegate Franklin, Boilermakers: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that President Green might have gone a little farther in explaining how this jurisdiction was arrived at. Originally the craft that did the work under some other method or some other process, when the work was finally done by welding, that member was entitled to do his welding on the work on which he formerly had jurisdiction and which was performed in some other manner. It seems to me that if we adhere to that method of settling these various jurisdictional disputes we would come nearer solving the problem than in any other manner. There is no reason or no sense, as I see it, for all these jurisdiction questions over the question of welding and who shall perform the work.

The Welders, as you know, claim the right to do all welding regardless of what craft the trade belongs to. That is where the difficulty arises. The Welders want to do all classes of welding and for any craft. That cannot be acknowledged as right. You are taking work away from a craft that formerly had jurisdiction over it and giving it to a group of welders.

I think the craft I am a member of probably has as much if not more than the average craft had to do in attempting to settle this question. We naturally claimed the right to do all the welding that formerly came under our jurisdiction by some other process. That seems to me to be the only equitable method in which the question can ever be settled.

Delegate McSorley, Lathers: Mr. Chairman, I don't believe the delegate from Montana is very thoroughly informed in reference to the setups for the purpose of settling jurisdictional disputes. At the convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department last week action was taken that submitted something like 21 of the present disputes to what is known under our setup or system for settlement of jurisdictional disputes as the national referee, and I presume that if all of the International Unions interested in these proposals would agree to go along, then the jurisdictional disputes could be settled by the referee.

I want to say this in reference to the brother's suggestion about amalgamation. When the Lathers International Union takes up the subject of amalgamation for consideration they will decide who they will amalgamate with, and not upon the advice of someone else from some central body. If that becomes necessary, I would therefore

suggest that this brother be patient, and as far as the building trades are concerned he will find that those jurisdictional disputes will all be settled, as a great number of them have been in the past. I ask him not to get excited about a few little disputes over the question of jurisdiction.

Some people come to these conventions and they assume that it may be possible to settle jurisdiction disputes. As long as there is innovation and evolution in the building industry there will continue to be jurisdiction disputes, and you can make your mind up to that fact. We have jurisdictional disputes in our families, we have them in our different political bodies, we have them in our cities and among our nations, and I don't think such a convention as the American Federation of Labor will eliminate them. They must be eliminated mutually between the parties interested in the disputes, and not from any outside source.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: I would like to state that there is no necessity for jurisdictional disputes if a little horse sense is used. The member who spoke recently spoke about jurisdictional disputes in families. Well, the courts have a way to settle those disputes through divorce, but I don't want any divorce in the labor movement.

You have said something about the ways of settling this thing in the metal trades, that each one will be allowed to handle the acetylene torch or do the welding. Well and good, that is a good proposition, but I want to tell you that that decision of your Council is not known on the West Coast or in the West. I have been around the oil fields in the West and I have found they have an acetylene welders' union, and the reason of this thing is jurisdiction disputes. They have six or seven thousand members on the West Coast and these men don't want that union, they want to belong to the union of their craft, and yet they are allowed to do acetylene welding.

I want to tell you it is a fact, and I dare anyone to dispute what I am saying, I know that there are men holding four cards on the Pacific Coast in California in order to do acetylene welding, when they belong to the metal trades, and I know the individuals. They have requested me when I came to this convention to help them out in getting that thing settled. They don't want this union outside of the American Federation of Labor if they can belong to their own craft and do the welding. That is what they want.

Now, get that word out to the Coast. I don't like the remarks of Matty Woll relative to the resolves in the resolution. We have about four International Union men provided for in there, because we don't want a majority, and when it comes down to jurisdiction disputes the International officers want their pound of flesh and they won't concede anything. The only thing we have had in recent years of real horse sense in the jurisdictional dispute question took place between Dan Tobin and the late John Poeschl in settling the jurisdictional disputes between the Teamsters and the En-

gineers. When Matty Woll says that we have about nine board members on the International Union and that we do not state who else—well you know how you appoint committees in this convention, and Brother Woll knows. It is supposed that we want the balance of the committee to be composed of Missouri jackasses. It looks as though he is trying to insinuate that we in the West are a set of damned fools and don't know what we want. I think Brother Woll should cut out that sophistry and use a little horse sense in this matter.

You have tried to settle these jurisdictional disputes for the last twenty years and it hasn't been done yet. It has got to be done or you are going to have a revolt in the American Federation of Labor.

Now I am making an amendment to the committee's motion that the resolution be adopted.

President Green: The Chair will have to rule on the motion offered by Delegate Graham. The motion is clearly out of order because it is in contradiction to the report of the committee.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation: It is an amendment to the motion.

Delegate Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department: For the purpose of enlightening the delegates as to what the nineteen trades affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor are doing to handle the problem of the settlement of jurisdictional disputes, it has been one which has been carefully studied by your Department since its inception in 1907. We have now a definite plan whereby there is no stoppage of work pending rendering of decisions. Disputes generally arise locally. The plan provides for a local adjustment of those disputes wherever possible. In the absence of a settlement through local people they then appeal to the Department for a decision.

During the current year just ended there were 752 decisions rendered by that Department. There were only four stoppages of work on building construction work that were of a major nature during that period. We have no records prior to that time to which we might compare the results of the past year's performance in that direction, but we do know this, that there has been a vast improvement in the problem of strikes due to jurisdictional disputes.

Now to get back to the point that this gentleman was talking about, the welding. Of those 752 disputes that were submitted to the Department for decisions there wasn't one in which the welder was involved. The Department and all of the trades in the Department have accepted the decision of the Department of 1916, and it is firmly established that the welding in connection with the jurisdiction of a trade that is doing a major portion of the work shall be the method of handling the welding problem.

It is indeed a pleasure to me to come here and tell you that after the Department has rendered its decision, if there is then a question as to whether the decision was just or proper, it is then referred to the national

referee, and the law of the department provides that when his decision is rendered after hearings are held and a decision rendered it becomes national in scope and binding upon all parties by agreement.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was put to vote, first by a voice vote.

President Green: The Chair is in doubt. All in favor of adopting the committee's report will please hold up their right hand. Those opposed, by the same sign.

The motion to adopt the committee's report is carried.

We will interrupt the proceedings for just a moment. Governor Winant, the Director of the International Labor Office, has just arrived in the hall for the purpose of addressing the convention this morning. I will ask the committee appointed to escort him to the platform to perform that duty now.

Governor Winant was escorted to the platform by the committee.

President Green: We are adding to the distinguished list of speakers who have addressed the convention since it began its sessions on Monday, November 18, another distinguished outstanding speaker. You will recall I announced to the convention that Governor John G. Winant, the Director of the International Labor Organization, would visit with us and deliver an address to the convention this morning at 11 o'clock. He is here and prepared to speak to you on this occasion.

It seems appropriate for me to just briefly explain that Governor Winant is serving labor in an international way during a very trying period in the world's history. He was honored by the people of a great commonwealth when they elected him as their chief executive. He has served in various capacities and has rendered distinct public service. They called him, they drafted him to serve as the Director of the International Labor Organization. He has served and is serving with distinction and credit in that very honorable and trying position.

During the days of war, when the Hitler machine invaded other countries and the International Labor Office was located at Geneva, Director Winant found it practically impossible for that organization to function. Surrounded as he was by that great war machine, it was impossible to get in or out of Geneva, well, impossible even to send mail in and out. These were perplexing problems.

I sympathized with him as I know you did in the trying hours through which he passed when he was forced to find a way by which he could make it possible for the International Labor Office to function. Fortunately he received a very kind invitation from the people of the Dominion of Canada to come there, and so the International Labor Office has been moved to Montreal, Canada. It is no longer functioning at Geneva, Switzerland.

As you well know, the International Labor Organization was located in its own building, a beautiful building located at Geneva.

Now, at McGill University in the city of Montreal, under the able leadership of our distinguished visitor this morning, this splendid International Labor Organization is functioning.

I am pleased now to present to you for an address this morning, Governor John G. Winant, Director of the International Labor Organization.

GOVERNOR JOHN G. WINANT

Director of the International Labor Office

Twenty three years ago this November, Woodrow Wilson, on the invitation of Samuel Gompers, addressed the American Federation of Labor. He was the first President of the United States to speak before a labor convention. I came here today to talk with you about an organization which was initiated and established by these two men. Both were statesmen in the cause of labor and of peace. Each had vision and foresight and the courage to fight for the realization of an ideal. It was because they recognized the relationship between social justice and peace that they united in creating the International Labor Organization dedicated to protect the worker in the commonwealth of nations. To them and to you for all you have done since we are deeply grateful.

The forces against which they contended are once more seeking to destroy the rights of labor and the ways of peace. And once more it is required of us to have faith to keep alive those institutions of human progress that have marked out the frontiers of civilization.

Parliaments are being destroyed.

Trade unions and employers' organizations are being liquidated. All the achievements of a lifetime of the European worker which had been secured at great sacrifice have been wiped out in the course of a few months.

Wherever the conqueror has worked his will, all that the free trade union movement has stood for—the right of being heard, the right of consultation, the right to negotiate—has been abolished.

Aggression in Western Europe and the Far East has brought millions of workers under the domination of alien rulers. It has deprived workers in long-established democracies of liberties which they had come to take for granted as part of an inalienable social heritage. The outcome of the present war, in my judgment, will decide the future of labor and democracy not only in our time but for generations to come.

In these difficult times when the sovereignty of nations has been challenged and national organizations have been overcome,

the problem of maintaining international institutions and continuing their usefulness is dependent upon the support of the countries which they represented.

In the case of the International Labor Organization this responsibility rests upon workers, employers and governments of member states. The tragedy of war has affected the national membership of the Organization. Individuals who have been associated with it have accepted the common lot of their countrymen and paid the price of their trade union convictions even when this has meant imprisonment and death. Mobilization, reduced income, and transfers have brought hardships on the staff personnel and their families. But for all that, the morale of the Organization was never higher, or in my judgment, has greater opportunity faced us for useful service in meeting the social problems of these troubled times. We continue to have the support of all the democratic countries of the world. The work of the International Labor Office is going on despite the difficulties that have been encountered.

You know that we have moved temporarily to a neighboring country in the Western Hemisphere. It may be of interest to you if I tell you some of the reasons for this transfer, something of the background for the change, and some of the things that we hope to accomplish during the coming year.

When the International Labor Conference met in June, 1939, the clouds of war were hanging low over many of the member countries. It was impossible to meet without taking into account the probability of war; yet it was not in a spirit of resignation and defeat that the Conference carried out its work. Rather it was with the feeling that all we could do to move ahead in the social fields where advance was still possible would strengthen the fabric of national defense, and where progress was no longer possible, owing to the menace of dictatorship, that we should help fix the responsibility for and make known the cost of reaction in the social field.

The Conference worked with determination and the renewed conviction that critical international circumstances made it more, not less, necessary to continue the work of the I. L. O. Delegates reaffirmed pledges of support to the Organization and the report of the Emergency Committee which had been set up to make plans for continuing the I. L. O. even in the event of war, was accepted unanimously by the Conference. As a result, when war actually broke out in September, 1939, the Organization was not unprepared. It was able to adjust its programme, its policies and its technique to the new situation. Its main wish was to be useful to Member Countries.

The research programme of the Office naturally began to include study of such effects of the war on social standards as—wage and price relationships, the adaptation of social insurance plans to war con-

ditions, rationing and nutritional standards, the organization of labor in belligerent countries, avoidance of a breakdown of labour standards and in union organization. In addition, at the request of many workers' delegates, the Office collected material and followed trends of opinion which would lead to a clarification of the social atmosphere of the war. It was planned to organize special tripartite meetings at which workers, employers and government delegates from belligerent countries could discuss this vital subject, and other meetings at which these delegates could talk with the representatives of countries not actually engaged in hostilities.

Services to neutral countries even in Europe were at first carried out more or less as usual. The dislocation brought by the war to neutral and to belligerent countries because of economic disturbances raised new social problems which we were asked to study. Requests for the assistance of experts from the Office on legislation and administration continued to be made by various Governments, and members of the Staff were able to render technical services as in the past. Before the outbreak of war, we had planned to hold another Conference of American Countries to continue the work so successfully begun in 1936 at Santiago, Chili, for regional collaboration on problems growing wholly out of the American scene; despite the war, we went ahead with this plan and the conference met at Havana in late 1939. There, representatives of 19 countries worked together towards the solution of American social problems.

In February, 1940, the first full war-time meeting of the Organization's Governing Body was held. Delegates discussed not only immediate war problems, but emphasized the necessity for study and discussion of the social aims following war and the problems to be faced during the reconstruction period.

But when the pace of war became far more rapid in May 1940, carrying forward the work of the Office in Geneva became more and more difficult. Communications and transportation were no longer assured to us, and contacts of all kinds with member countries were irregular or were cut off completely. Geneva became surrounded by warring states and it was no longer possible to meet or to enjoy freedom of speech without endangering the neutrality of Switzerland. Not only were these things true, but in addition, there was a real danger that the Organization would fall into the hands of persons who would use it against the workers and as a tool for their totalitarian policies.

It gradually became clear that it was necessary to transfer a large part of the staff elsewhere in order to be in a position to render effective service. Consequently, Governments', workers' organizations and employers' groups were consulted as to the advisability of such a transfer, insofar as consultations were possible at that time.

On the invitation of the Canadian Government, and with the co-operation of the Trade Union movement and employers organizations of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it was decided to establish an office in Montreal and to transfer necessary staff there. The officers of McGill University were kind enough to place buildings, library and other facilities at our disposal. Your President William Green, volunteered his assistance at this critical time and gave effective help in making possible the transfer of staff to this side of the Atlantic. For this and for his continued aid and support I wish personally and officially to express thanks and appreciation. The President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Labor also cooperated in this move. All the free democratic countries of the world have since asked us to continue and have approved the establishment of a work center in Canada.

I wish some of you might have come into these countries that have been invaded. I wish you could have visited them before they were invaded and after they were invaded. I wish you might see the trek of thousands of refugees, men and women such as you and I, who had lost everything, families separated, no means of security, and later on man-power herded into concentration camps under forced labor conditions. Those are the things that take away all that makes life worth living, those are the things that we might have an understanding of if we are to really organize America so that we can play our part in this great fight for human rights.

One of the first indications of war arrived one day in an envelope from Germany, sent by mistake, I presume, to us, showing the date on which the changed Social Security Act which had been adopted for the duration of the war would be put into effect. We guessed the day of war from reading that document. It is also true that none of the great democracies had made any preparation to change their social security legislation to meet possible war condition. We still hoped for peace and still loved peace.

Over 50 members of the staff are now gathered together in Montreal with as many more serving in the branch and correspondents' offices in their respective countries. This group is hardly sufficient to study and analyze the increasingly complex and rapidly changing economic and social scene of the world today. We know that the I. L. O. is not in an easy position even though we are now located where we can once more work constructively. Publications are restarting, however, and other activities are getting under way.

In this difficult situation the services of Robert Watt your representative on the Governing Body and of James Wilson our representative in the International Labor Office have been of especial help to us. Nothing counts more today than the sincere

and unselfish support of honest men. We have had our share of that kind of loyalty.

Although the staff is small, we hope to follow with greater care the programmes laid down by you and your colleagues from other countries of the Americas at your meetings and at the Conferences of American States held in Santiago in 1936 and in Havana in 1939.

Much remains to be done in establishing the basic right of freedom of association in American countries and in spreading through the continents a greater measure of economic and social democracy. Social security is assuming increasing importance in many countries and we have been able to assist governments in drafting social security legislation which assures real protection to millions of workers. Early in December, I am going down to Lima, Peru, in order to take part in the dedication of the largest workers' hospital unit in South America. The heads of Social Security agencies in American countries are being invited there to discuss, at the same time, the problems of social security in the Americas. Questions of housing, wages and hours, the right to work, nutrition, and other conditions relating to life and work are also engaging our attention, and we hope to find ways of assisting you in your efforts to find satisfactory solutions for them. The International Labor Office has for more than twenty years been your international research agency. In spite of war it still continues to function.

The International Labor Organization is based, as you know, on the principle of social action through the collaboration of governments, employers and workers on an equal footing. The problem of methods of collaboration is becoming increasingly important in the Americas and in other countries as well. For this reason, a discussion of this question was planned as the agenda for the 1940 International Labour Conference and a report outlining the ways in which employers and workers can take part in determining national social and economic policies was published in the spring. Although the Conference had to be postponed owing to war conditions, the question has lost none of its importance, and we hope to hold a Conference early in 1941.

We have not forgotten and we cannot forget that the world is interdependent, and that the future of the I. L. O. and the future of all of us here is involved in the gallant fight of our friends in Great Britain and in the Dominions against a system which represents the negation of all that you stand for and of all that the I. L. O. has worked for. We hope that the Organization can be of special use in this struggle for freedom. There is no such thing today as a world divided into two hemispheres. We want to do everything possible to bring the world back again into a better whole, without repeating the mistakes of the past and with respect for human values in organizing for the future.

The I. L. O. is based on the organized labour movement. Great sections of this

movement have been smashed as the axis has hammered its way through the peoples of many countries; but great sections of organized labour remain intact, here in the United States and elsewhere. You have only to look toward Great Britain where, with the Battle of Britain in full swing, the trade unions and the Labour Party are playing a major role in the conduct of the country's political and economic life.

The I. L. O. is your organization—the organization of all the men and women banded together in the free trade unions of the world. It is your organization because it was the workers who demanded its establishment at the end of the last war; and because, in the I. L. O., governments share their powers with the free representatives of organized labour and also with the free representatives of organized employers.

We are keeping the I. L. O. machinery in motion. It is for you to tell us now we can best use it in your interest. We are not trying to revive the past—that is impossible and undesirable. We are continuing from the past into the future. The justification for the International Labor Organization lies in its future productiveness and in its usefulness to you and to Member countries. The highest priced goods of mankind are at stake today: human freedom, the dignity of man and good will.

The objective of the I. L. O. is, as you know, the realization of social justice. That same objective is a part of what is at issue in the world today. The definition of social justice varies with the passage of time as our conception of it widens. In a not far distant past, social justice was a term used in speaking of the protection of a weaker class from a stronger class less numerous but economically more powerful. It was part of an attempt to prevent human labour from being treated as merchandise. The present conception of social justice is much broader. Every question must be considered from a social angle as elements of social justice have invaded all parts of national life. It is now becoming clearer not only that the basis of society is mankind, but also that the ultimate objective of society is the realization of conditions under which man can live a full life and work in security and peace, with liberty.

The task of the I. L. O., and your task as a trade union movement, is concerned with working out a democratic pattern for the world of tomorrow. The I. L. O. provides machinery through which the free labour movement of the world can make known and discuss their programmes and policies for reconstruction.

The world belongs to the people. A true democracy is built upon this fact. The I. L. O. is built upon this fact. It is your structure organized for human progress. It is your international platform. We want to make known your demands and help you translate them into action. I ask your continued support of the International Labor Organization and that you use it as an agency for the reconstruction of a peaceful world and for the shaping of a human

democracy which, we pray, will be the outcome of these days of horror and of hope, of sacrifice and of faith.

President Green: We thank Director Winant for his visit with us this morning and for the instructive and inspiring address which he delivered. I know I can assure him for you of the continued support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in the execution of the administrative policies of the International Labor Organization. That great Organization represents the democracy of employers and employees and of the free, democratic nations of the earth. We are conscious of the fact that if the leaders of the totalitarian nations win, the International Labor Organization passes out. It is made up of the representatives of free trade unions, free organizations of employers and representatives of free, democratic governments. Its very life and existence depend upon the maintenance of freedom and of democracy, and we know that trade unions can no more survive in a totalitarian country than can tropical vegetation live in a frigid zone, free democratic trade unions, where free men live, where democratic governments function.

Free trade unions pass out when the blitzkrieg of totalitarian governments enters. The last one to pass out was the free trade union movement of France, and our hearts are sad because of the developments which took place in old free France. We are moved, therefore, to give to this great International Labor Organization devoted service and help, because in doing so we are promoting the cause of democracy and free trade unions throughout the entire world.

I want you to know you are amongst sympathetic friends, Director Winant. We appreciate your address and we ask you again to remain with us as our guest just as long as your work will permit you to stay in this city.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Proposing Barring of Communist Party From Ballot

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor Movement is active in its opposition to communism and the infiltration of Communism into our Communities, State, and Nation; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor believes that the Communist Party does not represent a party out is an agency of a foreign Government whose avowed purpose is the overthrow of our form of Government by force and violence, and whose party objectives are contrary to and opposed to the fundamental democratic principles of the California State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, does hereby go on record favoring the enactment of such laws as may be necessary to outlaw the Communist Party as a political party and to prohibit it from appearing upon the ballot in any State.

Your committee in recommending the adoption of the resolution, believes it essential that its action in so doing be not misunderstood or misconstrued.

Your committee is governed by the conviction that no political party or alleged political party in the United States, under whatever name it may parade, should be permitted a place on the ballot when there is evidence to indicate that such alleged political party is the political agency in the United States of some foreign power, or an agency which is subsidized by some foreign power. Among such agencies is the Communist Party.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: I rise at this time to support the report of the Committee on Resolutions. I believe in the United States, as Brother Citrine says, we should watch what is going on in the other countries. Delegates to this convention should know that only two months

ago the Communist Party in Canada gave out literature to the Canadian armies advising them not to fight the Fascists and Germany, because they said they are our brothers. These Communists work hand in hand with the Fascists and should not be permitted to have a political party in this country; thereby support the resolution which recommends that the Communist Party should not be tolerated in the United States.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SUBJECTS CONTAINED IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

Page 110 Executive Council's
Report

Page 79 Executive Council's
Report

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The part which the committee has considered is a sub-head under the same title, to the part of page 79 of the report on the main subject page 110, under the caption "National Labor Relations Act."

The strenuous efforts made by the American Federation of Labor in the past three years to change the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board and other key personnel, has borne fruit. Two members of the late Board are no longer members thereof. In their places are Doctor William Leiserson and Professor Harry A. Mills.

The history leading up to these changes has been carefully set forth in the reports of the Executive Council and the Resolutions Committee for the years 1937, 1938, 1939, and in the present report of the Executive Council.

It is sufficient to say that the factual matter presented in these reports establishes that shortly after the formation of a dual labor movement, a biased and unfair attitude towards the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates was manifested by the members of the Board, and by their appointed agents in the administration of the Act.

Although the American Federation of Labor at first relied merely on protests to the Board against this prejudice and bias, the situation became so intolerable that no other course was left to the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor than to demand a change in personnel and amendments to the Act. Although these amendments are still before Congress and have not yet been adopted, the submission of them to Congress, the hearings and investigations conducted by various committees, have been productive of considerable reform in the administration of the Act.

Last year, about the time the Congressional hearings were coming to an end, the Board revised and changed a number of fundamental rules improving the administration of the Act. The most fundamental reform however, is the changed personnel, not only in the members of the Board, but in the various key employees and agents of the Board.

The hearings before the various Congressional committees disclosed that the secretarial force was anti-American Federation of Labor, and frequently acted as propagandists for a dual and rival labor movement. We are pleased to report that only a few days ago the Secretary of the Board, several of his assistants, and several lawyers employed by the Board, resigned. Most of those who have already resigned were openly accused of bias. There is room for further housecleaning, and we have every reason to believe that Mr. Leiserson and Mr. Mills will remove those individuals who have perverted the Act in their administration of it.

We have stated before, and we repeat again, that the fundamentals of the National Labor Relations Act are sound and must be preserved. But past experience indicates that these fundamentals can easily be departed from if the personnel of the Board is so disposed. Changes in personnel are not easily brought about. It is necessary therefore to guard the fundamentals of the Act with definite substantive and procedural provisions from which no future Board will be permitted to depart. Therefore, it is necessary that the following basic amendments heretofore proposed by the American Federation of Labor be enacted into law.

1. A change in the unit rule to permit skilled employees and recognized classifications of workers to retain their separate unity if they so desire, similar to the Railway Labor Act.
2. A direct court appeal by labor organizations in representation cases, so as to preclude a recurrence of the Longshoremen's decision, which wiped out all American Federation of Labor Longshoremen's bargaining units on the West Coast.
3. Amendments preserving the integrity of collective bargaining agreements lawfully entered into by bona fide labor organizations.
4. Procedural amendments to eliminate the outrageous delays that jeopardize the organizational gains made by many labor unions.

5. While we have confidence in two members of the present Board, unforeseen events may change the makeup of the Board at any time, and the logical reasons which originally led the American Federation of Labor to favor a five man Board remain unchanged.

The struggle for reform by the American Federation of Labor has not been in vain. With the change in the personnel of the Board we look forward with hope and confidence to a fair, honest and unbiased administration of the National Labor Relations Act. In the efforts of the new members of the Board to administer the Act fairly and honestly, the American Federation of Labor pledges to them its whole-hearted support.

We recommend concurrence in the Executive Council's report.

Delegate Ryan, Longshoremen: As a member of the Resolutions Committee of course I am in favor of the report of the committee, and I am simply taking advantage of this opportunity to advise the delegates to the convention that our international organization may be forced in the very near future to take a step that may cause it to be said that we are interfering with the national defense program.

The employers of the Pacific Coast, known as the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast, under the chairmanship of Mr. Frank Fosie, have taken advantage of a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board some three years ago, that the employees of all of the employers on the Coast, in all ports on the Coast be forced to vote as a unit in their choice of a collective bargaining agency. In addition the Board permitted warehousemen who were not employees of these shipping concerns to vote on this choice of the bargaining agency. So that ports like Tacoma and adjacent ports to Tacoma where all of the employees in the port were enrolled into membership in our international organization were forced to accept the International Longshoremen Warehousemen's Union, an organization affiliated with the C. I. O. as their bargaining agency. This agreement was in effect for two years, expiring September 30, 1939, and was extended month by month for the next twelve months until September, 1940, when the International Longshoremen Warehousemen's Union succeeded in forcing the employers to consent to negotiating an agreement for another two years.

Inasmuch as our International organization backed by the American Federation of Labor, had protested this ruling of the Board and the protest had been in effect for three years without having been acted upon, we were forced to strike in the ports where we represented the entire membership in the ports to prevent the employers from renewing this agreement and disfranchising our membership from their rights, under the National Labor Relations Act.

At the request of the National Defense Committee and other governmental agencies we called off the strike, on the understanding

that the National Labor Relations Board would review the entire Pacific Coast case as soon as the third member of the Board could be appointed. On November 8th the Pacific Coast employers and the officials of the International Longshoremen Warehousemen's Union again resumed negotiations, and the officers of the I. L. W. U. submitted the employers' proposition to a referendum vote of their membership on the Pacific Coast. This recommendation if accepted would bind all Longshoremen on the Pacific, including those ports where we represent them, for another two years under an agreement that is far below the agreement in effect in the Gulf and in the North Atlantic, the wage differential being 15 cents between the Pacific and the North Atlantic, and the working conditions far below the standard set in the North Atlantic.

We have again protested to the National Labor Relations Board against this action of the employers and have served notice on the employers that if they persist in negotiating an agreement in the ports where we have the right to represent the men, that there will be a repetition of the September strike which will also affect the Pacific Coast steamship companies in their operations both in the Gulf and the North Atlantic. We feel that common sense will prevail and that the water front employers of the Pacific Coast will not cause us to jeopardize the national defense program, and that they will wait until the National Labor Relations Board, which now has the third member, has a chance to review the case, as it is our belief that they will order another election on the Pacific Coast and let each port choose their own bargaining agency.

However, if the employers are blind to the best interests of the steamship industry we may be forced to take the action outlined above, and we don't want to be misunderstood by our fellow members of the American Federation of Labor. That is my purpose of making these remarks in connection with the committee's report.

Delegate Elma A. Goodwin, Office Employees Union No. 20798, Los Angeles: I am heartily in accord with the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee on the National Labor Relations Board situation. Our experience in Los Angeles has been a very difficult one. We have appeared in a number of cases before the Board and in each instance it has been impossible for us to get any action. Furthermore, there have been other instances where, through a dual organization in Los Angeles, they have favored it from time to time, even to the extent in the motion picture industry where we started an organization drive, they went so far as to send one of their field organizers out to the motion picture studios, and the field examiner that was sent out there acted practically in the capacity of an organizer.

We sent in a resolution in regard to this same situation, and I have with me today a number of communications that were sent

to us from the Board. Every communication requesting us, after a long delay, to withdraw our case, even though we had offered and given the Board all necessary evidence for prosecution. So we are certainly heartily in accord with anything that might be done in an effort to rectify the conditions that have existed up to this time.

Delegate Killen, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: We note with interest the remarks of the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee and the previous speakers who have addressed the convention on this particular subject. Our international union took action at its last international convention to sustain the National Labor Relations Act. You will note I do not say the Board—to sustain the National Relations Act without amendments. Our International Union opposed amendments to the Act at the 59th convention of this American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, and according to the dictates of our convention is again opposing amendments to the Act at this 60th convention of the Federation in New Orleans.

We feel that there is a fundamental basic principle involved, which dictates that no changes be made in the statements incorporated in that Act, which guarantee to the workers of the United States the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The National Labor Relations Board is the agency set up by that Act to administer the Act, and the matter of procedure and administration rests solely and exclusively with that Board.

I happen to come from the Pacific Coast, and I can verify and substantiate the remarks made by the President of the International Longshoremen's Association.

I am not familiar with the conditions mentioned by the last speaker and I wish to make it plain that our International Union has held no particular brief for the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board or some of its field representatives. Our International Union happens at the moment to be involved in a rather serious dispute with an organization on the part of the C. I. O. at one of our plants on the Pacific Coast, and the matter is in the hands of the Labor Board as to the reinstatement of some workers. And so we have a complaint to register. They have not as yet ruled and we don't know how they are going to rule, but we think we know. I mention it merely to point out that we have our disputes perhaps at times with the National Labor Relations Board, and at times they have ruled in a manner with which we could find no complaint as far as our organization was concerned.

But the fact remains, Mr. President, that all of the complaints and criticisms directed at the National Labor Relations Act and the desire for amendments have been brought about by procedure and methods of administration. The American Federation of Labor has labored earnestly and long to effect some correction in the ad-

ministration of personnel of the Board. That long and earnest effort has been rewarded, first, by the appointment of Mr. Leiserson some months ago, and now by the appointment of Dr. Millis, which carried with it the resignation of some very obnoxious members of the personnel of the Board and its staff.

Now I ask this convention of the American Federation of Labor to show some degree of confidence in the men who have been appointed to the Board, give them the opportunity to effect correction and improvement in the manner in which the National Labor Relations Act is administered, and let us see if we can keep away from a procedure which, in our humble estimation, is dangerous, that of instituting the precedent of amendments to a civil statement, which we feel is vital to the economic welfare of the organized workers in the American Federation of Labor.

I realize that the majority of the delegates of this convention have in the past and perhaps will in the future continue their advocacy of amendments to this Act. However, we cannot sit quietly by and fail to register our protest to such a procedure. We do not wish to exaggerate anything, but we do feel that the potential dangers of amendments to this Act cannot be exaggerated. We feel that our efforts to change personnel have met with favorable results. Statements of confidence have been made on the part of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor as to the qualifications of the new members of the Board. We only ask that we follow up our statements of confidence with a further show of confidence by giving these men the opportunity to effect necessary changes and improvements in the administration and personnel of the Board.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I am not one who is afraid to take a chance on having this law amended for fear that we will make it worse. Reference has been made here to the Railway Labor Act. I happen to know a lot about that Act. I am one of 21 men who constitute the Railway Labor Executives' Association. We got the language in the Railway Labor Act that we wanted. None of the railroad organizations or none of the railroads have complained of the manner in which the Act has been administered, because it is impossible to cheat on it. The language in that Act plainly states that men will be given the right to join an organization of their own choosing. We have got that language in the National Labor Relations Act, but it doesn't mean much. Now the very fact that they have seen fit to change the personnel of the Board is proof of the fact that the law should be amended. It is a fact that if you put better men on the Board they will probably administer any law better than the fellow that administered a bad law before them. But we don't know that those fellows are there forever, and we do know that we have to contend with this law. I cannot see for

the life of me why there is any fear that by amending that law so as to make it so that each plant or craft, whatever it may be, has the right to come before that Board and get the same consideration we now get before the Railway Labor Board, why anyone here feels that that is going to destroy it.

I am one of those in the Metal Trades convention who has been advocating a change in that law ever since the law was passed, and right after it was passed, prior to the time it became effective. The President of the Metal Trades Department will remember I called his attention at that time to the danger of allowing that Board to decide what the unit would be. I happen to represent a rather highly skilled craft, and we were 50 years old last month. I am not one of those people who believes that every time we have a little flurry that the whole labor movement is going to blow up. In fact, the whole history of the movement proves otherwise.

I don't want to take up the time of this convention by going into a long statement of facts, but the facts are that the crafts do not get proper representation before that Board as it has been administered in the past.

I personally know Mr. Leiserson and have a high regard for him. My plea is to go along as it is now for awhile with the personnel of the Board as it is, and we might make it better.

The young lady from Los Angeles mentioned the fact that they were asked to withdraw their cases. Why should any organization or any body of working people be asked to withdraw a case which has been presented in the proper manner by a Board which, by the efforts of this American Federation of Labor, was brought into being, through legislation advocated by this Federation?

I am strongly in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate John C. Taylor, Local Union No. 19708, Toledo, Ohio: I would like to ask the Secretary of the Committee if they have discussed the possibility that any amendments advocated by the Federation might not result in some of the Smith Committee's amendments going through by compromise, and therefore defeating our purpose.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The Committee is unable to determine what any one member of Congress may desire in the way of amendments to prevent any misunderstanding as to the amendments which the American Federation of Labor will sponsor. The committee prepared five specific references to amendments. The committee was of the opinion that whatever action the convention takes upon the committee's report will constitute definite instructions to the officers of the

American Federation of Labor in connection with amendments to the Act.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council: I haven't much hope of adding anything for the purpose of making votes upon this question, because I believe the convention will approve the committee's report. But for the purpose of making a record, and for the purpose of putting some facts into the record of this convention I would like to say a few words in favor of at least one portion of the recommendation, the recommendation to attempt to change the law so that the Labor Board will not be permitted or cannot under the law undertake to change or abrogate contracts. That seems to me to be one of the most important things that this convention could do in this regard. We have a number of cases in Los Angeles that I think are of interest to the labor movement everywhere. The most outstanding one of them is the case where the furniture workers and the upholsterers had joint agreements with some employers and separate agreements with others, all of these agreements having been negotiated in the office of the Labor Council, and all having been in existence for more than five years, and they were strict union closed-shop agreements. When the C. I. O. attempted to capture the furniture workers and the upholsterers' union in that city they got some members in every one of the shops, and in one of the best shops in the city there were 97 woodworkers and 17 upholsterers, and in the Upholsterers' Union some men and some women. There were seven out of that group who announced that they were going to go with the C. I. O., and in accordance with the terms of the contract the unions involved, the Upholsterers and the Carpenters, notified the company that those seven people could not work there any more because they were no longer members of the union, by reason of the fact that they had joined the C. I. O.

It may have been a mistake to have added that last, because the employer, when he let them go, notified them they were being fired in accordance with the terms of the contract, and in view of the fact that they had been notified they had joined the C. I. O. and had been expelled.

The National Labor Relations Board, in spite of the fact that we had a law suit in the local courts and the local courts upheld our contract, said it was a valid contract. The National Labor Relations Board held the contract to be void and ordered the employer to deal exclusively with the C. I. O. and to reinstate the people that had been discharged.

The case has been hanging fire for a good many months, more than two years, and if the employer eventually had to pay the back wages to the people who have been discharged, it will break that employer because he hasn't the money and could not possibly raise it. It amounts to something like \$50,000.00.

I believe that regardless of who may be appointed upon the Board and of who may be appointed by the Board as its field staff, the law itself should prohibit the Board from making such arrangements and such decisions as they made in the Mason Furniture case there. And that is not the only case where the Board abrogated contracts when the unions had 100 per cent of all the employees in the plant.

I think the report of the committee ought to be adopted.

Delegate Nichols, Carpenters: I would like to say that we need an amendment to this Act because it has been used by the C. I. O. to down the American Federation of Labor in the United States. Under the old Board as we all know, they were strictly 100 per cent pro-C. I. O. For example, in the city of New Orleans, in the Todd-Johnson Dry Dock on the west bank of the river, we had almost 100 per cent A. F. of L. organizations there in the Metal Trades Department. The C. I. O. with two members in the yard, were able to get a hearing held in the city of New Orleans. At that hearing it was definitely proven that the American Federation of Labor was in charge and had a tentative agreement signed with the officials of the Todd-Johnson Company.

Nevertheless, that hearing was pigeon-holed in Washington for several months, and finally a second hearing was ordered with almost the same results. It was again pigeon-holed for more than a year and was finally brought up when there were no ships in the docks, and the only workers in the plant were common laborers. An election was held with the result that the common laborers won the election in the C. I. O. in the Todd-Johnson yard, with no mechanics working.

The National Labor Relations Board representatives in our opinion are virtually responsible for that condition existing, so that with changes in membership and prospective changes in the Act itself, we may be able to operate as free A. F. of L. members. Up to date, in the metal trades division in this district the C. I. O. and the Board in Washington, the National Labor Relations Board have strictly controlled the conditions down here.

I am 100 per cent in favor of some kind of an amendment, and I think the committee's report would be fine. This National Labor Relations Board has been so strong in their C. I. O. influence that that influence has been reflected to some extent in our local director of the National Labor Relations Board, who previous to that time had been very much in favor of the A. F. of L. organizations.

We can't do the Act any harm. Let's try to improve it.

President Green: The International Longshoremen's Union, an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, organized the Longshoremen of Tacoma and ports adjoining. They had bargained with

their employers for years, agreements had been negotiated between the American Federation of Labor Longshoremen and the employers. Upon a petition filed by Harry Bridges' organization on the Pacific Coast, the Board decided that all the Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast constituted one collective bargaining unit, and as a result of that decision the loyal American Federation of Labor Longshoremen were forced to be represented in collective bargaining by Harry Bridges, and lost their identity, their right to bargain collectively with their own employers. Is there any representative of a national union that would stand for that? A Government Board compelled your members to be represented by a Communist in bargaining, forcing you into the CIO, a rebel movement. President Ryan and his associates and the balance of us fought against that and protested, because we wanted men to be free, free to choose their own union and be represented by their own union, not be compelled by a Board to be represented by another union.

Now the men are on strike, the contract is expiring and the American Federation of Labor Longshoremen are on strike, striking against the decision of the National Labor Relations Board, striking to be free. We hope that this change in the personnel of the Board will promote a settlement of that controversy. We are willing that Harry Bridges and his group shall represent his own men, but we are opposed to a Government Board compelling American Federation of Labor members to be represented by him in collective bargaining.

Now, that is one thing we are trying to remedy, and that is one of the purposes of this amendment, to make it impossible for this Board or any future Board to make a decision such as the Board made in this Longshoremen's case. Isn't that sense? Aren't we trying to protect our members against any future contingency? Haven't we a right to do that?

Now, let me tell you another thing. The Progressive Miners', an organization of between 100,000 and 200,000, organized 98 per cent of the Island Creek Coal Company in West Virginia, one of the greatest coal producing corporations in this country. Ninety-eight per cent of the employers of that company signed a petition appealing to the Board to recognize the Progressive Miners' Union, an American Federation of Labor union, as their collective bargaining agency. The petition was presented to the Board, sworn to, signed. The Board dismissed it all on the ground that the employees of the employers did not constitute an appropriate bargaining unit. Their decision was that the entire state of West Virginia was the collective bargaining agency.

What is the use of organizing a hundred thousand miners if you cannot represent them in collective bargaining? Suppose you organize a hundred thousand Teamsters, a hundred thousand Longshoremen, a hundred thousand Metal Tradesmen, and then have a Board rob you of the right to represent

them in collective bargaining. Would you stand for that? We spend our money to bring members into the American Federation of Labor and then a Board robs us of that membership.

Now, these are the things we are trying to correct. God knows all of us would give our lives to protect the fundamentals of this Act, because it is our baby. It was the American Federation of Labor that prepared it, supported it and secured its enactment into law; but if one union is fortunate enough to get on so that it does not have much trouble, it must not wrap itself in its own cloak and say "I do not care, even though others unions are being destroyed." I am telling you about these two outstanding, amazing, notorious cases against which we protested with all the vigor at our command. We are guarding well the fundamentals of this Act. We do not know what attitude this Congress will take toward our amendments. We believe we have a President sitting in the White House who will veto a bill which contains destructive amendments.

I wanted to make this brief explanation to you in support of the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Several Chairmen of committees announced meetings of their committees in the Auditorium immediately after the adjournment of the session.

Delegate Schoenberg repeated his invitation to all delegates who understand the German language to meet on the Mezzanine Floor, Roosevelt Hotel, at 8:00 o'clock this evening to hear Mr. Stampfer discuss the conditions in Germany.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Copy of Cable to Mr. Kenaston Twitchell, Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans

Please convey the following message to William Green and Executive Council American Federation of Labor:

"We of British labor trade union movement who believe in moral rearmament send heartiest fraternal greetings to leaders, officers and delegates your great convention now assembled.

"We have observed with gratitude the substantial support which many of your members have already accorded our crusade. Labor and trade union movements of all countries have their origin in divine discontent with the existing social order and their

main appeal has been made on ethical grounds. Moral rearmament is the present day expression of that spirit. Through its acceptance, the noblest cooperative ideals in the life of industry can be realized and the world learn a new conception of the duties of men and nations.

"Labor can give unhappy humanity a new pattern of living and in this colossal task all conflicting interests will find concord and harmony.

"Your convention is meeting at a moment when great sacrifices are being made for ideals of freedom and democracy. You can once again give the lead to millions and encourage them to make a break with the discredited past and set about the task of founding a new world based on God's eternal standards of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. In this we wish you the greatest possible success."

H. H. ELVIN, Ex-Chairman,
Trades Union Congress, General
Secretary, National Union of Clerks

E. VINCENT EVANS, General Secretary, National Association of County Officers.

A. H. FINDLAY, Ex-Chairman,
Trades Union Congress General
Secretary, United Patternmakers.

H. B. GRIEVE, General Secretary, -
Guild of Insurance Officials.

ARTHUR HOLLINS, Member of Parliament; General Secretary, Pottery Workers.

A. F. MAPPIN, General Secretary,
Amalgamated Union of Filemakers.

T. O'BRIEN, General Secretary,
Theatrical and Cinema Workers
Society.

H. FLACK, General Secretary,
National Cutlery Union.

BEN TILLET, Ex-Chairman,
Trades Union Congress Veteran
Leader of the British Labor and
Trades Union Movements.

SIR ROBERT YOUNG, Member of
Parliament.

GEORGE MATHERS, Member of
Parliament, and Scottish Labor
Whip in the House of Commons.

RHYS DAVIES, Member of Parliament; Secretary, National Union
Distributive Workers Approved Society.

FRED MESSER, Member of
Parliament.

R. R. STOKES, Member of
Parliament.

J. BOWMAN, Tyne Organizer,
Amalgamated Engineering Union.

VAL COLEMAN, Secretary,
Nottinghamshire Miners Federation.

J. M. CONNOLLY, Assistant General
Secretary, Boilermakers Iron and
Steel Shipbuilders Union.

ROBERT, GETGOOD, Secretary,
Transport General Workers Union
of Northern Ireland.

F. J. HANCOCK, President,
Midland Miners Federation.

J. HIEATT, Secretary,
Transport General Workers Union
of the West of England.

WILLIAM HOGG, President,
Northumberland Miners Association.

HUGH LEESE, President,
North Staffordshire Miners Federation.

WILLIAM LOCKE, Deputy Lord
Mayor of Newcastle.

J. G. MORGAN, District Organizer,
National Union General Municipal
Workers.

FRANK THRIVES, President,
Sheffield Trades and Labor Council.

W. H. MARTIN, Member of the
London County Council.

New Orleans, La.,
November 25, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates,
American Federation of Labor
Convention.

Brothers:

Our membership wishes to express our appreciation for the co-operation and patronage of your delegates.

We are extremely sorry to know that some of OUR members have been a bit too enthusiastic in their charges, especially for taxi cab fares.

Will you please advise all delegates that cab fare is FORTY CENTS per trip anywhere in the city, one to five passengers. PLEASE DO NOT PAY MORE, and take the number of anyone that tries to get a higher fare and give that number to any of our officers at 110 University Place.

Assuring you that we appreciate your co-operation of the past several weeks and will appreciate any assistance that you may give in helping us eliminate the chiselers within our ranks, we are

Sincerely and Fraternally,

TAXI CAB AND LIVERY DRIVERS LOCAL No. 552.

CHAS. W. PAYTON, President.
Yellow Cabs are 100% UNORGANIZED

Resolution Introduced by Unanimous Consent

Delegate George, National Federation of Post Office Clerks: I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution referring to a bill introduced in the Congress November 19, providing for a reduction in salary of all Government employees.

Unanimous consent was given for the introduction of the resolution and Delegate George submitted the following:

Opposing Reduction In Salary And Lowering of Working Standards For Government Employees

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Leo E. George, William I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; Edward J. Gahner, William J. Gorman, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; Isaac W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, Special Delivery Messengers; Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, James Myles, Henry Bossi, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America; John Locher, Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives a bill (H. R. 10680) for reduction ranging from 10% to 35% in the compensation of all civil officers and employees of the U. S. Government, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has declared that there is no present necessity for reduction of economic or working standards, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has pledged its wholehearted active support to the President, and to every activity looking to the defense of our country, and

WHEREAS, repeated attacks have been and are being made under the false representation of defense necessity upon the working conditions, as well as upon our democratic rights as free workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor register their emphatic disapproval of that part of H. R. 10680, introduced by

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan which provides for reduction in pay of all officers and employees of the U. S. Government, ranging from 10% for those in low pay grades to as high as 35%, and that the Executive Committee and the Legislative Representative of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to vigorously oppose this or any other measure having for its purpose the

reduction of pay, increase of working hours, and any other weakening or lowering of working conditions or economic standards.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

At 12:45 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m., of the same day.

Sixth Day — Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Burger, Costas, Crist, Di Guardo, Edwards, Friedman, Gresty, Higgins, Hood, Kenyon, Koutnik, Krug, Latour, Moffett, Mungoven, Nagel, Nischwitz, Roark, Reid, Southerland, Van Fossan, Wright, Wynn, Younker.

The Chair desires to announce that Secretary of Labor Perkins will be here to address the convention at 3:00 o'clock, so in the meantime we will proceed with the report of the Resolutions Committee.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, may I make an announcement? Immediately upon the conclusion of the address of the Secretary of Labor, the Committee on Organization will meet in Room 201, second floor of this building, and the delegates interested in the calendar industry will please be present.

President Green: Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, will report.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Urging Pardons for Four Imprisoned Harlan Miners

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate W. Warren Smith, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Four Union miners, W. B. Jones, Chester L. Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson were sentenced to serve life imprisonment on charges of conspiracy to murder for alleged participation in the Battle of Evarts, in Harlan County, Kentucky, which occurred on May 5, 1931, when company mine guards armed with Browning rapid-fire guns which were hidden in their automobiles swooped down on a miners' picket line and opened fire without warning or provocation; and,

WHEREAS, Proof of wholesale perjury, intimidation of defense witnesses, and other new evidence secured after the trials so clearly established the innocence of these prisoners that forty-six of the forty-seven living jurors and two of the three trial judges who convicted them signed petitions to the Governor urging pardons; and,

WHEREAS, Assistant United States Attorney-General Brien McMahon, Chief of the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice, who made an official examination of the trial records of the Evarts' Battle cases in connection with the Federal prosecution of the Harlan County coal-operators for conspiring to violate the Wagner Act in 1938, was so firmly convinced by the obvious proof of the complete innocence of the four miners that he wrote a letter on December 31, 1938, to then Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky strongly recommending immediate executive clemency; and,

WHEREAS, The Kentucky Federation of Labor at its annual Conventions, virtually all of its affiliated bodies, many International Union Conventions, hundreds of State and City Federations, thousands of Local Unions, and numerous citizens throughout the Nation have by resolutions, delegations, petitions, and letters, repeatedly urged pardons for the four Harlan miners; and,

WHEREAS, The Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 114, requesting the Governor of Kentucky to grant full and unconditional pardons to all miners convicted in the Evarts' Battle cases; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, reaffirm the actions taken by the Fifty-third Annual Convention and again strongly, but respectfully, urges Governor Keen Johnson of Kentucky to immediately grant Organized Labor's request to pardon these innocent union men, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all officers of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions to strive by all honorable means to effect the release of the four Harlan miners: W. B. Jones, Chester L. Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson, who have now been imprisoned for nearly ten years solely because they dared to organize a Union, dared to strike, and dared to picket in Harlan County, Kentucky.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Creation of A. F. of L. Agency to Publicize Fifth Column Activities

Resolution No. 7—By Central Trades Council, Tucson, Arizona.

WHEREAS, There now exists in our great American democracy various groups and individuals commonly known as the "Fifth Column"; and

WHEREAS, The results of Fifth Column activities have been noted by the downfall of Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway and France, all liberty loving democracies infested and ruined by the boring within activities of the Fifth Column, and

WHEREAS, In certain instances the F. B. I. has been powerless under existing laws to completely rid our home of these termites, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the ideals which it represents is a bulwark of democracy, and

WHEREAS, The members of trades unions comprising said American Federation of Labor by virtue of their employment in key industries throughout our nation are in an advantageous position to take cognizance of un-American and suspicious Fifth Column activities. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor create in conjunction with its publicity bureau an agency which will receive and direct information from its various members regarding Fifth Column activities throughout the nation; that said agency will encourage the receiving of such information; that said agency will cooperate with the F. B. I. where applicable and that said agency will shed the full light of publicity on those organizations, groups and individuals who persist in undermining Democracy's last stand—These Great United States.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor in every convention where the subject has been introduced, has declared its active opposition to all subversive agencies working to influence our trade union movement, or influence citizens of our country. It has likewise opposed any subversive activity which would tend to hamper the government, or undermine its activities at any time.

Your committee however, believes the activities of the American Federation of Labor in connection with subversive activities would not be made more effective by the adoption of the resolution, and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Study of Problems of Migratory and Transient Workers

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Whatever works to the detriment of the humblest of our fellow citizens, slowly and insidiously spreads out and wends its way through our entire workaday world until, in the finality, it reacts against even the highest skilled in our midst, and

WHEREAS, The wealth of a nation is not in gold, it is not in land, it is not in industry, nor in the products of industry, but it is in its people, and any system that de-

pends for its survival upon the degradation of even "the least of these" cannot long persist, and

WHEREAS, One of the gravest problems challenging the most thoughtful of our people today is that of the migratory and transient worker, and

WHEREAS, The development of mechanized farming to a point where, in some aspects, it is practically as specialized as a factory process, has resulted in the interstate migration annually of some 2,000,000 of our citizens, and

WHEREAS, Ranching has become so organized that at certain seasons of the year vast numbers of workers are required, while much of the year but few are needed, and

WHEREAS, Under our present social and economic system the migratory and transient worker is an essential and very important factor in our industrial life, and

WHEREAS, These transitory workers are refugees from insecurity. Most communities can find no real solution for the problem created by them, and a wall of resistance laws is being erected in cities, counties and states, to conserve relief expenditures, and in practically all communities resident requirements determine the material aid or work relief eligibility, and

WHEREAS, The pioneer spirit, always worthwhile, has led these workers because of unemployment or other unfortunate circumstances away from their homes, and many of them have been on the road long enough to have completely lost their resident rights, the local residence bars have closed down behind them, and from self-respecting and self-sufficient citizens they have become unwanted transients; they had hoped to better themselves, but the pioneer spirit so landed throughout history has led them into hopeless confusion and despair, and

WHEREAS, There are indications that the volume of migration is increasing and will continue to increase; the labor standards for such workers are abnormally low; the health safeguards abominable; and the educational opportunities for their children decidedly limited, and there are practically no limitations as to the hours of labor and much of the work is done under piece work conditions, and

WHEREAS, Much of the present condition of the migratory and transient worker is the result of the machine age with all of its complexities, a mechanized development too rapid for personal adjustment, and

WHEREAS, While this is not primarily a problem of the trade union movement, it is of vital importance to all. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommend that all groups within our movement give careful study and thought to any procedure advanced whereby the problem of safeguarding and protecting the social, civic and industrial rights and welfare of the migratory and transient worker may be permanently and satisfactorily solved and these

fellow workers of ours be reestablished into an economically sound community life.

Your committee is in full accord with the objectives sought by the resolution, but in lieu of the resolution recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that every possible study be made of the problem presented by the migratory and transient workers, and that such measures be prepared as will safeguard and protect the social and civic rights of these workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Reduction in Federal Appropriations That Would Lower Employment Standards in Government Service

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the third session of the 76th Congress, a bill known as the Byrd Amendment designed to reduce all Government appropriations except those devoted to National Defense received widespread support in the U. S. Senate, and

WHEREAS, A horizontal reduction in appropriations of 10 percent would have caused a reduction in the salaries of government employees of at least 10 percent and

WHEREAS, Besides the reduction in pay, many socially beneficial services of the Government would have to be terminated if appropriations are cut, as well as the introduction of speed-up tactics in the postal service and

WHEREAS, It was only through the determined efforts of the affiliated unions of post office employees, plus the enthusiastic cooperation of the various state and central labor bodies and local unions that this measure was defeated, and

WHEREAS, The best National Defense is the maintenance of the standards of living of the working people of the United States, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as firmly opposed to any reduction in federal appropriations that would lead to cutting of salaries of Government service employees, elimination of essential services, reduction in personnel, or increasing the number of hours from the basic 40-hour week.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing A. F. of L. Commission to Study An Industrial Mobilization Plan to Safeguard Labor's Interests in Defense Program

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, The menacing spread of the war in Europe with its ever present threat to the economic system upon which the democratic institutions of this country are based has caused the United States to embark upon a huge preparedness program of defense, the implication of which shows that this country despite its genuine pacific intentions, may sooner or later become involved in a struggle for its existence and way of life; and

WHEREAS, The present Industrial Mobilization Plan, which would immediately become effective at the outbreak of such emergency, has been condemned by organized labor for its flagrant infringement of all rights that labor has struggled to attain in the past fifty years of its existence, such infringements due mainly to the fact that the present plan was conceived by military minds who have no understanding of the basic philosophy and ideals of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, although urgently desirous of peace and inflexibly opposed to all wars of aggression, nevertheless yields place to no class, strata, or group in the nation in its patriotism or desire to serve our country when attacked or threatened by force from abroad, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall create a commission to study the question of how labor can be most effective in cooperating in the preparedness program, and still be adequately protected in all its rights and hard won rights, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned commission shall as rapidly as possible bring into being an industrial mobilization plan conceived by labor, which, while recognizing the sacrifices that must necessarily be made in a war economy, will give to labor the utmost protection in its bargaining rights, living standards, and adequate representation on all War Boards.

Your committee is in concurrence with the thoughts expressed in the resolution, that labor's standards should be fully protected in connection with the national defense program.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council are charged with the responsibility of seeing that labor's welfare and its rights are thoroughly protected in connection with the nation's program for defense.

In view of this your committee does not believe it necessary that a separate commission should be set up within the American Federation of Labor for these purposes, and therefore recommends no further action on the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Displacement of American Workers By War Refugees

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, In various industries in Los Angeles and vicinity, and presumably in other places in the United States, there are numerous cases where European aliens have been employed to the exclusion of American citizens, and sometimes American citizens have been laid off in order to make room for these aliens, and

WHEREAS, These aliens have come to America at about the beginning of the present World War under the terms of an agreement made by Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the governments of certain European nations, and

WHEREAS, Despite the Christian purpose for which Secretary of State Hull made this agreement, namely, to provide a refuge for certain peoples who have been driven from their homes, still they are coming to America in violation of the spirit of our immigration restrictions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Sixtieth Annual Convention in the City of New Orleans, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the Secretary of State for the purpose of seeking a cancellation of the refugee Migration Agreement, or failing therein, to seek certain regulations that will prevent the employment of such refugees to the exclusion of American citizens.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing St. Lawrence Seaway Project

Resolution No. 13—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Superior, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The United States and Canada are entering into a united program of National Defense which it is believed should embrace the construction of the St. Lawrence Deep Seaway for both navigation and power advantages, and

WHEREAS, Such a project would make possible the construction of larger vessels

and preparedness materials in a far more protected area, free from coastal attack and destruction. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to act at once to obtain this seaway for us under the defense program and all others in Washington who may be influential or of assistance in getting this matter openly before both the Senate and House of Representatives, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, The American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations be requested to support this movement to obtain the water rights needed by the United States and to construct the same as a self-liquidating project to be paid for out of tolls and power sales, and to be maintained thereafter on a cost of operation basis and with equitable rights to both Canada and the United States.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 14, 20, 27, 35, and 120. These resolutions are as follows:

Urging Respect for Jurisdiction Rights of Established International Unions

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed by granting to its National and International Unions certain jurisdiction and this jurisdiction has been recognized and it is a law of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been a tendency in late years for various National and International and Federal Labor Unions to infringe upon the jurisdiction of other National and International Unions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposed to said infringement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all American Federation of Labor organizers and all National and International Unions be hereby instructed and urged to respect the full jurisdiction of established National and International Unions in order that complete harmony and unity of action may prevail within the ranks of Labor and that the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor see that the members belonging to other National and International organizations, or Federal Labor Unions are turned over to the organizations that have the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor.

Protesting Inclusion of Engineers in Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers Unions

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The employees of the Flour, Feed and Cereal Mills industry have been organized in federal labor unions by and through the American Federation of Labor and such federal labor unions have amongst their membership operating engineers who rightfully belong to and should be members of the stationary locals of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS The craft jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Operating Engineers by the American Federation of Labor is clearly defined and covers all operating engineers employed in the Flour, Feed and Cereal Mills industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all federal labor unions, composed of Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers, who have stationary engineers in their membership, to immediately transfer all such engineers to the various local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Protesting Inclusion of Engineers in Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, In unions organized under federal charters granted by the American Federation of Labor are included members who should hold membership in local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers and

WHEREAS, Frequent requests have been made upon representatives of federal unions that the jurisdictional rights of the International Union of Operating Engineers be recognized and that those of their members, immediately above mentioned, be released to it, and

WHEREAS, Those requests have been ignored and no affirmative action taken with respect to those included members, and

WHEREAS, In many instances where engineers, members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, have been employed and agreements have been consummated by federal unions, strong pressure has been brought upon those engineers to

become members of such federal unions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be recorded as opposing the granting of federal charters where such charters encroach upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That federal unions be directed immediately to release those of their members who, under jurisdictional definition, should hold membership in the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Requesting Observance of Jurisdictional Rights of International Unions By A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed under the principle of craft unionism, and

WHEREAS, It has been and is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize federal locals clustered by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These federal locals admit into membership workers who come under the jurisdiction of established craft unions, and

WHEREAS, In most instances union dues are substantially lower in federal unions than in craft unions, making it difficult for craft unions to compete with federal locals, and

WHEREAS, Paid and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor are actively engaged in encroaching upon craft union's jurisdiction even going so far as to organize plants belonging to the Molders craft union, and signing contracts for a lower rate of wage than exists in signed shops in the same district and circularizing other shops with these lower wage rates thus disturbing conditions in the district and disrupting the harmony which should exist among all workers, members of the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a strong notice to all of their organizers to obey the laws of this Federation, and, that no charters shall be issued to a federal local whose application for a charter unless accompanied by a complete breakdown of all employees and specifying the departments in the shop or plant in any industry listing types of workers employed, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter shall be issued to a federal union which contains employees that rightfully should belong to a National or International Union, unless

within thirty (30) days after said charter is issued, craft union members shall be transferred forthwith to their rightful designated International or National organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizers or others working for the American Federation of Labor be notified that accepting into membership of any person or persons coming under the jurisdiction of any craft union and all present members of federal chartered unions that come within the jurisdiction of craft organizations, be forthwith transferred to said craft organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Organizers be instructed to cooperate with local organizers and business representatives when starting organizing work in any shop, shops or plants, so that proper cooperation in organizing activities can be had for the purpose of organizing all the workers in the proper way and in their proper organization.

Requesting Observance of Jurisdictional Rights of National and International Unions by A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded and has progressed under the principle of craft unionism; and

WHEREAS, It has been and is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize federal locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These federal locals admit into membership workers who come under the jurisdiction of established craft unions; and

WHEREAS, In most instances union dues are substantially lower in federal unions than in craft unions, making it difficult for craft unions to compete with federal locals; and

WHEREAS, Paid and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor are actively engaged in encroaching upon craft unions' jurisdiction even going so far as to organize plants belonging to the Molders craft union, and signing contracts for a lower rate of wage than exists in signed shops in the same district and circularizing other shops with these lower wage rates thus disturbing the harmony which should exist among all workers, members of the American Federation of Labor; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor shall issue a strong notice to all of their organizers to obey the laws of this Federation; and that no charters shall be issued to a

federal local unless application for a charter is accompanied by a complete breakdown of all employees and specifying the departments in the shop, or plant in any industry listing types of workers employed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter shall be issued to a federal union which contains employees that rightfully should belong to a National or International Union, unless within thirty (30) days after said charter is issued, craft union members shall be transferred forthwith to their rightful designated International or National organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizers or others working for the American Federation of Labor be notified that any person or persons accepted into membership coming under the jurisdiction of any craft union and all present members of federal chartered unions, that come within the jurisdiction of craft organizations be forthwith transferred to said craft organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers be instructed to cooperate with local organizers and business representatives when starting organizing work in any shop, shops or plants, so that proper cooperation in organizing activities can be had for the purpose of organizing all the workers in the proper way and in their proper organizations.

Your committee has prepared its report to cover Resolutions Nos. 14, 26, 27, 35 and 126. All these resolutions deal with the general subject of the organizing of Federal Labor Unions and their membership. Some of them state that General Organizers and Volunteer Organizers of the American Federation of Labor have organized into Federal Labor Unions those who properly should be members of the International Unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The statement is made that in some instances in the organizing of Federal Labor Unions the well established jurisdictional rights of International Unions have been disregarded.

Your committee is aware of the difficult problem presented at times in organizing all of the employees of a plant where trade unionism has not previously been well established.

Your committee however, is of the opinion that in a number of instances unnecessary and unwarranted difficulties have been created for affiliated International Unions because of the unvisited zeal of organizers to speedily establish organization in a plant.

Your committee further finds that in instances where all of the employees have been brought into a Federal Labor Union that it is difficult to afterwards assign these to their appropriate International Union.

Your committee therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their utmost care and diligence in the issuing of charters to Fed-

eral Labor Unions, and that they instruct the General and Volunteer Organizers of the A. F. of L. to keep in mind at all times the jurisdictional rights of the affiliated International Unions to the end that the complaints recited in the resolutions will be avoided.

Your committee further recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use their official influence to the end that members of Federal Labor Unions who should properly be members of affiliated International Unions be transferred at the earliest moment possible.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Michael A. O'Gorman, Federal Labor Union No. 18867, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: I disagree with the report of the Resolutions Committee in regard to sending men of particular crafts into other organizations. My reason is that you are going to create more jurisdictional spats which I have sat here and heard so much about lately. When we organized in 1933, you did not have a member in the American Federation of Labor, I believe, that worked in a steel plant. I do not know whether I am right when I say that. Probably we are the only ones in there now. I have telegrams in my brief case of two, three and four hundred words to show where the CIO as recently as four months ago came into our organization and tried to take it over and without any one in authority higher than our own group, we fought it off and we are still members of the American Federation of Labor.

We started off eight years ago with 457 members. Today we have 2,800, and I think at the next convention it will be considerably higher. At the last convention we had 10 delegates; today I come with 24. Quite an improvement—not much, but a little, and we will have still more at the next convention. Please leave us alone, and we do not have to take our hats off to any group when it comes to wages and conditions of work. We are O. K. and better than a whole lot of our regimented groups. I thank you.

Delegate Stevenson, Molders: Having introduced one of these resolutions and being satisfied with the committee's report I did not intend to take the floor. The delegate who has just spoken represents a Federal Labor Union in Philadelphia. I am not sure, but I think it is the Midvale Steel. I want to say to you that the International Molders' Union has always had members in that foundry, and we have complained time and time again because members of our union of many years' standing are compelled to affiliate with this Federal Labor Union in Philadelphia.

We have other reasons for the introducing of the resolution. Right near Philadelphia not very long ago there was a foundry organized into a Federal Labor Union, and we found to our surprise that they listed this as a foundry division of

New Jersey and then put out circulars creating four different wage rates for moulders and core makers, where it has always been the policy of the Molders' Union to have one rate. Our rate in that district was \$1.00 per hour, and the rates set forth in the literature sent out range from 80 cents down to 60 cents. We protested, and that is the reason we introduced this resolution.

I might say to you that our local unions in Philadelphia are complaining to us all of the time of the action of those who are in charge of this Federal Labor Union in the Midvale Steel, because they compel members of the Molders' Union who have been in standing for 25, 30 or 40 years, to practically drop their membership in our organization and join this Federal Labor Union. That is the reason we are complaining and we want this stopped. I think we are entitled to make this complaint. That is general in a good many places with the organizers of the American Federation of Labor.

I appeared before the committee and I told them that some years ago the organizers going into these places, if they found foundry workers, would notify our office before a Federal charter would be granted. But that has not been carried out in the past two years since I have been at the head of the organization. I realize that in some instances we may have to get together on it, but in the instances mentioned, where it is said that no one had an organization in there, let me say that we have always had an organization there. I might tell the brother that just recently we have organized a big steel foundry right in Philadelphia, a place that has been non-union for many years.

Our organization at its recent convention has given me power to put on any number of organizers that may be necessary in any part of the United States and Canada. All we want to know is of any place where there is a chance of bringing about organization, and I assure you that we will have someone in there just as soon as possible.

Delegate Pratt, Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Illinois: I am a member of Refinery Local No. 19119, a Federal Labor Union opposing Resolution No. 27 on the grounds that our charter was granted as a Federal local in 1924. We have built up our membership from fourteen members. We already had a company union. We fought our battles, we fought them hard, we did everything the American Federation of Labor has asked us to do.

In 1938 the American Federation of Labor gave the Operating Engineers the right to organize the refinery workers. Under the reading of that article they would be able to take our local over, and we are opposing that on that ground. Today we have 371 members. We have worked hard and fought to build up an organization that anybody can be proud of, and anybody in the vicinity of East St. Louis

is proud of our local. We have helped every local, craft and otherwise that has ever had a strike, more so than any local in the vicinity of East St. Louis. It is on the records of the East St. Louis Central Trades Council to that effect.

We have worked hard and built up our organization. Now the Operating Engineers come along and say, "We want you." The question in my mind is, do we belong to the Operating Engineers, or does it further complicate the case, so that some day we may have an International Union of Refinery Workers as we had before they went C. I. O. We have stuck and we have worked hard to build it up. Our membership can't feel that we should go into another organization at this time, as complicated as it is today.

Delegate Reisdorf, Federal Labor Union No. 19806: I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee which instructs the officers as speedily as possible to turn over all these members who belong to their respective International Unions or who may cross lines. I am afraid there is going to be renewed demands made on the Federal Labor Unions for a certain number of the members. We have had demands on our Union before and we have fought them off.

I might point out that we have seven locals in our plant today. We have the Machinists, the Electricians, the Steamfitters and what have you, the Engineers and so on. We happen to have a large enough group to constitute at least some kind of organization within the plant, but I can also tell you that an International Union has made demands on us and we have exactly two members belonging to that International Union.

Now I may agree that a craft setup in jurisdictional squabbles in well-defined lines, such as the building trades, may be all right, but I just can't see why two members or one member in a plant should be members of an International Union, when they never even come in and negotiate for them. Also under our seniority setup, the plant setup, if the carpenter or the steamfitter or the electrician does not happen to have any work, where does he go? He goes into the production if his seniority entitles him to a job in the plant. What will you have if you define jurisdictional and International lines too fine? You will have a man belonging to the Carpenters one day and when work gets slack he may be a crane operator or a production worker, and you will have that man jumping around all year and he won't know where he belongs.

I think there was a reason for starting Federal Labor Unions. There were lines that could not be drawn too fine, and I believe that is the reason the American Federation of Labor felt it necessary to charter Federal Labor Unions.

Why, after we have them chartered and functioning so well, why come in here now and disrupt them? If there are enough members and a big enough plant to have any

kind of an organization that they can maintain under that organization I would say well and good, but when you adopt the policy that this fellow strictly speaking belongs in this classification or that one you will have nothing but the unions now in existence broken up, and you will have this contention in the plant. If you are to take these members within the plant and put them strictly within their lines then the rest of the members in the plant will say when work is slack, all right, you take your job and go out because in your line there isn't any work, and we don't care whether you work for that company for 20 or 25 years, and you are going to have that member kicked plenty. He won't want to belong to that International Union, he is going to be the first one to step out, because after all, a man has to make his living first. His union card doesn't do him any good if he doesn't have a job, and I hope the Executive Council will leave us alone as long as we are functioning well and not stepping too much on the toes of the International Unions.

President Green: The Secretary of the Committee wishes to make a brief explanation.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, as the delegates particularly interested did not have a copy of the committee's report in their hands it is natural that they might not thoroughly understand the committee's report. There came before the committee in the resolutions submitted those who favored a certain policy on resolutions definitely opposed to that policy. The committee is aware of the organizing problem that lies ahead of the American Federation of Labor. The Committee was of the opinion that it would be an error, a serious one, for this convention to give the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor what would be equivalent to mandatory instructions.

We believe that the officers of the Federation should be in a position to use their best judgment and their best efforts as each particular case coming to their attention would indicate.

And so the committee, aware of the attitude of International Unions, or some of them at least, aware of the attitude of Federal Labor Unions, instead of recommending mandatory instructions, advise the Council. May I read the language over so that there will be no misunderstanding:

"Your committee therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their utmost care and diligence in the issuing of charters to Federal Labor Unions, and that they instruct the general and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to keep in mind at all times the jurisdictional rights of the affiliated International Unions to the end that the complaints recited in the resolutions will be avoided." Then the general recommendation follows:

"Your committee further recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use their official influence to the end that members of Federal Labor Unions who should properly be members of affiliated International Unions be transferred at the earliest moment possible."

Now that leaves full discretionary power in the hands of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. The adoption of the committee's report is merely advising the officers to keep in mind certain problems that are raised by the resolution on which the committee has made a joint report.

Now I think it is clear, therefore, that no mandatory action is provided for, that the committee believes we must place confidence in the judgment of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the advice given to the officers of the American Federation of Labor in the Committee's report is to use their best influence to see that the complaints recited in the resolution are minimized and avoided as far as possible in the future.

Delegate O'Gorman, Federal Labor Union No. 18387: I just want to clear up in the minds of the delegates here seated what they might have grasped from the speaker that took the floor after me. When he talked of 60 to 80 cents an hour for core makers or molders, he is not speaking of the men who work in the Midvale Company and when he says his rate is \$1.00, we will equal it and even top it in the Midvale Company.

What do I think of craft unions? I will tell you. Just lately they built in my shop four furnaces, very large furnaces, and on the first day the surveyor came in with two men and started to survey the ground. I went down to the one gentleman and I said, "Do you carry a card?" He said, "I am a superintendent, they don't let me in the Union." I said, "How about the other fellow?" And he answered, "He is a superintendent, they don't let him in the organization." I said, "What are they going to do, build a furnace with superintendents?"

Those two men did not appear the next day. But I will tell you one thing that is wrong in your craft unions. When they were putting your new press up this last year and they were putting up a 12-inch pipe line there was a request then as to whether it was a union contractor putting the job up, and let me tell you that there is not an outside job done in that company that is not done by union labor. We are protecting craft unions and we stopped that job because not a man could show a paid-up book except the man at the head of it, and he was working with non-union members. I still say we will top the price set by the craft unions for molders in the Midvale Company at Philadelphia.

President Green: I want to say that we are dealing with this situation brought to

the attention of the convention in a realistic and, we hope, a constructive way. You know we are organized in some industries like steel, in competition with others, and that means that we are compelled to deal with the situation in a practical way.

I want to tell you that I have been very proud of this Midvale Union and the A. O. Smith Union in Milwaukee and others. They have shown a devotion, a loyalty to the American Federation of Labor that has challenged our admiration.

In all that we do and in all the action that will be taken we shall keep in mind the best interests of all. There are no representatives of any national union in this convention who want to destroy and tear up or break down. What we are trying to do is to meet every situation in a broad, big, constructive and common-sense way and that is what we are going to do in the application of our administrative policies and in the report of this committee. I don't want the representatives of these splendid Federal Labor Unions to become unduly alarmed.

Delegate O'Gorman: In view of your clarification of the resolution and in view of the Secretary's words, I approve of the resolution as worded.

President Green: Thank you.

Delegate Stevenson, Molders: I just want to correct a statement. I did not say that the 80-cent rate was around Philadelphia. I said it was in New Jersey, and I also want to know if it is going to be the policy of the American Federation of Labor, where Federal charters are granted, if a member of my organization goes to work there, he has also got to pay dues into the Federal Labor Union. That is what I want to know. That is what is happening in Midvale.

President Green: Brother Stevenson, you take up these questions with us and we will work them out in a very common-sense way.

Delegate Stevenson: We have done a lot of writing about them, Brother Green.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: We will now interrupt the proceedings of the convention for the purpose of carrying out our special order. I wish to announce that our distinguished visitor, the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, is here in the hall and the committee will escort her to the platform.

(The Secretary of Labor was brought to the platform by the escort committee.)

President Green: Our distinguished visitor this afternoon, Secretary of Labor Perkins, comes to us representing the Department of the Government in which each and every one here this afternoon is especially interested. We regard the Department of Labor as the one Department in

the administrative affairs of our Government that is close, very close, to the heart of labor. We are deeply interested in it and it is our sincere and earnest desire to co-operate with the Secretary of Labor, with all those associated with her in the administrative work of the Department of Labor. It might be appropriate for me to point out this afternoon the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Department of Labor and toward the development which might have taken place in the establishment and proper functioning of this splendid Department.

We believe that all of the activities of the Federal Government connected and related with labor and labor activities should be centered directly in the Department of Labor. We are opposed to its dismemberment—absolutely opposed to its dismemberment, and particularly at this time, having in mind the mediation section of the Department of Labor which is close to our heart. We are absolutely opposed to what appears to be encroachment upon the function and administrative work of the mediation section of the Department of Labor by other governmental groups that have been set up.

I wanted to say this in the presence of the distinguished Secretary of Labor who comes to this convention with a message which I know will be helpful, educational and inspiring. We are happy indeed to have the Secretary with us. She responded wholeheartedly and with alacrity to the invitation extended to her to come here and be with us this afternoon. I am happy to present to you the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins.

MISS FRANCES PERKINS

(Secretary of Labor)

President Green and members of the convention—I want first of all to thank you most sincerely for your grateful invitation to come and be a part of the deliberations of this convention, and surely there are a few things that are so interesting to one who holds my position at a convention such as this, where the work of the laboring people and laboring organizations is discussed so freely and so frankly, and the views expressed express the lifelong experiences, as well as moral and economic and social aspirations of all of the American working people.

I want to thank Mr. Green, not only for his very kind invitation, but his very cordial and kind words of introduction. I want to do that particularly because Mr. Green and I have a friendship which has survived even disagreements. However, these were merely disagreements about minor matters, and that is somewhat of a friendship, is it not? We have disagreed about minor matters but never about labor laws and the administration of laws and

the aspirations of organized labor in American life, so I am particularly grateful to him for his expressions, which is of course mutual.

Now, I thought as I came down on the train yesterday about the preparation of the last report of the Department of Labor, which goes to the printer shortly after the first of December, and as I was going over my memoranda and thinking about what I would put into this annual report to Congress, I thought I would sum up not only the routine activities of the purposes and activities of this Department, but thought I would also include matters of constructive interest to the delegates at this convention. The Department of Labor is your Department, for it was created as the result of the recommendations and representations of organized labor in the United States, and it reflects not only your ideals, but the ideals represented by the Congress that shaped that Department, and the Act says that the Department of Labor's purposes shall be to foster and promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States of America and promote opportunities for favorable employment. This is a pretty broad definition of what the Congress and the American working people had in mind when they shaped the Department of Labor. I really believe they had in mind the average working people of America and the providing for them as the Department of Agriculture has for the farmers of America.

We have never quite reached the peak to do as much for the working people as the Department of Agriculture does for the farmers, but we have consistently approached it, and as I ran over my memorandum in writing this report and listed the things that had been accomplished since 1933, I note that the total appropriation to the Labor Department for purposes having to do with labor was \$3,000,000. The rest of the appropriation was used up on immigration and naturalization, and only \$3,000,000 was used to promote the welfare of the wage earners of America.

And then I began to look over our budget report and appropriations and found for this present year we have received and we are spending \$25,000,000 to promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, and that we are asking for \$28,000,000 for the coming year with a good opportunity of getting it. I say that to indicate to you the way in which the Department of Labor is growing and the way the American people and the American Congress have expected the Department of Labor to perform. They expect us to give service to the working people and to study the problems of working people and to study them from an economic point of view with the idea of getting a practical analysis of public opinion, just as the Department of Agriculture studies similar problems for the farmers of America. So I feel this depart-

ment which you founded and your organization founded in 1933 has grown up and become more and more important today to the working people of the United States.

Then I notice from reading your resolutions that you in the American Federation of Labor hold that the welfare of the wage earners of America is a part of the general welfare of the nation—not only to the working people, but to the farmers, the business man, the investor and the housewife, and in improving the working conditions of the labor people we are improving the welfare of all wage earners in the United States. So the progress that has been made in promoting the welfare of the wage earners has resulted in promoting the welfare of the people, and I want to congratulate this organization not only upon its sympathetic attitude, but upon its constructive contribution to American life.

The membership of the Federation of Labor and organized and unorganized workers of America have prospered greatly since October, 1933, because I remember very plainly when I first addressed the American Federation of Labor in Washington, at your annual convention soon after I became Secretary of Labor, and I remember and I suppose I can confess it now, I was afraid to death because I did not know whether or not we could go forward in whole-hearted co-operation between the Government which I represented and organized labor which you represented in the kind of co-operation that I hoped for. I am glad to be able to say today that the co-operation between Government and organized workers has been better than at any other period in the history of the United States.

I do not claim credit for that. I give the credit to you and a man named Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is President of the United States.

Now, millions of jobs have gone to workers during this period since I first spoke to you in 1933. Yes, millions of jobs have gone to the people of the United States with much higher weekly payrolls, greatly increased income to farmers and also greater profits to industry. These things have marked this period of social and labor gains in the working and living conditions of American people.

Economic gains and lasting social gains have been established by the Roosevelt Administration. The Social Security Act has benefited the jobless and insured against poverty in old age and its great benefits will be passed on to our children. We know, too, what the Wage and Hour Act, the Public Contracts Act and the Labor Relations Act have done to benefit wage earners, both organized and unorganized, and will continue to do for their advancement in the years ahead.

We know, likewise, how much housing legislation has improved the living conditions of thousands of our people and what

the Civilian Conservation Corps has done to provide constructive educational work experience to several millions of young men and to add millions of dollars to the national wealth through service rendered in conserving and improving natural resources. The cooperation of American wage earners, through representatives, in planning and developing these reforms and new social services has been invaluable and kept them on a practical base.

The United States Department of Labor, which was created in the interest of all the wage earners in the nation, whether organized or unorganized, has played its part in shaping these policies and representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been constantly consulted and their advice and cooperation gladly given in deciding upon plans for social and economic reforms in the public interest.

Now let's look at the record as to just what the United States Department of Labor has done since 1933 in the interest of the nation's wage earners and in the interest of the people of America as a whole. That record shows a notable achievement in planning and working out programs designed to overcome unemployment. Here are some of the programs which have emanated out of the Department of Labor's continuous study of this problem:

An immediate recommendation was made early in 1933 that there be some quick relief in the way of Federal appropriations to assist the States and localities in meeting the primary relief needs of the people who were then unemployed and had been unemployed for a long time in the emergency of general depression. You know how many jobs that helped and saved from want and from despair.

The recommendation for a program of straight public works, the justification for it, and the basic figures and information came out of the Labor Department. The conception of finding special work for those who could not be absorbed on straight public works also sprang from a meeting of labor leaders, government officers, and others in the Department of Labor early in 1933. You know how much that meant to so many of our people.

The Wagner-Peyser Act, which established well-equipped, free public employment offices, also came from recommendations of the Department of Labor as a method of taking care of the effective placement of persons looking for work where there was work to be had, so reducing the loss and waste of poor placement of the job hunting. You know how successful that agency has been. It has found more than 29,000,000 jobs for those without work.

The Public Contracts Act, which required not over 40 hours and a fair minimum pay on Government contracts in manufacturing sprang out of the recommendations of the Department of Labor, advised by a conference committee of State labor department officials and labor leaders. You know how

that act has aided thousands of workers on government contracts.

The Wage and Hour Act, which was the first effort to establish on a Federal basis a floor to wages and a ceiling to hours grew directly out of the recommendations of the Department of Labor, advised again by a conference of State labor department officials and labor representatives. You know how that act has improved the lot of thousands of under-paid wage earners, and how by reducing hours it made jobs for hundreds and thousands in private industry. This law has been tested. It has been in operation for two years and it has been declared constitutional, and to date four and one-half million dollars of back wages have been collected for the wage earners of the United States. Four and one-half million dollars has been collected for 25,000 wage earners. That is a good deal of money, and that is for people who were earning less than 25 cents an hour, which is the minimum wage scale fixed under the Act. You know what that means to the lowest wage earners. You know what it has done to make work and jobs for thousands by having a minimum of hours fixed by law.

Unemployment compensation, which is an adjustment for the loss of wages due to the accident of unemployment had its origin in the studies and recommendations of the Department of Labor and its advisory committees. You know how much that has meant to men and women who have lost jobs through no fault of their own.

Contributory old-age insurance for the future and Federal Assistance to the States for providing old-age assistance to aged needy persons also came out of the activities of the Department of Labor through the recommendations of the President's Committee, of which I was Chairman. You know how very much that Social Security program has meant to men, women and children all over these United States.

I was glad to hear Mr. Green say it was a part of his principles and part of the principles of this organization to expect the further development of the Department of Labor and expect that everything pertaining to labor should be administered in the Department of Labor, and I agree with that. I believe, too, that proposals in which the working people of America are concerned should be seriously studied by the labor groups of America.

The basic information and recommendations for the development of the C. C. C. had its inception in the Department of Labor. You know how much that has meant to so many young men, to their families, and to the nation.

You haven't the time to listen to all the details of what the Department of Labor—your Department—has done, but I want to review briefly the success of another program on which so many of you have worked with the officials of the Department of Labor and on which we will all put in some more work within the next few weeks.

I refer to the seventh national conference on labor legislation, the first of which I called in 1934. My idea was to enable States to exchange information on labor legislation and, by comparing their experiences, to promote and develop effective laws and efficient administration, and need for which had become apparent to me over a period of thirteen years as Industrial Commissioner of the State of New York. The record shows the following accomplishments as a result of the standards worked out and recommended by the successive conferences since 1934:

The Department of Labor has consistently assisted in and promoted this effort and I ask all of you to stand loyally by the conception that to assist the States in developing good, modern labor laws in one of the important functions of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Workers are protected against sweatshop wages in some occupations by minimum wage laws today in 26 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Puerto Rico. While only 9 States had a 48-hour week law for women in 1933, 25 States have adopted this standard today. In 1933 only 2 States kept children out of hazardous employment until 16 years of age; today 15 States provide this regulation. In 1933 only six States had a law to provide for collection of unpaid wages. Now 16 States have it. The States that have these laws collect a total of several million dollars each year for tens of thousands of workers.

Injured workers in 4 States in 1933 were out of luck: they had no workmen's compensation act. Today, all States but one have a workmen's Compensation Law. Provision for increased benefits has recently appeared in these workmen's compensation laws in 18 States.

Since 1933, 5 States have created a new labor department, 6 States and Hawaii have unified and strengthened their labor departments, 3 States have granted the department rule-making power, and 2 States have enlarged and reorganized their labor department staffs. The strengthening and development of State labor departments and their sympathetic administration is most important.

Twenty-one States today compared to only 2 in 1933 are now actively promoting sound, true apprentice training in cooperation with industry, and labor. These programs, always a community asset, may now provide the basis for training of skilled workers vital to national defense.

Every State has today a free public employment service and an unemployment compensation law. Every State has an old-age assistance law.

All this is a partial record of what has been accomplished by the workers own department for the workers of the United States. It is a record of which we in the United States Department of Labor are proud and I am sure that wage earners will join in the satisfaction that is ours in being

part of a living, vital, progressive Labor Department which serves the interest of the workers and the public interest. Let me say, as I have said before, that the United States Department of Labor is dedicated to the service of the working people of America, and has been and is being administered for their economic advancement and for the promotion of their interests. The Act creating the Department says its purpose "shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment".

As familiar with the workings of the Department know that the mandate has been followed, and today the Department is better supplied with money, with staff, with accumulated knowledge about labor's problems than ever before. A lot of overtime has been put in by people in the Department, but no one in the Department complains of that for we are satisfied and happy to have had our part in the new standards which the working people of the United States enjoy.

The security of a nation depends not only on its physical defenses but on the well being of its people. Anything which contributes to greater health and safety, to proper working conditions and to more adequate standards of living contributes to national defense. It is upon a great and far-reaching program of national defense that we as a nation are now embarked and to which we as a people are committed in full unity.

And I want you to know that the Department of Labor is working in close cooperation with the National defense authorities to prevent injury or death of skilled workers, to prevent loss of work time through sickness, accident or occupational disease, to prevent delays to production schedules which follow accidents and to control, as far as possible, factors making workers physically unfit. To this end I have named eight outstanding industrial safety experts to work with the representatives of labor and industry in the supervision of a program to safeguard the protective man power of the nation engaged in defense program activities.

Industrial accidents annually cause 16,000 deaths and a million and a half disabling injuries with a total production loss of more than a billion man-hours. In a situation calling for uninterrupted output of urgently needed material and equipment this labor wastage, particularly of skilled workers, is a matter of grave concern to all of us with a deep concern in the welfare of wage earners.

Fatigue we note, too, can slow down industrial development. We find that workers on a three-shift basis produce immeasurably better. Whatever the demand gets to be for production in this country, we will find we can increase our per capita aid total production on the basis of shorter working days and shorter working weeks for most people.

That is the best way in which worker and employer can cooperate together for the use of high speed machinery.

The plan we have devised to protect the health and safety of defense production workers recognizes that although State or local safety and health regulations are basically necessary, effective control of labor waste through work disabilities requires safety education, organization, training and stimulation wholly beyond the scope of regulatory laws or rules or codes. While in no sense do these activities supersede the regulatory requirements, the success of the plan is based upon the fact that industry itself through inspiration and example is giving the voluntary service of its technical experts to smaller units operating on government contracts.

In essence, the plan represents the pooling of all accident prevention and industrial health conservation knowledge in which government, management and labor participate and share equally in the benefits. Labor benefits by uninterrupted wages and earnings. Management through uninterrupted and less costly production. The government by assurance of on-time delivery of needed defense materials.

Upon the awarding of a government contract, the plant management will be notified of his general responsibilities to safeguard his production through the inauguration of a safety program and of the availability of a safety specialist in his own community ready and willing to act as his safety adviser. The regional representative of the National Committee, at the same time, will be given the name and location of the contractor and he, in turn, will immediately assign a district or local committee member as a suitable plant contact man.

The plan will be executed by a 24-man committee to be known as the National Committee for the Conservation of Man Power in Defense Industries. The membership will include labor representatives, safety experts from private industry, executives from the national and local safety councils and State officials administering laws relating to safe and healthful work conditions. Appointed as Special Agents of the Department of Labor, these men will serve entirely on a voluntary basis.

Labor has status today as never before, and that status carries with it responsibility, responsibility to wage earners and responsibility to all the people of the United States.

That responsibility calls for the carrying out of all contracts agreed upon.

The responsibility calls for vigilance in the maintenance of high standards so as to thwart influences from dishonest or subversive sources attempting to establish themselves within the labor movement.

That responsibility calls for sincere and conscientious effort to bring about a fair

and honorable adjustment of difference within the labor movement itself.

That responsibility calls for cooperation by labor with employers and with all responsible groups to avoid delays and interruptions—to increase production and efficiency, and to preserve and promote human welfare and labor standards at the same time in the defense program which we as a nation have undertaken.

The months directly ahead demand that the nation's wage earners, employers and all other groups cooperate as never before in the interest of the national well-being and in the interest of national defense. The American Federation of Labor will do its part unselfishly, unstintingly and wholeheartedly. The wage earners of America will join them and all other groups of our beloved country in an old-fashioned Democratic American patriotic effort that we may be prepared to face the world with confidence, to plan and develop here a constantly better society in which the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God becomes a daily reality. The labor movement of the United States of America will contribute to, participate in, and protect this society with all its strength.

President Green: We are grateful to the Secretary of Labor for the most helpful, constructive, and suggestive address which she delivered this afternoon. We are happy indeed in that she found it possible to come to New Orleans and to visit with us, for a short while at least, and deliver this inspiring address. I know I express your feelings, your desires, when I say that I wish very much that she may understand the great heart of the American Federation of Labor more and more. I wish that she may more fully and thoroughly understand the aims and purposes of our great movement. I know she understands them mighty well, but I want her to understand them all better and in a more comprehensive way.

We claim the right to speak for the workers of the nation. I have repeatedly said we cannot willingly share the right to speak for labor with other conflicting, competing, rebel groups, and I want to assure her that if we are extended the widest opportunity possible we will cooperate with her in her Department in a most wonderful and satisfactory way. We thank her again for the message she delivered. We hope she will remain with us as long as possible. We are glad you are here, Madame Secretary, and we hope your visit will be a most pleasant one.

Now, may I announce that tomorrow the National Commander of the American Legion will address our convention. We will all be happy tomorrow when he comes to visit with us.

And in addition, His Grace, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans will address the convention. The Archbishop will speak at about 11:00 o'clock, and the Commander

of the American Legion at about 11:30 o'clock.

I am pleased to announce to the delegates that our very dear friend the Commander of the American Legion, Milo J. Warner, is on the platform. He is not going to speak, but I want to introduce him so you will know him and greet him during his visit here.

Commander Warner arose and acknowledged the introduction of the President.

President Green: I want to announce that the public is invited to attend our sessions tomorrow and listen to the addresses, just as many have done this afternoon.

Now we will resume the regular order of business. Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, will continue the report of that committee.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 137)

This portion of the Executive Council's report relates to the problem of employment relations, and comments upon the care which must be taken to prevent legislation from minimizing or restricting the full application of collective bargaining. The Council says

"We must not however, permit the enlarged field of labor legislation to crowd out collective bargaining or to dominate the activities of organized labor"

The Council further says:

"Labor demands that government agencies charged with the administration of labor legislation, be so organized and staffed that they may serve, not dictate or pervert labor's interests."

As organized labor has been active in shaping the substance of labor legislation, unquestionably it should be represented in the personnel of the boards or commissions created to administer the law, and also upon all advisory councils which may be established.

As labor and management are directly affected by the administration of such legislation, and a public interest is established, advisory councils should be composed of bona fide representatives of labor of management and the public, these representatives should be selected by the group they

represent instead of by the representatives of government.

We have every reason and every right to demand that in every instance where an advisory council is established, that labor representatives be officially designated by the American Federation of Labor and our State Federations and Central Labor Bodies as may be appropriate.

There is a necessity for the services of technically trained experts but their services should be confined to assisting in the preparation of information requiring technical research. We insist that those having the highest of technical acquirements are not for that reason equipped to deal with the human problems arising between employers and employed, and that only those having this practical experience should hold responsible advisory or administrative positions in connection with the administration of labor legislation.

Your committee is also convinced that the Civil Service examination system must be reorganized so that due recognition will be given to the practical experience possessed by many wage earners.

Your committee calls attention to constant changes in Civil Service requirements established by the Federal Civil Service Commission which precludes competent and experienced trade unionists from many positions under the government.

Altogether too frequently those possessing only academic qualifications are given positions which by the very importance of the work requires the employment of those with long and practical experience in such affairs.

We have witnessed the rapid extension of Civil Service requirements which are evidently intended to preclude the employment of trade unionists on the ground that they do not possess academic degrees. This is a tendency which must be overcome if organized labor is to have the representation to which it is entitled, and for which it is fully qualified in the administration of laws affecting labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Taylor, Stenographers' Union, Toledo, Ohio: What I have to say will only take a minute, but I do wish to applaud the report of the committee, particularly in the changing of the Civil Service laws, which put a high premium on economic record, particularly in the conciliation department and perhaps on the National Labor Relations Board for examiners.

In looking over the various qualifications and studying how labor can make it effective, the point I want to make is this: That

the report is good, it is excellent, but what we need is speed, and if there is anything that the Executive Council can do to bring that to the attention of the Civil Service Commission, or to those responsible for it, or to the Labor Department—to Madame Perkins in particular—or to any of the other officials so that the workers will become effective in the administration, I think it will allow the voice of labor to be heard to a greater and greater degree.

Delegate Borchardt: I am very happy that this report has come in, for there has just been announced by the Civil Service Commission an examination for personnel officers. These people are not only to administer personnel but are to train the people who are to train defense workers. I know nothing more vicious than a set of examinations which in its very outset excludes labor experience. In saying this, Mr. President, and in expressing my deep gratitude to the committee for bringing in this report, I want to say that I feel it particularly deeply. In my own case, as in the case of everyone in my organization, we got our college degrees by way of labor, but we got our education in the trade union movement, and we want to know why it is that some people do not realize that when John Dewey, that great philosopher of education gave to us that slogan of learning by doing, why these people who are now setting up examinations disregard even the academic values which should guide them. I hope that something will be done to stop this particular examination which has just been set up for personnel workers. The date of closing was last Friday. It is urgent that that be set aside, and on behalf of my own organization I want to thank you and the committee for bringing this before the American people.

Delegate Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I likewise feel that I should add a word to the endorsement of the committee's report, for the reason that there has been considerable agitation and several resolutions introduced in our convention and passed in the last three or four years in criticism of the Civil Service Commission. I sincerely hope that the officers of the American Federation of Labor will vigorously push this situation.

We had an experience in the State of Indiana just recently where one of our outstanding trade unionists, who it was admitted was one of the best administrators in the United States in one of the Federal departments, the Wage and Hour Division, nevertheless because of the fact that this brother was not a Harvard graduate or a graduate of Princeton or some other university, because of a trick I-Q examination, he could not qualify and was discharged after serving more than a year and doing what was admitted as the best job in the United States in the Wage and Hour Division. He is now out of employment on account of that.

I certainly hope that the officers of this Federation of Labor will vigorously push this campaign to change the thinking of the Civil Service Commission of the United States.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

RESPECT FOR LAW AND PURSUIT OF LAWFUL POLICIES

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 64)

The committee reported jointly upon that section of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Respect for Law and Pursuit of Lawful Policies," and Resolution No. 32, page 242, first day's proceedings, under the caption, "Providing that A. F. of L. be Empowered to Act in Charges of Racketeering Involving Officials of Affiliated Unions."

Resolution No. 32 is as follows:

Proposing That A. F. of L. Be Empowered to Act in Charges of Racketeering Involving Officials of Affiliated Unions

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Blais, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Recent instances of racketeering in a few labor organizations by individuals in high places, who have exploited the labor movement for personal gain and aggrandizement have cast a reflection on the good name of the entire labor movement, and

WHEREAS, These instances have been seized upon by unscrupulous enemies of labor to discredit the cause of trade unionism and hamper its progress, and

WHEREAS, Racketeering provides hostile government officials with a convenient excuse for interfering with the legitimate activities of bona fide trade unions under the guise of prosecuting racketeers, and

WHEREAS, The integrity of the labor movement in the nation demands that it take prompt and effective action to eliminate from its ranks officers found to be corrupt or to have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has hitherto lacked the constitutional authority to take effective action against

affiliated organizations harboring such unscrupulous officers owing to the autonomous powers which such organizations have traditionally enjoyed, and

WHEREAS, It has long been recognized that a formula must be devised which, while preserving the autonomy of affiliated organizations, will enable the American Federation of Labor to remove from its ranks such individuals who degrade the labor movement, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED 1. That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, or any agency authorized by it, have summary power to order the removal by any national or international union affiliated with it or federal local chartered by it, of any officer or officers convicted of any offense involving moral turpitude or conviction of using their official positions in their unions for personal gain. In all cases where such national or international unions or federal locals have failed to do so:

2. That all constitutions of national and international unions affiliated with it and of federal locals chartered by it, contain appropriate provisions for adequate disciplinary action against such of their officers as may be charged with the above acts;

3. That whenever any union fails to institute proceedings in accordance with its constitution against any officers charged with the above acts, the A. F. of L. shall use its full moral force to compel the filing of charges and the holding of a hearing upon the same.

Your committee is in complete accord with that portion of the Executive Council's report which declares that it is our purpose to maintain a high moral standard in our trade union movement, and that we definitely disavow racketeering and gangsterism, and that we want none of it in our movement.

Your committee, without qualification, condemns the action of trade union officials who use their position of trust, confidence and high responsibility, for the purpose of exploiting those whom they represent, the employers and the public, for their private gain.

While such conduct is reprehensible, and in every way injurious to our trade union movement as a whole, we direct attention to the fact that a far larger number of men in the professions, in public life, and in business, have manifested criminal tendencies and been found guilty.

We submit with pride the record of honesty and integrity of the thousands of trade union officials as a whole, either in local, state or national capacity. The record for integrity which they have established with their membership, with public officials and with employers, is a just source of gratification.

Those who make use of instances where trade union officials have erred, for the purpose of condemning the trade union

movement and its leadership as a whole, are guilty of grave social harm.

There is a direct moral responsibility on the part of the trade union movement to keep its ranks free from every tinge of racketeering and gangsterism. The membership of our trade union movement, and the public, have the right to expect that the leaders of labor will be men of unquestioned personal integrity.

Your committee believes that declarations by this convention to be effective, must be accompanied by provisions which will place the American Federation of Labor in a position where the subject under consideration can be dealt with in an effective manner.

In so doing we must keep in mind that the American Federation of Labor is a federation of self-governing national and international unions who have been guaranteed their right to self-government, which includes their election and selection of officers and control over their conduct.

On the other hand the national and international organizations have the power and the obligation to protect the integrity of the trade union movement by the enforcement of disciplinary action which will safeguard the good name of their own organization, and the reputation of the American Federation of Labor.

We direct attention to the well established policy of the American Federation of Labor in connection with the directly affiliated local organizations. Whenever charges have been filed against officers of local and federal labor unions and investigation has shown the charges well founded, such officers have been removed from their positions of trust, and when necessary to maintain the integrity of trade unionism, offending organizations have had their charter annulled.

In lieu of Resolution No. 32, and in support of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be advised to adopt rules or amendments to their constitution or where no provision now prevails embodying appropriate provisions for adequate disciplinary action against any of their officers and/or members who may have been found guilty of betraying the trust reposed in them, or of having used their official position for personal and illegal gain, who have been or may be convicted of such acts which cast discredit upon the labor movement.

That whenever the Executive Council has valid reason to believe that a trade union official is guilty of any such offense, and the National or International Union in question seemingly evades its responsibility, the Executive Council shall be authorized to apply all of its influence to secure such action as will correct the situation.

The foregoing recommendations must not be construed as preventing any person from rehabilitating himself.

Attention is also called to a certain type of gangsterism which requires vigorous action on the part of the trade union movement.

There have been men of ill repute who, in some instances, have succeeded, through stealth and armed force, in securing control of existing local unions, or in organizing new ones, using the power they have acquired for illegal purposes. This is a most difficult evil to eradicate. It calls for the application of every means available.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the committee.

President Green: It appears to me that I can with perfect propriety say just a word at this time. I commend the committee upon the report it prepared upon the subject of racketeering for submission to this convention. We earnestly endeavored, just an opportunity presented itself, to establish and maintain our great American labor movement upon a high and lofty plane. We know that we are a public functioning body, and for that reason we must rely upon the support of a healthy public opinion in order to succeed.

I have wondered many times when we have been especially charged with being derelict in the performance of our duty, whether or not we compare favorably with other organizations and other groups. I think that those who accuse us so vehemently should make proper comparisons. We are organizing workers just as we find them. We are trying to make men better. We are endeavoring to rehabilitate men, and I always understood that that was a part of the religious code. I have never been one of those who believed that because a man may have sinned or made a mistake, he is forever consigned to everlasting punishment.

Now I challenge those who condemn the American Federation of Labor to point out where there is any racketeering in the American Federation of Labor. We know the structural setup of the American Federation of Labor. These Federal Labor Unions, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, are a part of the American Federation of Labor, administered and officered and served by the Federation. There are fifteen hundred of these unions directly chartered, and I declare publicly now that this body of men will compare favorably with any other body of men in American life of the same number. It has ever been our policy to deal vigorously and promptly with any report of attempted racketeering and exploitation in any of our Federal Labor Unions.

Our national and international unions are autonomous bodies, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, governed by their own laws and administered by the officers

of said organizations. We respect the right of the membership of these unions to administer their own affairs. We have never assumed and never will assume dictatorial policies toward national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but with all the power we possess we appeal to the membership of every International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to keep their movement clean, maintain it on a high plane, and if there is any attempt on the part of wrong doers to seek to secure control of their movement, to deal with them vigorously at once. That is the appeal we make to every national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I want to say to you that many of the charges made against us are unfounded and untrue, unjustifiable from every point of view, and I resent it in your name as the representative of the American Federation of Labor.

I am pleased indeed over the report of the committee submitted to the convention this afternoon.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote of the convention.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Proposing Granite Cutters' International Association and Journeymen Stonecutters Association Be Awarded Jurisdiction Over Quarrymen

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Paul A. Givens, P. J. Cullen, Journeymen Stonecutters Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The Quarrymen's International Organization having been torn asunder with internal strife, some Locals being dominated by C. I. O. and some open shop, with a small portion organized under federal charters of the American Federation of Labor, the workers are without any international jurisdiction or service, and

WHEREAS, The quarrymen in dimension stone, marble and granite quarries are closely connected with the Granite Cutters and Journeymen Stone Cutters in the production and fabrication of stone and granite for construction and monumental purposes, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the quarrymen in dimension granite quarries be deemed as under the jurisdiction of The Granite Cutters International Association of America, and the quarrymen in dimension stone and marble quarries be deemed to be under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Stonecutters Association of North America.

No conference having been held under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor between the organizations covered by this resolution, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of bringing together the parties in the dispute, which includes the Blacksmiths, Operating Engineers, General Laborers and International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, and in assisting to effect an amicable adjustment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Transfer of WPA Sewing Projects to Private Companies

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate James A. Taylor. Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Great quantities of clothing are manufactured annually by Works Progress Administration workers in sewing projects, which clothing is distributed among the needy and

WHEREAS, The cost of manufacturing this clothing is much in excess of that which is produced by private industry, notwithstanding the fact the workers under the WPA are receiving wages far below those paid in private employment, and

WHEREAS For a number of years the clothing factories of the United States, because of this condition, have been unable to supply their employees with sufficient work to insure them of an income which would enable them to enjoy the American standard of living, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record to petition our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Senators and Congressmen, to devise ways and means of distributing the manufacture of this line of work to private industries, which are properly equipped, thereby reducing the cost of these commodities to the Government, and which action will automatically relieve the condition of unemployment.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Charging Abuse of Tenets of Certain Religious Sects to Undermine Wage-Hour Standards

Resolution No. 16—By Trades and Labor Assembly, New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has succeeded in establishing wage and working standards recognized and protected by state and national laws, and

WHEREAS, Members of certain religious sects in Tuscarawas and adjacent Counties of our state have been entering our industrial life under guidance of certain employers and counsel of several attorneys who hold double standards toward labor, in a manner designed to oppose and destroy our present social and wage standards by commercializing on their religion, and

WHEREAS, Our country has now an established plan of conscription for military service to which these same religious members will claim "conscientious objection" even though they work with and under the protection of guns and other weapons of violence in industrial strife, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Trades and Labor Assembly of Tuscarawas County, State of Ohio, petition the convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, to acquaint all unions of these unfair conditions and to render us whatever assistance is possible in remedying this condition.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Appointment of Interracial Committee to Investigate Charges of Trade Union Discrimination Against Negro Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Color clauses in constitutions and rituals, and various other forms of discriminations by some international unions, bar workers from membership because of race or color, which divides the workers and destroys the basis of labor solidarity, the only hope of the wage earners, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the color bar in constitutions and rituals of all trade unions, and all forms of prejudice in the labor movement based upon race, color, religion, sex, or nationality; and instruct President William Green, in consultation with the Executive Council, to appoint an Interracial Committee of six, three Negroes and three Whites, members of trade unions, which shall investigate cases of discriminations by trade unions against workers, by barring workers from membership or from employment on jobs, on account of race or color, that may come before it, with a view to making reports

and recommendations to President Green and the Executive Council, for appropriate action toward the elimination and abolition of the color bar and various and sundry forms of discrimination, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Interracial Committee meet in the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington, and organize at some convenient time following this convention, and work out its plans of procedure and methods for dealing with this important question of race and color discrimination in trade unions, and that President Green arrange to have funds provided for travel, maintenance, and stenographic services for the members of the committee when occasion arises for the committee to investigate cases of discrimination involving membership in unions or employment on jobs, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That Interracial Committees be established by city central labor bodies for the investigation of cases of discrimination against workers on account of race or color, involving membership in unions or employment on jobs, and that the said Interracial Committees make reports and recommendations to the city central labor bodies for action toward the discussion, education, and eventual elimination of all forms of race and color discrimination in trade unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green, address letters to national and international unions that have color clauses in their constitutions and rituals, or unions that practice discrimination against Negro workers, requesting and urging that committees be set up in their national conventions for the purpose of conducting investigations and promoting the discussion and education of the membership toward the elimination of the color bar and various forms of discrimination because of race or color.

This resolution calls for the creation of an inter-racial committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor which would investigate instances of racial discrimination.

The American Federation of Labor in past conventions has definitely declared its opposition to racial or religious discrimination within the trade union movement, or within the nation.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that affiliated National and International Unions be requested to give the most sincere consideration to policies which will assist to eliminate any tendency to discriminate against workmen because of race, color, or creed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention—I want to make a few remarks on the resolution before the convention. The purpose of this resolution is to bring before the delegates the question of discrimination in the trade unions against workers on account

of race or color. I am sure every delegate in this convention is agreed that the primary purpose of all workers is the protection and advancement of their own economic interests. I think it is also agreed that experience has shown that organization, bona fide labor organization is the best method for the attainment of that objective. Therefore, labor conventions should have as their main business the extension of the field of organization among varied groups of workers by securing a larger number of workers to become members of the various national and international unions, as well as to become a part of the Federal Labor organizations.

Now, in order to do this it is important to remove the barriers that exist. Some progress is being made by the Federation in removing jurisdictional barriers in the furtherance of organization, but we have yet to make a realistic approach to the question of racial barriers in the trade unions.

I want to give the convention some idea of the extent of the victimization of Negro workers by virtue of the existence of the color bar in the constitutions of various national and international unions and by other subtle and indirect forms of discrimination. For instance, we have the white and colored firemen in the railroad industry. The white firemen are members of a standard railroad union. That standard railroad union possesses the bargaining rights for the negotiation of agreements for all of the firemen. The Negro firemen are not permitted to become members of the organization. They have no one to represent them either in the settlement of grievances or claims or in the determination of conditions of work or hours of work, through the adoption of agreements. In other words, we have a condition whereby certain trade unions get the benefit of the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, but deny those benefits to groups of workers because of race and color. In fact, we have a situation whereby the trade unions provide economic citizenship for the white workers under which these white workers possess certain definite rights—the right to vote, the right to a voice in the determination of the conditions of work in the industry, but those rights are denied to the black workers. I consider that as an invasion of the constitutional rights of the Negro workers. I don't believe that the United States Supreme Court would uphold a trade union that is the beneficiary of federal legislation that grants certain definite benefits and privileges to the white workers in that Union and yet denies those benefits to other workers because of race or color.

It seems to me, delegates, that we have a basic question of democracy here. Certainly we want to maintain all legislation that gives to the workers definite rights such as collective bargaining, the selection and designation of their own representatives, the right to join a union of their own choosing.

This right is possessed by the white workers in the railroad industry among the firemen and among other forces, but it is not possessed by the Negro workers. In other words, the Negro worker hasn't got the right

to join a union of his own choosing, as a fireman, as a freight handler, and in various other crafts and classes of work. Therefore, something must be done about this question of getting for the Negro workers the same identical rights that are possessed by the white workers.

It seems to the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that there is a definite and grave responsibility upon the American Federation of Labor to see to it that not only should the rights of the majority be protected, but that the rights of the minority should also be protected. Under the Railway Labor Act and the National Labor Relations Act, where a majority of a group of workers in a given industry or craft or class combine themselves together to form an organization, that majority have the right to negotiate all of the agreements. Now, when there is a color bar in the constitution of the organization that possesses the collective bargaining rights, that color bar is excluding workers on account of color and race from the enjoyment of the privileges possessed by the white workers.

This is undoubtedly one of the most important problems that this convention can deal with, because we are talking about democracy, we are talking about democratic tradition, but according to the operation of some of our trade unions we mean democratic rights and privileges for white workers only.

Now it is well to inquire as to the basis of this situation. I know that a large number of delegates believe in justice and fair play for the Negro workers, but there is a prevailing philosophy and psychology among a large number of white workers, and also among some of the leaders of the trade unions that Negroes are different and inferior. Now that is at the foundation of the exclusion of Negro workers and their membership in a large number of the Unions. In other words, the trade unions to a great extent have taken over uncritically, without examination, the capitalistic, imperialistic idea of the inferiority of the darker races and they have brought that notion into the trade union movement. They say that Negroes ought not to be members of the organization, not because they are not workers, not because they are not competent craftsmen, but because of race or color. In other words, they wave aside all of the pretense of democracy and of liberalization and cater to this idea of racial inferiority.

The world-wide and internationally known anthropologists and scientists have explored the myth of racial inferiority. They have relegated that myth to the sea of oblivion. There is no such thing as an inferior race, there is no such thing as a superior race. In fact, all races are mixed as a result of commercial activities and the advance of science and transportation.

Consequently, when workers are laboring under the idea that one group is inferior to the other, they are simply carrying for-

ward a very profound and dangerous fallacy. For instance, we have an example of this right here in New Orleans. When the convention started the delegates from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were approached by a local body composed of Negro delegates. They were delegates here from New Orleans in the local unions, and they said to us, "Now before this convention was called all of the various unions in New Orleans contributed to a common fund for the entertainment of the delegates at this convention, and all other Negro unions contributed to this fund." When the time for the convention came a committee of Negroes was appointed and that committee was told to provide entertainment for the Negro delegates. A certain amount of money was appropriated for this entertainment, and they wanted to know from Brother Webster and myself whether we would participate in this entertainment and whether we would take part in the general activities. We told them no, we would not participate in any Jim Crow activities for the entertainment of Negro delegates, not because we wanted to insult them, but because we have a basic principle to uphold, and that is the principle of racial equality. For the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to participate in a Jim Crow entertainment proposition would simply be accepting and acquiescing in the doctrine of racial inferiority. There wasn't any reason for a separate committee, but that grows out of the idea that Negro workers are different and that they are inferior, and that they should be given different treatment and inferior treatment.

We have had in New Orleans a convention of the Longshoreman's Union, Joe Ryan's union. All of the workers in that organization met together. They had their entertainment together. There was no separation. Therefore, you see that this policy of attempting to impose upon the Negro workers a different kind of treatment grows out of a definite and serious misunderstanding of the real foundation of our modern social organization.

We have also, as another example of the idea that Negro workers are different, white and colored freight handlers. We have the white freight handlers in an organization that claims jurisdiction over them, but we have colored freight handlers separated from them. Now the colored freight handlers are doing the same work of the white freight handlers, but they are not permitted to join the same organization. They pay certain dues to the international organization for representation, but they have no vote, they have no voice in the affairs of the organization that claims jurisdiction over them.

I cannot believe that the President of this Federation or the Resolutions Committee or the Executive Council will agree to any such situation as that. I do not believe that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor will agree to one group of workers being denied the right of

other groups of workers where they are performing the same type of work, and that is the situation.

So, my friends, and delegates, we introduced this resolution to set up this machinery for the purpose of exploring the question of discrimination against Negro workers. We have had some kind of a committee of this nature appointed by President Green once before. They studied the question of discrimination to some extent, but it did not go far enough. Now we think the time has come when there should be some kind of militant machinery to go into this question of race discrimination.

For instance, I might refer to something that happened in Tampa, Florida, and I think President Green knows something about this. Negro workers were in the ship yards working at the various trades, but when the union got a closed shop in Tampa shipbuilding yards Negro workers were eliminated, put out of the jobs, and the thing went so far that some of the Negro workers who were rather militant fought this condition vigorously, and the Klu Klux Klan burned the fiery cross in front of their homes. In other words, there seemed to have been a tie-up between the Klu Klux Klan in Tampa, Florida, and certain leaders of the American Federation of Labor there. That is a matter that can be verified. As a matter of fact, it is a notorious, flagrant and indefensible condition that has victimized the Negro workers of Tampa, Florida.

The leaders of the various International Unions that are party to this situation say that they can't do anything about it, that the Southern white workers are responsible for it and that they cannot control the Southern white workers. Well, we are down here in the South in New Orleans, and I think we had just as well start here on a program of educating the Southern white workers, because the Southern white workers are in the midst of a fight themselves. Thousands and millions of them are in poverty and ignorance and superstition. The only difference between a black worker and a white worker in the South is the color of the skin, but the color of the skin is not synonymous of ability of character or work. Southern white workers are victims of exploitation, just like the black workers of the South, and they have not yet realized that unity in the labor movement between the black and the white workers is the only remedy for this exploitation.

I think the leaders of the trade union movement of the South face a challenge to develop a new type of statesmanship. This is no wholesale indictment of all of the Southern white workers, not at all, because the record of many of these Southern white workers and leaders will show that they are men of character, ability and courage, men of resourcefulness. But not enough education has been carried on

among the rank and file and not enough militancy has been exemplified to meet this racial question among the workers in the South.

Therefore, I think it is the responsibility of this convention to take some definite position on this matter of discrimination in the unions against the workers on account of race or color.

In deference to a large number of the trade unions I want to say that we have a good number of trade unions that accept Negro workers—the Teamsters' Union and the Ladies Garment Workers' organization, the Cigar Makers, the Hod Carriers, the Bricklayers. For instance, right here in New Orleans the Bricklayers local is controlled by Negroes. They have a Negro president, a Negro secretary-treasurer, and a Negro business agent of the Bricklayers' Union in New Orleans, and this Bricklayers' Union has been responsible for building practically all of the commercial brick buildings in this city. The same thing is true of the Plasterers' Union.

This shows that Negroes do want to organize, they do want to come into the Unions, they want to take a part in the advancement of the cause of labor, and they have the ability, they have the intention and the character. But unfortunately, in a good number of the unions they are not given the opportunity. And so we think something should be done besides a mere perfunctory statement on this matter. I do not say that in criticism of the spirit of the Resolutions Committee. I think the Resolutions Committee means well and I have absolutely no criticism of their heart and their spirit and their intention. I believe they are concerned about improving the lot of the Negro workers so far as they understand it. But we have from year to year made perfunctory statements about this question, we have made generalizations about it, but we have done nothing definite, we have done nothing specific, we have done nothing constructive. There ought to be some long-range program of education whereby the workers could get the proper information and knowledge as to why they should join hands with the Negro workers in the various unions for the common improvement of all.

I think when that is done the white workers of the South will wake up, they will be concerned about their interests and they will see that their interests cannot be protected as long as one black worker is victimized, that really the main and basic program by which the conditions of the workers of the South will be improved will be when one worker realizes that he is not free until all workers are free.

So my delegate friends and Mr. President, I want to say that we have before us a very important question of democracy. I believe this convention wants to maintain the principles of democracy. We talk about the National Labor Relations Act and we say we don't want it to injure a worker of the American Federation of Labor. But here you have trade unions that are beneficiaries of this act deny-

ing the Negro workers membership in their unions and thereby preventing the Negro workers from receiving and securing employment.

It is a notorious fact that under the national defense setup thousands of Negro workers apply to the various industries for jobs. They are citizens, they pay taxes, and yet they are turned away. The employer tells them that the unions control the job, and they ask him if he has a union card. If the Negro worker says no they tell him he can't work there. When the Negro worker goes to the union and says he wants a union card because the employer says he can't get a job unless he has a union card, the union says, "Have you got a job?" And the Negro worker says, "No, I haven't got a job, that is what I want and that is why I am coming here, for a union card." The union says, "Until you get a job you cannot get a union card." Consequently they are caught between this nether millstone. If the worker does not have a union he cannot have a job, and if he does not have a job he cannot have a union card. Therefore, the situation is a vicious circle.

Brothers and sisters, this is a serious proposition. Millions of Negro workers are greatly concerned about this matter because it involves employment, it involves life itself, and something must be done about it.

We are only asking for the right to join the union, that is all. They are only asking for the right to participate in the democratic process of the determination of their wages and working conditions and the rules under which they shall labor. That is all they really want, and it won't do for the trade union movement, which ought to be the bulwark of democracy and which ought to maintain the traditions of democracy to say no, you cannot participate in our organization, not because you are not competent, not because you are not worth-while, but because you are colored, because you are not white.

So, my dear delegates, I hope that you will give some serious consideration to this matter. I am sure that President Green is concerned about it. I know that he feels strongly about this matter of preventing the Negroes from playing their part in various unions, and no doubt a large number of the other delegates feel the same way. But they don't seem to have the courage. There are a number of our people among the delegates who do not have the courage to face this question. They think it is too serious, too dangerous and too delicate, but it must be faced.

I hope this convention at this time will undertake to meet this matter realistically and not evade it, not dodge it, not run around it, but realize that it is here and that something has to be done about it sooner or later.

The Negro workers are ready to cooperate in helping to bring about a constructive, a sound, substantial and basic solution of this question. When that is done you will have the cooperation of 15,000,000 Negroes in America. They represent a whole lot of pow-

er, they represent a whole lot of strength, but when they are not in the movement, when they are alienated, they also represent a whole lot of power against it.

The delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are trying to win over the Negro workers of America to a realization of the fact that they belong in this organization. They are beginning to see it in that way, but when they are elbowed aside and told they are not wanted, they feel rather different about it.

So, members of the Resolutions Committee, I hope that you may reconsider this matter. I know that you will want to follow the precedent of the past, that you are afraid to make a departure from the old traditions, but we require new methods of procedure now and a new attitude. I hope you will be able to see that fact and attempt to meet the issue because of its magnitude and because of the fact that when you do not meet it your organization lays itself open to the charge of violating all traditions of democracy, the principles and ideals and philosophy on which the trade union movement stands and ought to stand.

Thank you.

The motion to accept the committee's report was adopted.

Requesting Appointment of Negro Labor Organizers

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, There are millions of workers, black and white, that are unorganized, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, in New Orleans, go on record in favor of the appointment of paid Negro labor organizers to work as a part of the staff of the A. F. of L. organizers, out of the headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor for consideration in connection with the appointing of organizers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Integration of Negroes Into the Armed Forces of the United States

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Negroes have a record of unquestioned loyalty to America, and matchless fighting ability as soldiers in every war our country has engaged in, from Bunker

Hill in the war of Independence to Flanders Field, in the last World War, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention in New Orleans, assembled, go on record, in view of the impending peril to our country by the totalitarian dictatorships, and the need for national unity and complete and adequate national defense, for the integration of Negroes into all of the armed forces of the Nation, including the army, navy, and air corps service as officers on a basis of qualifications, and in technical, skilled, and professional services in the combat departments, and also on jobs where war munitions and equipment are manufactured and government ships of war, or of any kind, are built, on a basis of equality with all other American citizens.

Your committee in reporting on the resolution calls attention to the heroic part played by negroes from the period of the American revolution to the last war in which our country was engaged. Their record of bravery, loyalty and patriotism is a tribute to the part they have played as citizens.

Your committee believes that the record of the colored race justifies them to the same consideration given to every other citizen in connection with the present program for national defense.

This equality between the races in our country is already largely recognized in the manufacturing industries.

The resolution makes specific reference to military service and military organization. We believe that this is the province of those authorities charged with the conduct of military activities, and that we should not attempt to interfere with such policy unless there developed evidence of racial discrimination.

For these reasons we recommend the committee's statement in lieu of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Invasion of Ethiopia

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Sovereignty and independence of the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia has been utterly and wantonly destroyed by the ruthless aggression of Fascist Italy, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 60th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in New Orleans, go on record as reaffirming its condemnation of the invasion of Abyssinia by Dictator, Mussolini, and demand the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of Ethiopia.

The substance of this resolution has been introduced into every convention of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor since Italy invaded Ethiopia.

Your committee believes that there is justification for the continued introduction of resolutions covering the subject, for it is not advisable that the trade union movement forget the international crime which was committed by Italy.

Your committee ventures the opinion that had the parliamentary governed countries of the world made the protest which Italy's action justified, we might have been spared the application of the dictator's doctrine of force, that armed might makes right.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Discriminatory Regulations Depriving Negroes Right of Vote in Primaries

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, White primaries are an ingenious device to disfranchise Negro citizens and seek to circumvent and nullify the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution granting Negroes the right of suffrage. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the White Primaries as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, and call upon the national, international, and federal unions to support judicial and legislative action against this political evil wherever it exists.

Your committee is of the conviction that all citizens, regardless of race or color, should be given the right of participation in the primaries.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that the subject of primaries is a matter of state legislation and state regulation.

Your committee therefore recommends that State Federations of Labor be urged to work for the elimination of any discrimination which may exist under state laws discriminating against any citizens in connection with the primaries.

Your committee offers its report in lieu of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Anti-Lynching Bills

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Some 5,000 persons, or more, black and white, male and female, have been lynched in the last 60 or more years, and over a half dozen Negroes have been lynched this year, 1940, and hundreds of Negroes and poor Whites have been brutally flogged and driven from their homes by Klu Klux Klansmen and other lawless mobs, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as endorsing the Wagner, Van Nuys, Capper Anti-Lynching Bill, and condemn the undemocratic filibuster that is used by a small clique of Senators to prevent this Bill from coming to a vote on the floor of the Senate, and also instruct President Green to send copies of this resolution to all of the members of the Senate.

In connection with Resolution No. 22, your committee calls attention to the fact that many amendments have already been made in the Senate to the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper Anti-Lynching Bill, some of these amendments being intended to destroy the purpose of the Bill.

Your committee is not in a position to endorse the Bill as it now reads, and the many amendments which have been offered, to some of which this convention would unquestionably be opposed.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that this convention endorse the principle of an anti-lynching law, and that the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give their support to legislative measures which will bring an adequate anti-lynching law into existence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Poll Tax

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Eight states in the Nation still have the archaic and undemocratic system of the poll tax which disfranchises both Negroes and poor Whites, thereby nullifying the political power of the workers in these southern states, and making a mockery of American democracy, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the poll tax and support the Geyer Poll Tax Bill, and instruct President Green to send copies of this resolution to the members of the House and Senate, for the enactment of the anti-poll tax bill.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support of Britain in European War

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The brave and heroic British workers are waging a courageous and telling battle against ruthless Nazism to save British democracy, whose collapse and destruction would constitute a grave threat to American democracy and modern civilization as we know it; while we have no illusions about British imperialism whose history has been one of brutal oppression and betrayal of the weaker peoples, Great Britain, in this conflict, is nobly bearing the torch of civilization and liberty, and needs support, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New Orleans, go on record as condemning the attack of the Axis Powers upon Britain, and urge vigorous and effective American support of the cause of Britain, but to keep out of the war.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commending Former Postmaster General James A. Farley

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Flinn, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, Honorable James A. Farley held the position of Postmaster General for seven and one-half years until his resignation on August 31, 1940, and

WHEREAS, During the period of his incumbency in that office he maintained a consistent progressive and humane attitude in all personnel relationships, recognizing and treating with organizations of employees with fairness, and

WHEREAS, His administration of the Post Office Department has been outstanding in that postal service has been extended and improved, hours of labor have been reduced and many improvements made in

working conditions, and at the same time the operating deficit in the Post Office Department has been eliminated, thus demonstrating the practical benefit of a humane labor policy, and

WHEREAS, His official and personal acts as the head of the postal administration have won for him the friendship and the highest regard and respect of all postal employees, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend to Honorable James A. Farley its appreciation for his liberal and humane labor policy in his administration of the Post Office Department and its congratulations upon the outstanding record of that Department under his guidance.

Your committee notes with approval the desire of the introducers of the resolution that this convention should acknowledge the splendid services and cooperation with the Postal Employees which was given by Postmaster General James Farley.

We are in hearty accord with the sentiments expressed in the resolution, and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Disapproving Appointment of Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Michael T. Flinn, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Joseph I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its sixtieth annual convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing National Committee on Fire Defense

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, World conditions have made necessary the strengthening of the home defenses of America, so that we shall not be found unprepared in the event of an attack, and

WHEREAS, The course of the war now in progress in Europe has clearly demonstrated that in modern warfare the Fire Service, comprising the fire departments of cities, towns and villages, is a highly important part of national defense, and must perform a vital service in connection with protecting the civilian populations, as well as properties and businesses, from the ravages of incendiary fires, and

WHEREAS, The Fire Service is also recognized as being a vital part of a nation's defense in protecting the defense industries of the nation from damage and destruction by fires and explosions, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has already appointed a National Defense Advisory Commission to plan for and supervise the defense measures necessary to protect the United States from threat of foreign attack, and

WHEREAS, In order that the government of the United States may have available the best knowledge that it is possible to secure concerning fire fighting and fire protection, so that the nation's defenses from incendiary as well as ordinary fires may be as strong as it is possible to make them, the International Association of Fire Fighters has requested the President of the United States to set up a National Committee for the purpose of studying and settling up the proper methods for defense by the Fire Service of the country, in this time of national emergency, in order that the populations and the industries of the country may be properly protected, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, do hereby endorse wholeheartedly the request of the International Association of Fire Fighters for such national committee on fire defense, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention, do hereby instruct the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action in support of the efforts of the International Association of Fire Fighters to secure the appointment of such National Committee.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Program for Conservation of Timber Lands

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate O. G. Wright, New Mexico State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The superstructure of civilization is based on the proper combination of raw material and labor, and

WHEREAS, One-third of the land in the United States is forest land, the chief use of which is for the production of forest products, the harvesting and manufacture of which supports between five and six million people in the Nation, and about seven thousand and five hundred people in the State of New Mexico, and

WHEREAS, The timber stand on those forest lands can be increased, even through use, by correct management, and

WHEREAS, The full development and perpetuation of all forest resources is necessary for the defense, security and general public welfare, and

WHEREAS, A greater supply of timber will increase and stabilize employment in the protection, harvesting, manufacture and transportation of wood products, thereby furnishing added employment and higher standards of living for all allied trades, and

WHEREAS, These and many other benefits to Labor, such as economical source of recreation for workers, etc., are directly supplied by forested lands, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the New Mexico State Federation of Labor, in regular meeting assembled, urge a program which will bring about protection, development and proper use of all forested lands, and restoration of depleted forest lands so as to produce a more abundant supply of raw material. For public lands, this should include sufficient public financing for adequate protection and proper administration. For private lands, there should be Federal or State cooperation in protecting them from fire, insects and indiscriminate cutting; but if this fails to accomplish the desired results then there should be State or Federal control and, be it further

RESOLVED, That New Mexico's State Legislature Congressional Delegation and Governor be urgently requested to investigate the facts and work for legislation necessary to bring about such a program and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to the American Federation of Labor so as to inform them of our recommendations in this matter with the request that the 1940 American Federation of Labor Committee on Resolutions recommend to the 1940 A. F. of L. Convention the adoption of appropriate action in this regard to assure the several States affected of the proper protection.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that it keep informed of

developments in the State of New Mexico, relative to the protection, harvesting, manufacture, and transportation of wood products, and render such services as it can to the New Mexico State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requiring Consultation by A. F. of L. with International Affiliates Before Former Sponsors Legislation Affecting Membership of Latter

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officers or its Social Security Committee have had Senator Wagner and Congressman McCormack introduce identical bills in the Senate and House of Representatives, the bills being known as S. 4269 and H. R. 10384, and having for their purpose the extension of the Social Security Law to cover a number of employees not now covered by the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Included in this group are the employees of State, County and Municipal governments or political subdivisions thereof, and

WHEREAS, The majority of employees employed by State, County and Municipal governments are covered by pension and retirement systems that have been in operation many years, and

WHEREAS, The passage of the proposed bills S. 4269 and H. R. 10384 would place these employees under the Social Security Law, and

WHEREAS, The employees now covered by pension and retirement systems are certain that the passage of the proposed bills will jeopardize their present pension and retirement systems, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the introduction of these bills none of the affiliated groups of the American Federation of Labor were consulted relative to whether or not they wanted their members included in the proposed bills, and

WHEREAS, This has brought about a serious problem for several international unions because many members have complained that the American Federation of Labor, in sponsoring the proposed bills to extend Social Security, has taken action which will ultimately result in their present pension and retirement provisions being taken from them if such bills are passed, and

WHEREAS, In order to prevent any such condemnation in the future, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this, the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as being opposed to any legislation being sponsored by the American Federation of Labor

and introduced into Congress when such legislation affects the majority of the members of any affiliated international union, without first consulting the officers of such international unions affected.

Your committee is of the belief that whenever legislation is prepared by the American Federation of Labor for introduction into Congress, which would have a bearing upon the interests of any of the affiliated international unions, that these unions should be notified and have an opportunity, whenever possible, of discussing the provisions of the proposed legislation, with the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee offers this report in lieu of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees Be Permitted to Appear Before Congress

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 36 and 163. The resolutions are as follows:

Application of Molders for Change of Title to International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, it was decided to change the name to International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, and

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1939, in revoking the charter of the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and ordering its membership to affiliate with the Molders' Union, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor and Metal Trades Department recognize the change in name and also grant jurisdiction that was formerly covered by the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees to the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Proposing A. F. of L. Approval of Molders' Change of Title

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate John F. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, it was decided to change the name to International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, and

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1939, in revoking the charter of the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, and ordering its membership to affiliate with the Molders' Union, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recognize the change in name, and also grant jurisdiction that was formerly covered by the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees to the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Your committee recommends the adoption of these resolutions, with the understanding that their adoption does not in any way enlarge the jurisdiction of the International Molders' Union of North America as previously determined by the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Stevenson, Molders: Do I understand the committee's report is that this change of title would not give us the jurisdiction that calls for? At the last convention of this association the charter of the Brother-

hood of Foundry Workers was revoked, and its members ordered to affiliate with the International Union.

Secretary Frey: The report of the committee provides that the resolution be approved. The resolution calls for a change in the title of the International Molders' Union so the title will include Foundry Workers, and then the committee adds that this does not change the jurisdiction of the International Molders' Union of North America as previously determined by the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor has previously determined that the Foundry Workers should be a part of the International Molders' Union of North America. The committee desires to be careful because the idea might be created that in the change of the name which the American Federation has approved of, it might claim jurisdiction far greater than that which has been granted by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Stevenson: The explanation is satisfactory.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee to Escort Archbishop Rummel

President Green: I think we might adjourn at this point. The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to wait upon his Grace, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, and escort him to the convention tomorrow morning. I appoint on that committee Brother J. W. Gillespie, of the Teamsters' Union, Brother Frank Duffy, of the Carpenters, and F. J. Morrin, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Please arrange to meet the Archbishop and escort him to the hall tomorrow morning when the convention meets.

Brother Soule wishes to make an announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Mr. Soule, of the Local Committee: There will be a brief meeting of the delegates representing State Federations of Labor in the convention hall immediately after this session.

The Committee on Industrial Relations will meet in Room 200 in this building immediately upon adjournment of this session.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Gainer for an announcement.

Delegate Gainer: The Committee on Shorter Work Week will meet immediately after the adjournment of this session right before this rostrum. The members all know of their membership on the committee.

President Green: Are there any further announcements? If not, the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, a. m., Wednesday, November 27, 1940.

Seventh Day — Wednesday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 27, 1940.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, a. m., by President Green.

President Green: The invocation will be pronounced by Rev. Willmonte Frazee, Minister, Seventh Day Adventist Church.

INVOCATION

**Rev. Willmonte Frazee, Minister,
Seventh Day Adventist Church**

Our dear Heavenly Father, we thank Thee so much this morning for the assurance that Thou art interested in every one of Thy children. We are glad that every one has a special place in Thy great Fatherly heart, and so we pray that Thou wilt bless the men and women who are gathered here this morning, bless the hundreds and hundreds of thousands and millions which they represent, bless them in their efforts to accomplish that which is good, that which will uplift and which will help America in all its rightful work in this world. As we think of the troubled condition over the world, we pray that the Prince of Peace may pray as He did in Gallilee; we pray that as we gather here it may be the happy lot of each one here this morning to have a part with Thee in working out the program of this world. We ask it in the name of Jesus. Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Desepte, of the Committee, read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend the seating of Wm. L. McPetridge as additional delegate to represent the Building Service Employees' International Union with 111 votes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and the delegate seated.

President Green: I wish to submit these two messages for inclusion in the proceedings this morning:

Toronto, Ontario, Canada,
November 25, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans.

Sincerely hope American Federation of Labor will select Province of Ontario for 1941 convention. We are prepared to co-operate with you in every way in making convention outstanding success. Kindest regards.

MITCHELL F. HEPBURN,
Premier of Ontario.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada,
November 25, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans.

Greetings and good wishes to American Federation of Labor now in annual convention. Reiterate our cordial invitation to meet in Toronto next year. Ample accommodation available and assure you of warm welcome.

R. C. DAY, Mayor.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, for the submission of a report of the committee—Secretary Frey.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
RESOLUTIONS (Continued)**

Secretary Frey, of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

**Masters, Mates and Pilots vs.
Longshoremen**

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots has legal American Federation of Labor jurisdiction over licensed deck personnel on self-propelled floating equipment in all and every harbor of the United States and its Insular possessions, and

WHEREAS, This jurisdiction was granted the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots over a quarter of a century ago and is continuously maintained in force since that time, and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association, a sister affiliate within the American Federation of Labor, has openly invaded this jurisdiction systematically and consistently for the past five years by raiding the locals of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots and by coercive and unconstitutional means forced our members into joining the International Longshoremen's Association under duress and boycott threats, and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has upset several closed-shop contracts held by the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots for several consecutive years with deliberate destructiveness, and

WHEREAS, The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots has protested in proper manner this piracy, not only before the past four Conventions, but also on innumerable occasions before the Executive Council and President Green as mediators, and

WHEREAS, Each aforementioned Convention as well as President Green and the Executive Council, have confirmed our jurisdiction and condemned the predatory policy of the International Longshoremen's Association, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in meeting at Atlantic City, N. J., in August, 1939, ordered the International Longshoremen's Association through its President, Joseph P. Ryan, to restore to our jurisdiction those men which the International Longshoremen's Association had filched from our locals as well as any other men within their group over whom our organization has jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, That up to and including the current date, the International Longshoremen's Association has not discontinued its dual groups, nor has not returned those members shanghaied from us, and

WHEREAS, This open piracy of the International Longshoremen's Association has caused substantial loss of members and funds to the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots and thoroughly disorganized marine deck personnel wherever dual unions are in force, with the result that the men are withholding all dues and union affiliation until this matter is settled definitely, and the men can resume membership in their proper craft group. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates of the Sixtieth American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in New Orleans, La. be petitioned to order the International Longshoremen's Association, its officers and locals to obey literally the order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and return all members to us, and to cease now and forever, all raids upon our membership by any means whatsoever and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention empower the Executive Council to impose a

suitable and effectual penalty upon the International Longshoremen's Association if this order is not obeyed within ninety (90) days after the Convention adjourns.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue to give their best efforts to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the conditions complained of in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Scully, Secretary, Masters, Mates and Pilots: Mr. President and Fellow Delegates—I am sorry to have to rise to oppose the recommendations of the committee because of the fact that the last four conventions have approved a similar recommendation without results, so that we seem to be again placed on the endless chain.

I stand here today to make a special plea to this convention to give my organization the benefit of a different New Deal in jurisdiction. Four conventions have tried to adjust the jurisdictional dispute between the national organization Masters, Mates and Pilots, and the International Longshoremen's Association. Thus far, the recommendations of all four conventions have been faithfully followed by our group, but as yet, the I. L. A. has not carried out the mandates of the conventions or the orders of the Executive Council.

Repeatedly, you have urged President Green and both groups to get together and work out a solution. This has been done so often, I cannot recall the number of meetings, but I can recall we are right where we began, a victim of illegal, unconstitutional procedure. The Executive Council has tried repeatedly to settle the matter. That body in their meeting of August, 1939, at Atlantic City, N. J., ruled that our jurisdictional claim was valid and ordered the I. L. A. to capitulate. The I. L. A. has not obeyed that order.

At the last convention the President of the I. L. A. pledged cooperation. These pledges have not been kept and new violations have cropped up during the current year.

Our organization is acutely aware of the fact that this state of affairs could be speedily settled if this convention would adopt the resolution we submitted and which is now being considered.

Our Executive Committee has tried to settle this matter in the American way, constitutionally and peaceably. Many members of our locals favor legal procedure; some even believe that in our extremity we should present the facts to Mr. Thurman Arnold. As a labor man I believe labor should wash its own soiled linen and keep public and government out of our feuds.

Our plan today is backed by reason and experience. All procedures recommended by previous conventions have failed signally to prevent our crucifixion by the I. L. A. Our membership has been shanghaied into the I. L. A.'s vertical unions out of their own legitimate craft groups. Closed shop contracts held by us were raided and broken; some of our members must carry two cards to keep their jobs. Employers of labor marvel at the sight of sister affiliates of the American Federation of Labor in open combat at a time when a strong C. I. O. unit is attempting to commit piracy upon all deck personnel within the A. F. of L. The average seafarer is so disgusted that he is driven to company unions.

I could elaborate for hours on the needless injustices this situation has brought to our group, not to mention financial hardships and the fact that a large number of our craft are paying no dues and will not until this matter is settled and the men of our craft who are now in the I. L. A. are released and given a chance to join their own craft union.

Delegates, there is one and only one solution. This convention which is supreme, should order this dispute settled within the next 90 days and should put teeth into this order by supplying a mandatory penalty of sufficient severity to cause your orders to be received with respect by the I. L. A. Your previous suggestions have received contempt and non-conformity.

The house of labor must clean its corners now. If we cannot present a united front, free from petty bickering and cheap intrigue, labor will have to submit to Government regulation, red tape and regimentation.

Again I plead for simple justice from you, my labor associates, and we want you to know that for more than a quarter of a century, during which time our organization has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we have given it faithful, loyal and honest support at all times.

For the information of those delegates who did not attend the past four conventions, it might be well to tell briefly how this condition was brought about. In several states locals were established dual to ours and given some appropriate name and number as part of I. L. A. and they proceeded to take in all of the personnel of the steamboats including the men of our craft. Promises were made which had a strong appeal to the men who were approached, such as increases in wages up to 40 per cent, long vacation periods, and so forth. And to those who held membership in our organization they were told that by joining the I. L. A. for a small fee that they would have a much better chance to improve their conditions and since these promises were not kept there is a large group of our craft unorganized in several states, and they refuse to reinstate or pay dues until the A. F. of L. settles this matter, with the result that several of our locals are hard-pressed financially and are praying for relief.

In conclusion, I am appealing to you delegates to vote down the recommendations of the committee and to vote for the approval of the original resolution as presented by our organization.

I would like to read a letter received recently in reply to our letter to the Executive Council in making protests continuously for the past five years as these cases are brought to our attention. This is a letter from President Green under date of October 28th, addressed to myself as Secretary of the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Washington, D. C.
October 28, 1940

Mr. J. J. Scully, Secretary,
National Organization Masters,
Mates and Pilots of America,
15 Moore St., New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The complaint you submitted against the International Longshoremen's Association that it continued to transgress upon the jurisdiction of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting held in this city beginning September 30th. After giving consideration to your communication and all the facts and circumstances connected with the complaint, the Executive Council directed me to advise you and your associates:

"That the Executive Council recognizes and respects the jurisdiction of the Masters, Mates and Pilots over masters, mates and pilots, that we will do all that lies within our power to prevail upon the International Longshoremen's Association to respect that jurisdiction, and that the President be directed by the Executive Council to again call upon the officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to cease transgressing upon the jurisdiction of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and to arrange for a settlement of the differences which have arisen between the Masters, Mates and Pilots organization and the International Longshoremen's Association."

In line with this decision of the Executive Council, I am again writing President Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association, appealing to him to adjust your complaint and to respect the jurisdiction of your National Organization. The Council is very desirous of bringing about an adjustment of this controversy which has existed between your organization and the International Longshoremen's Association for quite a long length of time. We want to do everything we can to be helpful.

Very truly yours,

WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Thank you for your attention.

Delegate Ryan, Longshoremen: Mr. President and delegates, I want to say at the start that I have a high regard for Captain Scully. I know that most of the older delegates to the convention who know Captain Scully and who like him as I do feel that when he comes here year after year with his complaint against us we should straighten it out.

I think the introduction of the resolution by the Masters, Mates and Pilots is an insult to the Executive Council. You heard Captain Scully and other delegates and myself and other delegates representing our respective organizations last year go into this matter very thoroughly, and we explained it was not the ordinary jurisdictional dispute, where men were in doubt as to where men belonged. It is noticeable that up until the time the C.I.O. movement was launched we never had a jurisdictional dispute that reached the floor of the convention or the Executive Council, and since I have been First Vice-President of the International Longshoremen's Union since 1921 and President since 1927 my own associates and colleagues have felt that at times I have bent over backwards to turn men back to their organizations. We feel that we have all we can take care of when we have the Industrial Union which we have. It takes in every man from one end of the pier to the other that has anything to do with the loading or unloading of the ships or bringing the ships in to us or anything of that sort.

We recognize the fact that there are craftsmen on the piers, electrical workers, maintenance men, workers of all sorts, and we know that we have no right to these men and if we take them in we can't do them much good. But outside of that we do claim the right to represent every man on the pier. But when the C.I.O. came in and took the International Seamen's Union over I had a conference with Mr. Lewis, the head of the C.I.O., at which time I told him I didn't know whether he knew it or not, but when he took over the Seamen's organization that was a dual organization to the International Seamen's Union, he was taking an organization over that was run by Communists. I told him then he was never going to break in on our organization, and in order to protect ourselves from being broken in on or from somebody intruding on us, we were forced to take men in the ports of New York and Baltimore that were unorganized. They should have been, I presume, in the Masters, Mates and Pilots, who had jurisdiction over them.

The fact of the matter is they didn't have them not in one or two years, but for possibly the 20 years those men had either been unorganized or they were part of an organization dual to the American Federation of Labor, known as the Associated Marine Workers, headed by a former International officer of the Mas-

ters, Mates and Pilots. These men wanted organization.

The C.I.O. had an inland boatmen's division in the ports of the North Atlantic. They were very active, they had five organizers out and they had two boats out on the water front. They were trying to take not only these men who were unorganized into an independent union, but men of our organization, coal boat captains, grain boat captains, that we have had jurisdiction over ever since our charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor in 1892.

In order to protect ourselves and to keep those men from going into the C.I.O., the men who tow boats and ships in to us, we did our best to get them to go over to the Masters, Mates and Pilots. They refused and said they would not go there. Then we chartered them simply to keep them from going someplace else where they would be detrimental to us.

The matter has been before the Executive Council for three years and before this convention for three years, and in spite of the fact that there is no Marine craft represented on the Executive Council it is noticeable the Executive Council has gained such a knowledge of the situation that they have endeavored to keep the Masters, Mates and Pilots satisfied to let the men stay in our organization until the danger is past, and then those men will be told where they will have to go. Those men have been brought down to Washington on many occasions to meet the Executive Council. The Executive Council has told them where they belong, and they said they were not going there, and that if they put them out of the International Union they would go to the C.I.O.

Last year this was before the Grievance Committee, and the Grievance Committee recommended it be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to do their best to get us together. The Executive Council has tried to do that. Brother Owens and myself were here with the proposition which we thought we would discuss with the Masters, Mates and Pilots which would straighten out at least one phase of their complaint. But instead of that we are faced with the resolution that is condemning us. I should not have to take up the time of this convention defending ourselves from some of the remarks made by Captain Scully on instructions of his organization. It still should be referred back to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council should be left alone with it until the Executive Council brings in a recommendation to this convention on the matter.

These men indicate that the Executive Council is not treating the Masters, Mates, and Pilots fairly. The Masters, Mates and Pilots have never been able to explain to our satisfaction why, in one of the first clauses in their constitution, as we

pointed out to the Executive Council some three years ago, they have a clause that virtually protects a dual organization. Brother Knight was a member of the Executive Council at that time. His men were involved, also the members of the Steam and Operating Engineers and others who felt that we were encroaching on their jurisdiction at that time. We turned over men to the organization that Mr. Knight represents, the hoisting engineers. Brother Harrison has had some disputes with us and he has held these in abeyance until this matter is straightened out and the fear of encroachment in the C.I.O. into our organization on the North Atlantic and Gulf is minimized or else is over for all time. Then I presume the Executive Council will tell us what we have to do.

In the meantime I think they are doing a good job of it, and we resent the fact that in this resolution last year we had to plead with them and the Adjustment Committee had to plead with them to strike out a part of the resolution which would indicate we were racketeering. This year the resolution is not quite so strong, but it condemns us and accuses us of tactics of which we are not guilty.

I say we should have the support of not only the Masters, Mates and Pilots, but everybody else in the fight we are making, because if they destroy the International Longshoremen's Association—I didn't say it here on the floor yesterday when I mentioned what the Pacific Coast employers are trying to do to us in regard to negotiating that agreement with the I.L.W.U. But at that time they had sent Henry Schmidt from the Pacific Coast to Atlantic City. He is a far more dangerous man than the man who heads the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and Henry Schmidt, on his way to the C.I.O. convention in Atlantic City last week, was given a letter on the stationery of the Water Front Employers Federation of the Pacific Coast to several contracting stevedores of the North Atlantic, representing some of our finest companies that are fair to us in the North Atlantic, telling these contracting stevedores that this Henry Schmidt was the President of the San Francisco Longshoremen's Local of the I.L.W.U., and while he was in the East they would appreciate giving him the opportunity to visit the ships. You know what that letter is going to be used for. Every one of their organizers will have a copy of it. They are in New Orleans now trying to split up our two fine locals here. They are in New York trying to split us up, and that letter will be an indication to those who are possibly dissatisfied with our organization because they can't break into the work that our men are now doing, that letter will be an indication that the Pacific Coast employers, who operate also on the North Atlantic, want to do business with that organization.

This is no time to weaken the fight that the I. L. A. is making, not only to keep a trade union organization together, but, far more dangerous, the newspaper reports this morning are rather alarming about the situation in England. Brother Citrine said to us the other day that the first line of defense of the United States was the British Navy, and it looks as if we would shortly be in the position where we can't have any weakness in this country.

Yesterday President Green mentioned something about the fur workers. I had just come into the hall and I didn't know what resolution was being discussed. We learned of the Fur Workers' strike when President Green appointed five of us to investigate the cause of that strike, at the request of the Fur Workers' union. We learned of the plans of the Communists at that time. They had the Trade Union Educational League, and their plans were to get hold of the five major industries in this country. The oil industry was one. I have said on this floor before that both freight and passenger ships as well as ships of the Navy are now using oil, they are oil-burning ships. The other industry they had in mind was shipping and the other industry was communications, and they nearly had communications. President Powers of the C. T. U. can tell you, as he told you last year, how his organization was encroached upon and almost in the hands of the enemy, so that at one time every American ship that left here had a C. I. O. Communist operator at the radio control under Mervyn Rathbone, and previous to that under Hoyt Hadlock, who is now an officer of Frank Gilmore's organization.

Well they are trying to get control of the shipping industry and they have got it in the seamen's end of it. That great organization headed by Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander was disrupted, and you have here an A. F. of L. Seamen's organization with 18,700 men. You will note they made Joe Curran a Vice-President of the C. I. O. the other day. He was nominated by Michael Quill and his nomination was seconded by Frederick Meyers. All you know about Meyers is that he is an individual, but we know he is "Blackie" Meyers, a Communist who has led picket lines around our Longshoremen in the ports of New York, Boston and Baltimore and every other place.

This is something that the convention should realize, that we are making a fight, as I say not only to keep the trade union movement in existence, but to keep Communists from getting control of the Longshoremen's Union, as they have control of the National Maritime Union of Seamen.

If we are faced with the situation that we have got to do more than send ships, send supplies and munitions and all the help we can to other countries, if we are compelled to resort to our own defense, it will be pretty dangerous for shipping to be in the hands of people who are not friendly to our government.

They are not going to get control of the International Longshoremen's Association. The statement I made yesterday I tried to make as brief as possible. Yesterday I said that we may be forced to stop work, not because we want to interfere with defense, but because the waterfront employers on the Pacific Coast are forcing us to take this action, and we want the blame where it belongs. Some of the papers carried the report that we are calling a seamen's strike, and we have Mr. Lundberg contradicting us today and saying that no Longshoremen is telling the seamen what he is going to do. I am sorry Mr. Lundberg did not wait until he had heard what I had said. I didn't mention them yesterday only to say that they cooperated with us in our September trouble. As I say, the seamen here have 18,700 members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The International Maritime Union has such a membership that they thought it worthwhile to put one of their representatives on the C. I. O. Executive Council, and they are going to keep boring from within our organization.

The American Federation of Labor Executive Council has been very helpful. President Green has bent over backwards to try to iron out the situation, and we are still prepared to meet the officers of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and give them some men that they had and could not keep organized. But we cannot turn over men to them who will not go into their organization, and who, if we put them out, will be outside the American Federation of Labor.

I say the interests of the country and the A. F. of L. make it necessary that the delegates refer this back to the Executive Council, with no mandatory orders to the Council. You elect the Executive Council at the convention to function for you between conventions, and then if you have to give them orders what to do when they have a proposition before them I think we should not elect the Executive Council, we should hold conventions every time somebody feels they have a grievance.

We are satisfied with the report of the committee, and if it goes back to the Executive Council we are not going to procrastinate or anything else.

The letter Brother Scully was reading as I came into the hall would be an indication that every time they send in a complaint President Green gets in touch with us and we do our best to remedy it. But if we have a towboat company in New York, where they have no members, where there was a dual organization and we broke up that dual organization, and then one or two members of this towboat crew of employees do not want to join our organization—we will say there are 100 employees and 98 of them are in our organization, two of them do not want to join us and they make the excuse that they want to go in the Masters, Mates and Pilots. They had a chance to go in with them for the last

20 years and they didn't do it. Then we say those two men have to go along with the other 98. They won't do it, and then the Masters, Mates and Pilots write in to the Executive Council that we are intimating the two men that want to belong to their organization. Incidentally I want to say that we have gained the 8-hour day in the port of New York for these men since they joined our organization.

I would not have said this much, but it is pretty tough to have to come in here and defend yourself from an organization that cannot deny that in the first clause of the constitution they say they will render aid and support to an organization dual to the Steam and Operating Engineers Association. That is the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. That is in their constitution, that they will render them aid and support. Maybe that is for reasons best known to them, maybe the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association can help them, but I say it is contemptible, and aside from that, one of their men who is now dead was an active member of the committee that was out fighting the fight of the organization dual to the International Seamen's Union when we were supporting the International Seamen's Union at that time.

The Executive Council has all these records. The convention has heard them before, and I say it is unfair to the delegates that they have to listen to this dispute every year. I say again it is in the hands of the Executive Council, and when it can be straightened out to the best interests of everybody concerned, not just for one group, then the Executive Council no doubt will make a report to this convention and we will have no alternative than to abide by it.

Delegate Scully: We are not objecting and we have not objected to breaking up dual groups or taking men who were not willing to come into our organization. Our biggest objection has been against taking in our men who did belong to our organization and held paid-up 100 per cent membership cards in places where we had a closed shop agreement that was broken up. I personally saw two boats of lighters which were not permitted to work until those men joined the Longshoremen and had membership cards paid up 100 per cent.

Those are the things we are protesting against and we know the Executive Council and President Green did everything possible. This matter has been coming up for the last five years, and we do not think it will be settled except through the convention itself.

I have the highest regard for Brother Ryan. He speaks from information that has been given to him by men on his payroll who tell him about certain conditions and they go out and are forced to go in there, and I do not think that is entirely true. I do not think Brother Ryan knows it for a fact, but he is speaking from what he has been told. What we want to do is get those men who

are willing to come into our organization and let them be permitted to come in.

Brother Ryan speaks about a plan that he has, and we would be glad to come to some kind of an agreement and have this matter taken off the floor year after year. It is not pleasant for us to bring the subject up time after time at the convention. However, we have to do something to protect our membership and our organization. These men tell us they are forced to join. They tell us that they show their cards in the American Federation of Labor and ask if that is not enough, and they are told no, it is not enough.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Expressing Appreciation of Government Employees to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Galnor, Michael T. Flinnan, Wm. J. Gorman, Chas. D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. I. Laird, Railway Mail Association; I. W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Willis A. Bohal, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Service Laborers; N. L. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Jas. B. Burns, American Federation of Government Employees; Fred Baer, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union of North America; Chas. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-

hearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Private Hospitals

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in September 1940, acting at the request of local unions of building service employees, place themselves on record in favor of employees in private hospitals being covered by old age pensions and unemployment compensation, and

WHEREAS, This objective can only be obtained through Federal Legislation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the amendment of the Social Security Act to include this type of workers.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Religious and Charitable Organizations

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many members of the printing trades unions are in the employ of publishing houses owned and operated by religious and charitable organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security laws exclude old age and survivors benefits and

unemployment compensation to these members employed by such publishing houses, and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned employees have no assurance of protection in their old age as a result of being excluded under the act, and

WHEREAS, These employees are subject to periodic lay-offs and unable to collect unemployment compensation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, November, 1940, goes on record in favor of the necessary amendments to the Social Security Act so as to include employees of this type.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 41, 43, 44, 45 114 and 115. The resolutions are as follows:

Opposing Extension of Social Security Act to Include Public Employees Covered by Established State and Municipal Employees Pension Funds

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Congress of the United States a bill that has as its purpose the amendment to the Social Security Act, which, if enacted into law, would place employees of the States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies under the provisions of the Old Age and Survivors' sections of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, There are now in this nation many States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies that have established pension systems which have been in operation for many years and should these amendments be enacted into law they would thereby set up a dual pension system, which would without question prove harmful and confusing and might tend to destroy these established pension funds and thereby defeat the purpose for which they were established, and

WHEREAS, The public employees' pension funds now in existence have been established in most instances through the efforts of organized labor by many years of effort and thousands of members of the organized labor movement are contributors

to these pension funds and in many cases beneficiaries thereof; Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby declare as its policy the extension of the Social Security Act and in particular its Old Age and Survivors' insurance provisions in all cases where States, Political Subdivisions and Instrumentalities of these governmental bodies now have no established pension funds but that the policy of the American Federation of Labor shall be to unalterably oppose the inclusion in any manner by the Social Security Act of the States, Political Subdivisions or their Instrumentalities in the said Old Age and Survivors' insurance provisions in all cases where established public pension funds are now in operation.

Proposing Extension of Social Security Act to Cover Employees of States and Their Political Subdivisions

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Union of Operating Engineers are employed by states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions or civil agencies, and

WHEREAS, Under the present text of the Social Security Act, those members are not afforded the protection of unemployment insurance and old age benefits provided by the Act. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to have the Social Security Act so amended as to bring within its provisions all employees of states, counties, municipalities, port districts and other civil subdivisions and civil agencies, except in cases where such employees are now protected by an existing pension system.

Opposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act Which Would Conflict With Established Pension Systems for State and Local Government Employees

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Approximately ten million citizens of the United States were not

granted the protection of the Old Age Pension set up in the original Social Security Act of 1935 including a considerable group of local and state government employees, among whom were many teachers in rural areas and smaller cities, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has followed its established sound policy of furthering social legislation helpful to wage earners individually and to the American standard of living in general, in giving its support to Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 to remedy the discrimination against any group of workers in being excluded from all old age protection, and

WHEREAS, This legislation covers approximately one million state and local employees, including city police, fire, school employees and others, who have contributed for many years to pensions which will pay more than will the minimum social security payments, and

WHEREAS, This excellent legislation as presented in Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384, unless amended, will undoubtedly conflict with already established pension systems and deprive firemen, policemen, engineers, janitors, teachers and many other civil service workers of rights and benefits that they have worked for and earned over a long period of years, and

WHEREAS, Federal civil service employees and the military and naval establishments are already exempted from the provisions of this legislation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Federation of Labor urge the American Federation of Labor to take immediate steps to have Senate Bill 4269 and House Bill 10384 amended, so that they shall not include state and local employees who ask for exemption because of previously established pension systems.

Opposing Legislation to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act to Fire Department Employees

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters.

WHEREAS, There have recently been introduced in Congress two bills, one by Senator Wagner, S. 4269, and one by Congressman McCormack, H. R. 10384, which if passed in their present form would include all public employees, including fire fighters, under the provisions of the Social Security Law, and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters of the United States in almost all cities have pension and retirement provisions far more satisfactory than any Social Security Act provisions, and

WHEREAS, It is quite likely that city officials and taxpayers would not long continue these pension and retirement provisions in their present form if their employees were also covered by the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the International Association of Fire Fighters convention in Des Moines, Iowa, during the week of September 18-20, 1940, went on record to oppose the Wagner and McCormack bills in their present form and to, at all times, oppose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this, the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as supporting the International Association of Fire Fighters in its stand to prevent the extension of the Social Security Act to cover the men employed in fire departments; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council instruct its Legislative Committee to oppose any bills that might be introduced in Congress that may have for their purpose the extension of the Social Security Act to cover fire department employees.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Cemetery Employees

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Security Act has exempted all religious, charitable and non-profit institutions from its provisions, and

WHEREAS, Certain cemeteries come within this exemption and the employees are deprived of the benefits of this Act, and

WHEREAS, All these institutions engaged in the disposal of bodies have as their dominant intent one of profit, and hence should be bound by the provisions of this Act, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, now in session assembled, that it instruct its Law and Legislative Committee to prepare and introduce a measure to amend the National Security Act so as to include cemetery workers within the benefits and provisions of this Act.

Opposing Legislation to Extend Coverage of Social Security Act to Police and Fire Department Employees

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Tom Cairns, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the Senate of the United States extending coverage of the Social Security Act to groups of workers not now so protected, and

WHEREAS, We have full appreciation of the effects of Senator Wagner and other friends of labor to so extend this protection and although we approve of the action of the A. F. of L. in supporting such legislation but,

WHEREAS, Such bills as now worded will endanger existing systems of pensions of Police and Fire Departments which offer more generous benefits than the Social Security Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the West Virginia State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled September 26th, 27th, 28th, 1940, in Huntington, West Virginia, feel concerned for the effect of such legislation on Policemen's and Firemen's pension systems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this problem be presented for consideration of the November annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in New Orleans with a view towards safeguarding the interests of existing Police and Firemen systems of pensions that are superior to the Social Security Act.

These resolutions which were referred to your committee, have already been acted upon in connection with the subject of Social Security.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: I recognize Brother Duffy for an announcement.

Delegate James M. Duffy, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters: President Green and delegates—I have been favored with 500 very attractive souvenirs presented to me by one of our employers who has long been in contractual relations with our organization. This happens to be the original producer of pottery products who adopted, and has been for some few years stamping their wares with the union label of the Brotherhood of Operative Potters. This souvenir has been stamped on the bottom with the union label, so we will pass them out, and since we have only 500, I will ask that you be satisfied with one each, and hope that you will take it home with you, for I know you will like it and you can

always identify wares that claims and carries the union label.

We are also passing out a list of employers who are producing pottery who have contractual relations with our organization, and I hope you will also take this list with you and maintain it in a conspicuous place so you will always have no fear of purchasing non-union products. I thank you very much, one and all, very kindly.

President Green: Secretary Frey, of the Resolutions Committee.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

WAR IN EUROPE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 201)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report there is contained an elaborate review of the war situation in Europe, and the conditions leading up to it.

Reference is then made to the effects of the war upon the trade union movement of Europe, and the destruction of that movement in all countries where the Axis powers have secured control.

The report indicates that whichever way the battle of Britain may be decided, will depend the rebirth or the death of trade unionism in the Old World.

The Executive Council indicates that the Western Hemisphere, with its existing trade union movement, cannot escape from the results of the savage, brutal, unjustified warfare now desolating Europe.

The report further makes it manifest that our trade union movement cannot escape from the consequences, and that it is essential that we should give every possible activity to the defense of our borders, including the Western Hemisphere, so that a free trade union movement may continue to function within our hemisphere, and serve as an energizing power to assist in reorganizing the trade union movement after the present war is terminated.

In addition your committee calls attention to the fact that as we meet in convention in New Orleans, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in Europe who, but a few months ago, depended for their protection upon their trade unions, are now prisoners of war, compelled to work as such under the brutal administration of the Axis powers.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, special consideration is given to the subject of defense.

Your committee joins with the Executive Council in expressing the fervent hope and prayer that Great Britain will win, recognizing with the Council that she stands as the last outpost in the Old World in the defense of democracy and the democratic

form of government. Our sympathies go out to her people, the men and women who make up the British Trade Union Congress, and to all who are fighting a heroic battle against tremendous odds.

We join in the recommendation of the Executive Council in favoring the extension of all help and assistance possible to Great Britain in her hour of need on the part of our government short of war itself. We concur with this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEFENSE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 206)

Under the caption "Defense", the Executive Council's report deals with the requirements necessary to provide for adequate national defense. It indicates that labor is thoroughly patriotic and determined to serve the nation by contributing its full share to the production of defense equipment required.

The Executive Council after reciting the reverence in which we hold our free American institutions, calls attention to the necessity of preventing a democracy from being transformed into a dictatorship in order that the machinations of dictators may be overcome, for we must not destroy the soul of what we would defend. That with this purpose in mind certain fundamental principles should govern our activities

- (1) that majority rule must continue to operate;
- (2) that the defense program should be in the hands of representatives of functional groups headed by a civilian administrator;
- (3) that labor should be represented on all defense agencies dealing with matters affecting labor's welfare, and that such representation means selection by the group concerned;
- (4) that administration should be centralized for planning and decision on principles, but decentralized for administration under responsible representatives;
- (5) that there should be equal representation of employers and employees on advisory groups connected with employment control.

That should wartime conditions develop the following principles become imperative:

- (a) universal obligation to service for defense—industrial or military—under the above democratic conditions;

(b) labor should have representation on all policy making and administrative agencies and draft boards;

(c) that labor standards and other provisions for social welfare must be maintained under emergency conditions as essential to efficient production as well as to national morale.

With these rules and principles your committee is in full accord.

Under the sub-head Labor Policy, the Executive Council reports the labor policies adopted by the National Advisory Defense Commission, which includes reaffirmation of the principles enunciated by the Chief of Ordnance of the United States Army during the first World War in his Order of November 15, 1917, relative to the relation of labor standards to efficient production.

This Order indicated that industrial history has proved that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production. It likewise urges that every attempt should be made to conserve in every way possible all of our achievements in the way of social betterment.

Your committee is in full accord with the Executive Council's insistence that all of these safeguards be maintained, and that the right to collective bargaining, whether the employer is a private individual or the government, must be preserved.

The Executive Council in this portion of its report rightfully expresses disappointment over the representation given to labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor, on the defense commission, pointing out that the American Federation of Labor was not requested to name representatives to the Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defense. It is regrettable that this was not done; that the least which can be done to right this injustice is to make this principle and rule the guide in a reorganization of the defense agencies.

One of the most valuable Federal agencies to labor and industry in the field of industrial controversies has been the Conciliation Division of the Department of Labor. Its representatives have justly earned the confidence of labor and of industry, as well as the public.

With the rapid development of the program for national defense, the number of industrial differences may show a tendency to increase.

It has been evident that the desire of other Federal agencies to be in every way of assistance in the rapid production of materials for national defense, have at times undertaken the same responsibility for the adjustment of industrial differences which rests with the Conciliation Division.

Your committee calls attention to the confusion which must arise if more than one Federal agency enters the field of conciliation. It is our opinion that the responsibility for conciliation should be confined to the Conciliation Division of the Department of Labor, and that other Federal agencies having contact with industrial problems which may arise should refer these to the Conciliation Division for investigation and adjustment.

The American Federation of Labor as such, with its long record of patriotic and loyal service, and the promptness with which it has given its full effort in every hour of national necessity, coupled with the fact that within its membership are the overwhelming number of skilled and semi-skilled workers whose services are so essential in producing for national defense; and, in addition, that the American Federation of Labor numerically and otherwise is the predominating trade union movement in our country, fully entitles it to a voice in the selection of labor representatives to any capacity in connection with national defense.

With these comments your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Laderman, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am in accord with the splendid report of the committee, and I wish to emphasize one point particularly. We have a great stake at the present time, and for the next five years. I am referring to the appointment of Draft Boards throughout the United States. I know that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and central bodies and state federations of labor have been asked to give or recommend members on the different Boards appointed throughout the country. There have been probably 10,000 Boards appointed throughout the United States, but I am sorry to say that the record shows that labor has very few representatives on those Draft Boards.

I just want to mention a few of the cities and states to show you how little labor is represented on these vital Draft Boards which will make the policy for the next five years on the question of these millions that will be inducted into service. Now I know in Chicago that many members were recommended for the Draft Boards, but out of the 800 or more members who have been appointed—and I happen to be one of them—there are very few members of labor on these Boards. In other cities it seems there is likewise very small labor representation. I want to quote from a very reliable source that in the State of Washington, of 245 members on Boards in the state, only five represent labor. In Michigan, out of 500 members of the Draft Boards, only three represent labor, and in Washington, D. C., of 120 members

appointed to the Draft Boards, no labor representatives are included—and I am only speaking of Draft Boards. In Baltimore, of 104, there are only 12 members of organized labor. Portland, Oregon, has 36 labor members. In the State of New York, with 840 members on the Draft Board, only 15 are labor representatives. That of course is not true throughout the country.

I know we have a great stake in maintaining the democratic process in these Draft Boards. In our first meeting in Chicago, we had letters from employers asking for exemption of certain workers. I do not know what they have in mind, but I know we should have the benefit of advice from men in the various industries before we grant extension to these people. I think it should be a joint proposition and these Draft Boards should have representatives of labor unions on every Board. You know the Draft Board is the first Board to define the man who should be represented—who is the necessary man in the representation of the business man, the banker and industrialist. However, the man who is necessary to represent the banker and industrialist is not always the man necessary to represent labor.

I feel that we have a great stake in these Draft Boards, who must interview millions of workers and speak to them in a manner to preserve the democratic process that we are interested in maintaining throughout this defense program.

The intention of Congress was that it should be governed by civil authorities. I know the meetings we have held in Chicago were dominated by people who thought that military authority should be maintained. The Chicago or Illinois Major of the Procurement Division refused to allow chairs to be given to the Draft Boards in their waiting rooms. They wanted the draftees and their mothers and fathers and sisters to stand up at attention. That is contrary to the spirit of the Act. That is one phase that we must insist on for the proper democratic process of these Boards. We must give attention and advice so these drafted members will know we are not only going in for militarization and preparedness, but to strengthen our democratic process.

I am very glad that the American Legion representative is speaking here today, and I feel the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor should get together on a common program, because two-thirds of the members on the Boards are Legion members. I am one of them myself, and I know we can get together on a common program so we can underline the importance of these Boards.

Another phase we should be interested in is the employment of clerical help by these Draft Boards throughout the country. They should be giving preference to union workers in employing their clerical help. I know letters have been going to these Boards but

I know the union offices in the different cities were not mentioned. I think such mention should be given and the local union of office workers should be given preference, and it is also important to the democratic process which we are interested in, in the conduct of the Boards.

I am sure the Executive Council and our officers realize the importance of these Draft Boards for the next five years. They have to interview millions of men, and it is important that we talk to them and be careful of how we talk to them and what we say. It is also important in the camps where thousands are being engaged as teachers for recreational purposes, so that labor will not be misrepresented there. I know what happened in the last war, and I know how misrepresentation was given to labor's cause, and I am very keen on this matter.

When these boys come out of camp is also a matter of vital importance to the American Federation of Labor, and I hope the Executive Council and the officers will continue to keep watch and guide the whole situation, because it concerns all of us, because we are a vital part of the defense program and we have a vital stake in this whole democratic process of government.

Delegate Quinn, New York Central Body: In speaking for New York, I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and New York State Federation of Labor have received recognition on the Boards in our city and state. We submitted those names and we have men on the Draft Boards, also on the Advisory Boards, and also on the Appeal Boards in Greater New York. There is a labor representative on every Appeals Board in Greater New York. We are cooperating in this defense program, and I know that the American Federation of Labor is also doing their part in defense. Like every state, the Empire State of New York is endeavoring to get representation, and we have that representation, and I know in the matters reported the American Federation of Labor will continue to see that there are representations in all organizations of Draft Boards. However, I say we are well represented at this time on all Boards in our locality.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA (Executive Council's Report, Page 213)

It is not the intention of your committee in reporting on this section of the Executive Council's report to comment upon the unjustified invasion of China by Japan, or refer to the unspeakable horrors which have accompanied the invasion.

Your committee desires to report in particular on but one portion of the Execu-

tive Council's report which relates to a general boycott on Japanese goods.

Unquestionably the extent to which a thorough-going boycott against all Japanese goods and products would materially weaken Japanese economic resources, to that extent it would place Japan in a weakened position to continue its murderous assault and aggression against the people of China.

With this comment your committee recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension of Coverage of Social Security Act to Include Employees in Hospitals, Private and Parochial Schools

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imhahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The present Social Security Act of the United States fails to cover large groups of hospital, private and parochial school employees, and

WHEREAS, The failure of the Act to protect these public service employees will ultimately work great hardships on them, and

WHEREAS, The present situation may be easily remedied by amendments to the Social Security Act, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor here and now call upon all members of Congress known to be sympathetic toward the objectives of organized labor to use their offices to promote adequate legislation to correct the deficiency of the present Social Security Act.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation to Protect Social Security Rights of Workers Who Enter Military Service

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Alex Rose, H. J. Glover, A. Mendelowitz and S. Herszkowitz of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Workers who are withdrawn from civilian pursuits to serve in the armed

forces of our country, or who leave their positions with private enterprises to serve in Government operated establishments set up in connection with the present national defense program, lose their rights to unemployment insurance benefits, and will have their right to old age and survivors' benefits seriously diminished or impaired; and

WHEREAS, No provision has as yet been made for the dependents of those called on to serve in the armed forces during the period of their service, or for their dependents and relatives in the event of death occurring while engaged in such service; and

WHEREAS, The preservation of the rights made available to workers by social security legislation and an assurance that while in their country's service their dependents will be adequately cared for, constitute an inseparable and indispensable part of a proper national defense program; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the respective legislative bodies charged with the responsibility of making such provision the enactment of legislation along the following lines:

1. Securing to employees who have entered the military service of the United States the continuation without impairment of all benefit rights after their discharge from the service, as provided for in the Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance Laws;

2. Extending to all persons who, under the national defense program, have found employment in Government enterprises, such as navy yards, arsenals, etc., the same rights to which they are now entitled under old age, survivors' and unemployment insurance systems;

3. Providing adequate protection to the dependents of those serving in the armed forces of the nation during such service and in the case of death occurring in the course of, or as a result of, such service;

4. Granting to soldiers who have been honorably discharged adequate support until such time as in the normal course of events they can reestablish themselves in civilian life.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and adequate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling For All Possible Aid to Great Britain

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The totalitarian nations are everywhere imposing their rule of violence and terror, and

WHEREAS, The successes of the totalitarian nations have everywhere been followed by the destruction of democracy and the free trade union movement, and of all the moral, ethical and religious values upon which our civilization rests, and

WHEREAS, The outcome of the war now being fought by the totalitarian powers against the Democracies will affect the lives of members of free trade unions and the generations to succeed us, we believe that, to protect our security and our way of life, Great Britain and her Allies must win and Democracy survive, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the President and Congress to take steps to provide all possible moral and material aid to Great Britain and her Allies.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Discrimination Against Older Workers on Government Subsidized Ships

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the practice in private and government shipping departments to discriminate against old age; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government through the medium of the United States Maritime Commission is subsidizing private shipowners, which subsidy is derived from the American tax payers; and

WHEREAS, Deck officers over forty years of age who are tax payers of the United States, on becoming unemployed, have difficulties in obtaining re-employment on account of their age; and

WHEREAS, This system of discrimination cannot keep him a content and satisfied citizen of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Happiness can only be secured by giving all men an equal opportunity to work and live the American way; and

WHEREAS, There is in general little correlation between age and ability, because both experience and superannuation are functions of age, the result of such conflict is usually dependent upon the individual involved; and

WHEREAS, That ability, not age, must be maintained as the criterion for employ-

ment. Not only is ability a more realistic basis, but age can be arbitrarily used as a weapon of discrimination against members of various labor organizations; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor petition the President, Congress and United States Maritime Commission to take steps to enact legislation that this discrimination, especially on subsidized vessels, be discontinued.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and such helpful action as is possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Wider Distribution of Government Contracts for National Defense

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the obligation of all good citizens and of the Government of our United States to provide a maximum of security against the infringement of our welfare and safety; and

WHEREAS, These privileges are rapidly becoming involved in the situations abroad; and

WHEREAS, These situations and their consequent menace are not confined to the Atlantic, but appear also on our other borders; and

WHEREAS, Good judgment and foresight point out the urgency of providing a supply of labor, trained in producing the requirements necessary to our security, and also of providing plant facilities therefor, at strategic points sufficiently distributed to furnish the supplies with a minimum of risk of destruction in large units and in whatever quarters required; and

WHEREAS, There has for years existed a condition of unemployment not only in specific areas, but all over the United States, both in the ranks of union labor as well as among the unorganized; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor Convention, in meeting assembled at New Orleans, does hereby oppose the concentration of Government awards to be manufactured in single large plants or areas to the exclusion and detriment alike of employees and employers in other areas; and be it

RESOLVED, On the contrary, that it does approve and endorse the principle of allocating to the greatest practicable ex-

tent, purchases in those areas nearest to and in volume proportionate to the final consumption; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these contracts be awarded only to firms operating under union conditions.

As the subject of the resolution deals with questions of national defense in the location of plants within the country where certain industries for national defense are to be located, your committee doubts the wisdom of the adoption of the resolution, but does believe that it should be referred to the Executive Council so that consideration may be given to the interests of the several states within the Union in connection with what is most necessary for national defense.

Your committee is further of the opinion that the recommendation in the resolution, that contracts be awarded only to those employers who have trade union agreements with their employees, is well founded.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends the adoption of this report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling for Conference of State, County and Municipal Employees And Other Interested Organizations to Deal With Jurisdictional Questions

Resolution No. 121—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Billings, Montana.

WHEREAS, The State, County, and Municipal Employees Union, a National Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has recently granted a charter to the city and county employees in and of Yellowstone County and the city of Billings, Montana, and

WHEREAS, An officer of this union while in the process of organizing, told the city and county employees that they could take into their union people who have been expelled and/or suspended from other American Federation of Labor Unions, without regard for the reasons for such suspensions or expulsion, thereby causing unrest in other unions which are affiliated with the various international unions, and

WHEREAS, Said employees are taking into their membership members from other crafts whose jurisdiction is definite and has been granted by the A. F. of L. a long time ago, and

WHEREAS, Such activities have a tendency to disrupt favorable working conditions already existing in the city of Billings and in the State of Montana, and

WHEREAS, These encroachments upon other unions are a definite violation of established jurisdiction, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to arrange for a conference between the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union and the various other craft unions involved for the purpose of adjudicating jurisdictional disputes and to establish definite jurisdiction for the above mentioned National Unions, and that its decision be binding upon all the unions involved, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council instruct the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union to cease and desist from deliberately taking in suspended or expelled members from other unions, which is a violation in this respect of the rules and laws of the National Unions,

Your committee recommends the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 122 and 127. The resolutions are as follows:

Requesting Selection of Mobile, Alabama for the 1941 Convention

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Mrs. Ida Lee Merchant, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama.

WHEREAS, Each year the American Federation of Labor selects as its Convention City a place strategically located to the end that the growth of the American Federation of Labor will be encouraged and promoted; and

WHEREAS, Conventions have a tendency to educate the public and employers as to the greater aims and aspirations of the legitimate Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, While we have accomplished much in organizational activity in the deep South, there is still a great job to be done along an educational line and an organizational line; and

WHEREAS, Mobile, Alabama is, in our opinion, the best organized community under the banner of the American Federation of Labor in proportion and ratio to its population; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor movement in the City of Mobile and its immediate vicinity has done an effective job of thwarting the efforts of the dual and rebellious C. I. O. in their efforts to capture the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that the leftist element in the C. I. O. is making an intensive drive to capture

the Labor movement in vital and strategic areas which are important to our National Defense Program, particularly the Gulf Area; and

WHEREAS, Within the coming year adequate housing facilities will have been developed to house a convention of large proportions; and

WHEREAS, More than \$200,000,000.00 is being spent on Industrial and National Defense Building Programs within a hundred mile radius of Mobile; Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades Council of Mobile does urge upon the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at New Orleans, the selection of Mobile as its next Convention City; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades Council make every legitimate move to bring this convention to our rapidly growing community and that all civic agencies interested in the development of Mobile be contacted to the end that some inducement be presented to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New Orleans, for the purpose of bringing the greatest representative group of the man who toils to Mobile for the Convention in the year 1941; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Building and Construction Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council for their concurrence and active effort; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Central Trades Council and a copy be forwarded to the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to be submitted to the proper committee which handles such matters at the Convention and that copies be turned over to the daily press and the Mobile Labor Journal.

Proposing Atlantic City for 1941 Convention

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The overwhelming majority of members of the American Federation of Labor in New Jersey are desirous of bringing the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, for 1941, to the State of New Jersey, and Atlantic City; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Labor has extended to the American Federation of Labor its cordial invitation to meet for its 1941 convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, Atlantic City is undoubtedly possessed of the finest convention facilities

to be found in any section of the country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

These resolutions have the same purpose but name different cities. Your committee is of the opinion that neither of these resolutions should have been referred to any committee, for the selection of the next convention city is a matter for the delegates to decide without the recommendation of any city, and we therefore advise that no action on the resolutions is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling For Re-Employment of Trade Union Officials Called to Military Service

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has passed, and the President has signed a Selective Service Bill that compels registration of all males between the ages of 21 and 35 for military service, and,

WHEREAS, Some unions have been demanding recently in their contracts that if any of their members are called for war service that their seniority in their jobs must be held open for them upon their return, and,

WHEREAS, Many employers have voluntarily announced that it is their intention to re-employ, in their former positions upon their return, any employee who is inducted into the armed forces of the country, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approves of the policy that any man called for military service by the government should be assured of re-employment at his old position upon return to civilian life, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the international Unions and local unions of the American Federation of Labor to give assurance to any of their employees and officers that should they be called to military service during the present emergency that they will be returned to their old positions upon return to private life.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amendment to Neutrality Act to Extend Credit to Dominion of Canada

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Milton Doll, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, Hitler was financed and promoted to power by Thysson and his associate, in order to destroy the legitimate trades union movement in Germany, and

WHEREAS, A victory by Hitler will mean the destruction of Democracy and the trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, These great United States are now giving all aid possible under the present United States Neutrality Act to Great Britain to hold the aggressor Nations at bay, and

WHEREAS, This Cash Section of the present Neutrality Act has made it necessary for the Dominion of Canada to exert rigid control over the finances of her country in order to conserve American funds for the purchase of war supplies in these United States, and

WHEREAS, This control of financing has completely cut off the Canadian tourist traffic to these United States, and

WHEREAS, The credit of the Dominion of Canada ranks with the highest in the United States, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the United States Congress to have the Cash Section of the Neutrality Act eliminated, in order that the credit of the Dominion of Canada may be used for the purchase of war materials, which in turn will result in the relaxation of the present foreign exchange control, thereby allowing Canadians to resume their former freedom of travel to the United States.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that a thorough study of the subject matter of the resolution be made.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Government Tax on Machinery

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, Dales Allison, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, Improved machinery is continually being introduced, causing employees to be unemployed and unable to find employment, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the introduction of improved machinery which causes employees to be unemployed be taxed by the government.

Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has created a committee charged with the study of the entire subject of taxation, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the taxation committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Extension of Social Security Act to Include Employees of Religious and Welfare Organizations

Resolution No. 158—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Miss Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was enacted by the Federal Government to bring security to the aged and relief to the workers employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, A number of workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose business is of a national scope are exempt from the benefits of this Act, and

WHEREAS, The said religious and welfare organizations are engaged in part or in whole in commercialized industries and in some instances competing with private industries, yet through the exemptions in the Social Security Act these organizations are exempt from providing the benefits which the Act intended for all workers in this and other industries, to wit, old age pensions and unemployment insurance, and

WHEREAS, This condition is discriminatory to this class of workers and is most unfair to the private employers engaged in similar industries. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers and delegates to recommend and sponsor an amendment to the Social Security Act in the next session of Congress, whereby the workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose products are sold to the public at large, be included in the benefits of the Social Security Act.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Products of Remington Rand Be Placed On Unfair List

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Remington Rand, Inc. by its own decision has seen fit to sever its relations with American Federation of Labor Unions; namely, International Association of Machinists; Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Plater Helpers International Union; International Molders Union of North America; and Federal Labor Unions of the A. F. of L., and by its own acts has unscrupulously endeavored to destroy the said A. F. of L. unions, and has been found guilty of viciously violating the law of our country, all of which has been attested by a decision of the National Labor Relations Board. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor place the products of the Remington Rand, Inc., on the "we don't patronize list", and that all International Unions; State Federations of Labor; and Central Labor Councils, be advised of the convention's action.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that it take up the question involved in the resolution with the Remington Rand, Inc., and failing of adjustment, report of the attitude of this concern be made to the trade union movement in general.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Study of Consumer Co-Operatives

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates E. E. Milliman, John F. Towle, T. L. Jones, J. J. Farnan, W. N. Clay, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has approved and commended the consumer co-operative movement and the organization of sound consumer co-operative organizations, and

WHEREAS, The basic philosophy of the consumer co-operative movement calls for an increase in consuming power and therefore an increase in the income of the workers, as well as a reduction in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Through the consumer co-operative movement, the workers are given the opportunity to become owners and to participate in the management of their business and thus are given the opportunity to assume responsibilities which they are capable of assuming, and

WHEREAS, The consumer co-operative movement offers the finest opportunity for education of workers, as has been proved in other countries and is also being proved in this country and through these opportunities for education, the organized labor movement should be greatly assisted, and

WHEREAS, The Co-Operative League of the U. S. A. has approved and endorsed the work of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby authorizes its president to appoint a committee of three to confer with representatives of the Co-Operative League of the U. S. A. and to investigate the methods and plans under which consumer co-operatives are organized and developed, and if the committee concludes the plans are economically sound and would be helpful to labor, to recommend to the president of the American Federation of Labor a program for immediate action and through which organized labor will take an active part in the furtherance of the consumer co-operative movement.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the subject of Consumer Co-operatives be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that the Executive Council have a study made which will cover the entire field of Consumer Co-operatives in the United States, and that it take such action as the study justifies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will now interrupt the report of the committee for the purpose of proceeding with our fixed order of business. His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans, is here, and the committee will escort him to the stage.

(The Archbishop was escorted to the stage by the committee.)

President Green: Our distinguished speaker at this morning's session has earned for himself a nation-wide reputation. He is known far and wide as a great spiritual leader and adviser, a student of economics and a scholar. He has always taken an active interest in the civic, social and economic life of our nation. His reputation extends beyond the limits of New Orleans and of this great commonwealth of Louisiana. We know him, we respect him, we admire him. We are happy over the progressive attitude he has assumed upon industrial, social, and economic questions, in which labor is tremendously interested. I have the great honor this morning of presenting to this fine audience His Excellency, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans.

MOST REVEREND JOSEPH F. RUMMEL

(Archbishop of New Orleans)

Labor's Responsibility and Opportunity

Mr. President, officers, delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor—Let me assure you that it affords me the greatest possible pleasure, and I deem it a great privilege as well to be invited here this morning to communicate to you a word of congratulation as well as a message that I feel might be of some service to you in the carrying on of your tremendous responsibility for the welfare of the great masses of our American people, the working men and working women. When I speak of them I have in mind not only those who are directly affiliated with your and similar organizations, but that vast mass of American workers who still stand out of the sphere of organized labor, and who have more need, perhaps, than even those who are affiliated with you of your constructive cooperation and aid.

I hope and trust that in the course of your work you will meet with progressive success, so that the day might not be far distant when practically all workers will secure their rights as a result of organization and the constructive program that you are deliberating about and intend to continue and initiate. That is what I believe to be the mission of organized labor, and especially of your distinguished organization, which this year celebrates the 60th anniversary of its existence.

There is a fascinating story in one of the books of the Bible, which in my estimation presents a splendid background for the spirit in which the American Federation of Labor might visualize its task and opportunities at this particular stage of its magnificent history. The story tells us that Artaxerxes, King of Persia, appointed a certain Nehemiah Governor of Judea with authority to gather together the remnants of the Jewish people and rebuild their capital city, Jerusalem. Fortified with letters from the King, Nehemiah repaired to the site of the city and studied its ruins in the silence, solitude and secrecy of the night. Then cautiously he made known his mission to some that posed as leaders of the people. Many scoffed, others scorned, the majority questioned his right and authority to undertake a work of such magnitude as to restore the walls, rebuild the homes and reconstruct the temple of their favorite city. Undaunted, Nehemiah gradually succeeded in rounding up various groups of his countrymen so that in a short time there was spread out over the fragmentary walls of the old city a legion of craftsmen, mechanics, artisans, merchants and even priests, all bent upon the one purpose to reconstruct the walls that would give security to their homes and make of their city once more a haven of peace, contentment and prosperity.

But the enemies in the surrounding country did not cease to plot against Nehemiah and his peaceful workers. It became necessary to divide the latter into two groups, one-half standing at arms with spears poised to meet the attack, while the other half continued their indefatigable efforts to complete their task.

Finding themselves thwarted in their threats, the enemies plotted to ensnare Nehemiah by offering to unite with him in a league for their common defense and interest. However, Nehemiah in his shrewdness suspected treachery and sent them the following message: "I am doing a great work, and I cannot come down, lest it be neglected whilst I come, and go down to you" (Neh. 6-3). Needless to say the rebuilding of the great city and its temple was completed under such intelligent and determined leadership, and Jerusalem once more took its place as the rallying point of the people of God.

This story might well serve as a parable for the magnificent work that the American Federation of Labor has accomplished during the sixty years of its existence and as an inspiration for that greater work that still lies before you, delegates and members of this great organization, to accomplish in the ensuing years.

Just Recognition of Individual Human Rights

Your task as I visualize it has risen higher than the original struggle for reasonable wage and hour scale, it embraces preeminently three definite objectives: the just recognition of human rights, the constructive development of social welfare and the promotion of the security and prosperity throughout the nation.

It is your task first of all to promote the recognition of certain fundamental rights which are inherent in every human being. These rights are based upon the dignity of each individual man by reason of his spiritual nature and destiny, and by reason of the gifts of intelligence and freedom wherewith God has endowed him. Let us bear in mind that this nature and these gifts antecede any act of a government, or of a ruler or of any group of men. They are a part of the plan of the Creator. Who deigned to make man according to His own image and likeness. This fundamental principle teaches us to regard a human being not as a chattel to be bartered for or with, nor as a cog in a wheel to be inserted or discarded at will, nor as a gadget in a piece of machinery to be carefully guarded only as long as it is found useful, nor as an automaton or robot to be operated as a machine upon the touch of a button or the throwing of a switch. This human individual must be looked upon as a wonderfully complicated being made up of human flesh, human blood, human feelings, human emotions, human aspirations, human ideals and human

potentialities, a being fitted indeed in the mind of the Creator to be the king of the universe. Above all a being that has a soul as well as a body and that in this soul bears the stamp and the mark of the image of the Creator, a soul privileged to work out its own destiny in time, to survive all visible creation and to find happiness eternal in the mansions of the living God.

Significant and important in this vision of the dignity of man is the fact that fundamentally there is no difference in nature between the king and the subject, between the prince and the plebeian, between the captain of industry and the man that works in the shop, at the bench or on the walls of the city. No not even between the dictator and the masses of men that he has reduced to a new form of servitude in his endeavor to create a new philosophy of life. Individual development of talents and opportunity create differences, but fundamental rights are common to all.

For this individual you have a right and a duty to claim not only the means of a bare existence but also of the enjoyment of health, security and happiness over the entire period of his life. For him must also be vindicated certain definite rights that arise from the fact that he is essentially a social being with natural tendencies towards association with others, involving in particular the establishment of a family and home. This involves on his part responsibilities for the support, the education, the preparation for life and a proper participation in the enjoyments of life for those who depend upon him in a social atmosphere. To meet these social responsibilities he must be given adequate opportunity and aid. In this connection it is well to note that birth control and other social evils are in no small measure traceable to a failure on the part of human society to grasp or recognize the full implications of man's social rights and needs.

A Work of Social Welfare

Your Federation of Labor has also a very important mission in the field of social welfare. Working men and working women are integral parts of community life whether it exist in the scattered rural populations of the countryside, or in the more concentrated atmosphere of the town and the city, or whether we view it from the larger angle of the state and nation. In every community, large and small, there is need of building up a physical structure in keeping with the progress of civilization. Indeed the building up of such a structure is a part but not the whole of the progress that civilization achieves. There is a still greater need of building up in every community a definite moral structure based upon self-respect, decency and righteousness, in which lie the elements of mutual security and peace. In every community there must also be created facilities for a definite cultural, spiritual and religious life, which contribute

vitality to the morale of the community. These are the setting and background that make for the stability of home and family life, that help to create that wonderful institution which we characterize as "Home Sweet Home, be it ever so humble there is no place like home". Let us remember that, while our homes should always be in a sense humble, there is no need that they be forever poor, and bare, and cold, and cheerless, and hopeless! Yours is the task so to dignify and elevate community interest and community spirit, that our social life will be free from everything that is physically sordid, morally degrading and lacking in spiritual incentive.

Consideration for social welfare necessarily looks into the distant future to make wise provision against the exigencies of illness, unemployment, periods of depression and the inevitable twilight of life that comes with advancing years. In making these provisions there is indeed need of cooperation between the State, the employer and the worker. The task must be visualized, planned and sustained as definitely a three cornered responsibility, but on his part the worker must be trained to habits of self-respect and thrift so that he may participate willingly and generously according to his resources. And this again is a part of the great task that lies before you as an organization of working people.

Patriotic Mission

The nation is built up on the brains and the brawn of the entire body of its citizenry. The wealth of the nation is not the mineral resources that lie hidden beneath our soil; nor is it the forests that cover our mountain sides, nor the woodlands that stretch over our plains, nor the fertile fields that give beauty and richness to our valleys; nor is it the mills that lie beside our babbling brooks, nor the industrial plants that belch forth their clouds of smoke and steam over the cities and towns that nestle on the banks of our powerful streams. The real wealth of the nation is the ability of the vast majority of our citizens through labor, industry and discipline to convert all these natural resources into things of usefulness, convenience and beauty. When, therefore, you build up the dignity of the individual and develop constructively his social welfare, then you are at the same time building up the genuine dignity, the real strength and the indispensable morale of the entire nation. This is true in times of peace, when the nation must be prepared to meet the exigencies of depression, calamity, disaster and even plagues; it is especially true in a period of emergency, when there is need of converting plough shares into swords of defense, or shall we modernize the figure by saying into airplane wings and into the many mechanized implements that modern warfare seems to find indispensable. There is no greater guarantee of the greatness, the strength and the security of a nation than a self-conscious, self-re-

specting industrious citizenry, the bulk of which is made up of men and women like yourselves, dedicated to the honorable vocation of the toiler and the worker. The remarkable exemplification of this truism is Switzerland, a country small and not very rich. But in that country practically every man and every woman is trained in time of peace to be a staunch defender of the Alpine mountain passes when danger threatens from a foreign foe. That little nation of patriots today commands the respect of the world and seemingly is regarded as untouchable by those who have ruthlessly violated nations, greater in numbers and power but not in prowess.

Enemies Without

Like Nehemiah of old your organization is confronted by enemies without and enemies within the walls of the imaginary city that you are striving to build. Both within and without you are confronted by selfishness and greed, which seem to be common afflictions of all humanity as a result of the heritage of original sin. Sinner and saint, idealist and realist, noble souls and abject specimens of humanity are all tortured and tormented by temptations to these vices. And so we must not be surprised if some of our noblest efforts and grandest achievements are marred and at times frustrated by outcroppings of these two vices.

You must still reckon with the die-hard industrialist and businessman known as the liberalist, who clamors for absolute freedom in the ordering of his business or industry regardless of the rights of others. Seeking exclusively his own benefit and profit, he pursues success and prosperity with almost ruthless selfishness. He overlooks the fact that there is no honor and certainly no glory in prosperity which is achieved over the emancipated bodies of men and women, underpaid and overworked, undernourished and deprived of even the simplest comforts and pleasures in life. Fortunately the number of this group is gradually diminishing and its opposition is growing less formidable, because there is evident today a more enlightened attitude towards the obligation which the employer has towards the worker and towards the community at large. But your program will still be retarded because of the passive and active resistance that the reactionary offers.

The so-called totalitarian philosophy of life has brought into existence another enemy of the welfare of the working classes that may be designated in general as the radical. Whether he be Communist, National Socialist or Fascist, his attitude towards the working classes is definitely destructive of the idea of individuality. All workers are reduced to the common level of an irresponsible mass or herd, without personal ambition, hope or prospect, except working and toiling for the glorification of what is called the modern State. In times of peace this philosophy demands long hours of labor even of comparatively young citizens; in

time of war it demands labor, sacrifice, even death under the principle of blind obedience to a leadership that claims for itself almost idolatrous worship. This leadership goes so far as to deprive its followers and votaries even of the dignity and comfort of spiritual consolation and at least the hope of realizing in the hereafter their natural aspirations for justice, peace and happiness. This enemy of the real interest of the working classes is today looking for the conquest of the world not only on the battlefield but through an insidious and persistent propaganda; unless you are wary he will frustrate your noblest efforts and ambitions. It is, therefore, refreshing to know that you are wise to the menace and that you are fortifying yourselves against his assaults.

Not to be overlooked is the danger of frustration in your movement that comes from the timidity of many who are afraid to cast their lot with you; workers in many fields, who seem to lack the heart or the confidence to stake and venture, when the opportunity is presented for arraying themselves with you for the betterment of their lot. To win them you must demonstrate the sincerity of your motives, the reasonableness of your plans and the certainty of success.

Enemies Within

Frequently there is evidence of the existence of enemies within your own camp, who are possibly more numerous than we are sometimes ready to admit. We have already referred to the radical groups that sometimes find entrance into your ranks for the purpose of boring from within by spreading their sophisms and false promises, hoping to alienate your membership from the solid principles and noble ideals which you endeavor to pursue. Dangerous also is the unwise and unreasonable leadership which sometimes crops up in your midst and alienates the confidence and respect of large groups. There are leaders who are too insistent upon the letter of your regulations and forget the spirit, whose zeal stirs up strife and discontent, whose impatience for success ferments turmoil and confusion. There are leaders who unwisely advocate force and harsh methods instead of peaceful negotiations, extreme measures instead of a policy of reasonable conciliation. Leaders there appear at times who endeavor to further their personal selfish interest rather than the interests of those who have entrusted them with the mantle of leadership and authority.

There is also the utopian or idealistic leader, who is impatient of results and who expects to achieve the millennium over night; the leader who forgets that it has taken sixty years to develop your membership from 50,000 to nearly five millions, and that the growth of your membership and prestige has been marked by hardship, sacrifice, not infrequent disappointment and much constructive persevering effort.

Occasionally within your ranks there also appears the leader who seems ignorant of the eternal christian principles of justice and moral conduct, who sees merely the physical side and aims of your organization. We cannot expect all your leaders to be deeply religious men and women, but certainly those promote the cause more effectively who respect the conscience of their fellow members and recognize the strength that lies in principles that have their roots in religion and a sound moral code.

Friends Within and Without

It must be to you leaders of this great Federation of Labor a source of comfort and encouragement that today you have in this noble American nation a host of friends. The attitude of your fellow citizens is today more favorable and sympathetic to organized labor than it has ever been since the existence of our nation. Indeed this attitude is so strong in many places that a definite forward looking labor movement, based upon sound constructive and patriotic principles is expected. This circumstance is very important when you consider that, notwithstanding your great achievements, you have thus far reached probably less than twenty percent of the so-called working population of the United States. And in this twenty percent we count those who are affiliated with other organizations than your own, national and local. Thus there remains a vast field still to be cultivated, but seemingly ready for the harvest, if you will approach the task constructively, systematically and under wise and prudent leadership. It must also hearten you to know that today you have a great ally in the representatives of government, who are more conscious than ever of the rights and needs of the working classes. I need not recite here the many constructive acts that in the course of the last decade of years, have been incorporated into our Federal and State legislation for the present and future welfare of the men and women who earn their bread in the sweat of their brows. This too is an indication of a definite change of attitude, for which your organization deserves much of the credit and which gives promise of future success on a scale more extensive than has been achieved during the past sixty years.

May I also, as a churchman, call your attention to the fact that the Church, and specifically the Catholic Church, has during the past sixty years expressed herself definitely and emphatically in matters that pertain to social justice and the welfare of the working classes. The documents issued by Sovereign Pontiffs like the "Rerum Novarum" issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 and the "Quadragesimo Anno" issued by Pope Pius XI of happy memory in 1931, followed by the declarations of the American hierarchy in the pamphlet entitled "Social Reconstruction" issued in 1919, and the more recent pronouncement issued this very year under the title of "The Church and Social Order" are palpable proofs that in the Cath-

olic Church labor has a friend, sincere and devoted, a guide that inspires confidence and security. The documents have had no small influence in shaping the policies of leaders in government and labor councils, especially in the International Labor Bureau in Geneva. May I commend them to your further study and application.

The Challenge

All signs point to the initiation of a new social order, an order of social justice at least in the United States of America. This order may not be the millennium to which we have referred above, but certainly it will be an epoch in which all classes of human society will understand each other more perfectly and trust each other more sincerely. In bringing about this millennium even partially your organization will play an important part. Success will be determined by your ability to achieve unity among the working classes and among the groups that share with you a kindred purpose and philosophy of life. As I said a few days ago in my sermon in St. Louis Cathedral, success must be achieved "without recourse to radicalism, without the sacrifice of the dignity of the human individual, without violence and terrorism, without the aid of blatant apostles of irreligion, without storming the battlements of constitutional government and well-ordered democracy".

Is it utopian to expect that in time you will realize the possibility of having employer and employee, leaders in industry and labor organization chiefs meet, not as enemies in a spirit of antagonism, but as men who feel that they have common interests which of necessity do not clash, but which can be adjusted in a manner that will bring peace, contentment and reasonable prosperity to all? Such a realization would indeed usher in an era of peace, security and a well spread prosperity over the length and breadth of the land.

Leaders and delegates to this great convention, remember that your organization is called to a great mission, greater than was the task of the Nehemiah, whose story we cited at the outset of this address. You are called to build in America and for America a palace of social justice, mansions of human welfare and happiness, an impregnable citadel of national strength, defense and security. You will meet fairly the wise counsellor and constructive critic to appraise the value of his judgment, but for the scoffer, the carping critic, the hardened individualist, you must have but one answer: "We have a great work to do, and we cannot come down". For the millions of your actual followers and for those other millions of toilers, who still lack the benefit of your progressive movement, you must give repeated assurance that you are conscious of your mission and that there will be no coming down from the ramparts until the work is finished. To your separated brethren you must continue to offer the hand of a reconciliation that gives assur-

ance of the permanent solidarity which today more than ever is so urgently needed. To your fellow citizens and to those who are at present charged with the custody of our national welfare and safety you will continue to present the guarantee of a solid phalanx, on whose patriotic loyalty America can depend in peace and in every emergency short of war and including war, if that spectre should again stalk over our country. For the millions of workers who are today crushed under the despotism philosophy of totalitarianism in its varied forms you have also a message and a mission—the message that in America freedom is still triumphant, that in our social program christian principles still prevail, that our democratic way of living still holds the best promise of genuine contentment and reasonable prosperity; the mission to demonstrate that conservative democracy and not radicalism holds the key to the solution of humanity's problems. Proclaim to all the world, as you hold steadfastly to your course, that you realize your responsibility to the workers of America, to your fellow citizens of every class, to our beloved country, and that neither coercion nor persuasion will make you cease your constructive efforts until the ramparts of social justice, human welfare and national security stand proudly in our midst—in this consecration may you ever merit and enjoy the fullest measure of God's blessing.

President Green: We have been greatly honored by the visit of His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans, and we have been greatly helped by the address which he delivered this morning. I can readily see by the sentiments he expressed and the wise counsel he offered that His Excellency understands mighty well the problems of labor, the cause of labor, the hopes and aspirations of the toilers. May I assure him that in our organization work we are endeavoring to mobilize, not only the economic strength of the working men and women of the nation, but in addition the moral force of labor. We attach great importance to the development of the cultural and spiritual life of our people, and in achieving our purpose and in the attempt we make to realize our hopes and our ambitions, we are endeavoring to exercise that degree of self-control and self-discipline so essential to success.

I thank His Excellency from the bottom of my heart for you, this morning, for his visit to this convention and for the wonderful address he delivered.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Woll for a motion.

Vice-President Woll: We have just listened to a most eloquent, most instructive and most impressive address by His Grace, Archbishop Rummel, of New Orleans. In his address he referred to the sermon delivered at High Mass on Sunday last. Those who were privileged to hear that address were equally stirred as were the delegates here this morning. And in order that our membership may read and be inspired by

the thoughts expressed in that sermon, I move you that the sermon of His Grace, the Most Reverend Archbishop Rummel, may be included in the proceedings of this Convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: We have with us another distinguished visitor. I refer to National Commander Warner, of the American Legion. He is here in the hall. I will have the committee escort him to the stage just now, Commander Warner.

For many years, ever since the American Legion was organized following the conclusion of the World War, there has been established and maintained between that splendid national patriotic organization and the American Federation of Labor a most happy, successful and splendid relationship. As you know, every year, ever since the Legion was formed, the Commander of the American Legion has attended and addressed the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In return the President of the American Federation of Labor has attended and addressed conventions of the American Legion. Through this experience we have not only established a happy relationship, but we have cultivated a close understanding between these two great American institutions. It is our purpose to maintain and develop this attitude. We have so much in common. We understand now as never before the need of national service on the part of American patriotic organizations, and I know of no two organizations in America, outside of the Church itself, that can render such patriotic service in this great national and international emergency as the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor.

I am happy to report to this convention that I attended the American Legion convention at Boston just a few months ago and there I delivered a message for you. I was cordially received, warmly welcomed, and offered the highest degree of hospitality. Now we have the National Commander of the American Legion, elected at that convention, to address us. We extend to him the same cordial welcome. We are happy that he is here to address us this morning. I am greatly pleased, it is a pleasure and a privilege to present to you the National Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Warner, of Toledo, Ohio.

MILO J. WARNER

(Commander, The American Legion)

President Green, Your Excellency, Most Reverend Archbishop Rummel, delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor—Thank you, Mr. Green, for that kindly, courteous, most sympathetic introduction and understanding statement

In making this appearance before the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor—as the National Commander of the American Legion—my thoughts turn back to a day in October, 1922, while our fourth annual Legion Convention was being held in this city.

The revered labor leader—Samuel Gompers—appeared before our convention in one of the early expressions of friendship and co-operation which have characterized the relations between our organizations ever since. I like to think of the manner in which the great Federation leader of that day described the parallel functions of our organizations. It was an utterance that has stood the test of time. There has been no reason to make the slightest revision of the phrases he used to portray the relationship then existing.

Mr. Gompers had described his knowledge of the movement to establish the American Legion. He had been in war-torn Europe when those who were the original leaders of the Legion were doing the spade work for the formation of our organization. Consequently, he knew us both as laborers and as soldiers. He knew us in war and he knew the manner of our preparation for return to the ways of peace.

In the course of his discussion he said:

"If there be two organizations in all America upon which its manhood, its womanhood, depends for the future safety of the Republic of the United States, it is The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. I grant that much can be done by almost any organization in assuaging pain, relieving distress, but, my friends, in these days it requires more than sympathy, it requires more than charity, it requires the manhood, the virility of Americanism. It requires the men who are willing to suffer, if need be, in order that the fundamental principles of our Republic shall be maintained at any cost."

Since 1922 both the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have lived up to the promises of their earlier days. Each has borne its burdens cheerfully. Each has shouldered its responsibilities gracefully. Each has added to the blessings of our country abundantly. Each has championed the ideas of democracy faithfully.

But the rest of the world has not been so fortunate as we of these great United States. In Europe ideological struggles have driven nations to forsake once again the ways of peace and "return to the wars" for a settlement of their disputes. Men, women and children, in many nations have suffered and died. Freedom as a lamp of hope has been snuffed out in the lives of more than one hundred millions of suffering people. Many institutions men cherished, have gone down to destruction.

There remains one great Empire whose self governing dominions are risking their all in defense of great principles. There remains in all the world primarily only our great Nation to bring all practical aid—and today it becomes more vital aid—to that Empire and to those allied with her in this struggle.

In our Nation, I know no organizations—no institutions—more steadfast in their stand for the principles upon which they were founded, than the American Federation of Labor and The American Legion.

We, of America, are indeed a unique people in the annals of civilization. Alone among the nations of the world, we always have made the most of the present and always have looked toward a future of even greater promise.

In these hours where empires hang in the balance, we need to be reminded again that we are still a young nation with a future. We need to express the certainty that we are a virile people of energy, character, and enthusiasm with an understanding eye toward the horizon.

In the hours that, in my opinion, will grow more serious before things grow better, we of the Legion and you of the American Federation of Labor should never forget that for more than 150 years has been the land of tomorrow.

Regardless of origin, of race, or of creed, our forefathers in this land worked together, fought together, and played together in the name of liberty. That is the spirit that your organization and the one I am honored to command this year must keep alive today.

War, depression, and panic have run their cycles in American history but always the individual American has emerged with new courage and unbounded enthusiasm plus the will to succeed. And so we will emerge from these trying days if we are faithful to the precepts of our founders.

During September of this year, as Mr. Green has stated to you, he addressed our Boston convention. He received a warm greeting. His declarations of adherence to the principles expressed by Mr. Gompers and repeated down through the years, brought forth the spontaneous enthusiastic support they merited. He left no doubt of his belief in the ability of our two organizations to accept and accomplish the difficult tasks destiny has placed before us in the present national emergency.

In his address, Mr. Green was substantially in agreement with our Boston declaration for giving all practicable aid to Great Britain.

Realizing that war takes many forms and that economic warfare leads to armed warfare, our Boston convention accepted the reality of the statement that—

In the larger sense—Hitler has already declared war upon our form of government. He has arrayed totalitarianism against representative government as we know it. So our convention faced the situation as we found it. Courageously and clearly the Legion adopted a stand announcing its feeling—the feeling of all patriotic loyal Americans who are desirous, first, last, and always, of preserving America and its freedom of thought, expression, and living.

Our convention said we can not properly protect America unless we are strong enough to meet any possible invasion before it arrives. We demanded a defense establishment strong enough to turn back such an invasion so that our homes remain intact—our families secure. To do this we must be prepared to do our fighting outside the United States—not for the salvation of any other country—but for America.

We said the two great bulwarks of our country are the Atlantic and the Pacific, and that their value to us depends upon our physical influence therein. To strengthen our influence, we must consider our defenses beyond our borders. We must establish ourselves in both oceans. We must have an adequate two-ocean Navy. To support our Navy and to keep our positions secure, we must be fully prepared in every sense of the word.

National defense in its broadest phases includes not only a strong army, an unsurpassed two-ocean Navy, and an invincible air corps, but an industry geared to produce in quantity and quality the munitions we need. But this national defense includes more importantly, if indeed not most importantly, a united nation, a nation understanding and determined, a nation spiritually aroused to its grave responsibilities and ready—be the cost what it may—to work for our common cause—our country and the American form of government which we have inherited from those, who by their sacrifices, have made it possible for us to enjoy its many privileges.

On these premises and solely for the defense of America, we said a sound national defense for this country requires us at this time to give all practicable aid to Great Britain and those allied with her. This does not mean the sending of troops to Europe. It does not mean joining side-by-side in actual war against Germany. It means just what it says. To properly defend our country, it is sound, sane, and logical as the issues are drawn and as the facts clearly appear, for us to give all practicable aid to Great Britain. Her Navy and her outposts, so far as our defenses are concerned, are of invaluable aid to us.

On another point in his address to our convention, Mr. Green indicated substantial agreement with another phase of our Boston convention program. In announce-

ing labor's acceptance of compulsory military service legislation, Mr. Green told us:

"Labor will do everything in its power to help the government make the draft a success and to protect the rights of millions of young men who are drafted in the next few years . . . It is only fair and proper that we do everything in our power to safeguard their jobs, their health, and their future security."

As the largest group of men in this Nation with experience of compulsory military service in the actual conduct of war, the Legion has favored universal military service. However, we view the present legislation as a temporary expedient. At our Boston convention we asked for the establishment of a permanent system of universal military training, in accordance with our long-established policy.

We have no quarrel with the Nation's decision to call these young men to its service at this time. However, we do advocate a system in the sense that Washington urged it—one calling for the basic training of the young men of our country before they come to the position of responsibility in adulthood. In line with your desire for their future security we ask for their training in military education before they have become wage earners. We want their military training as a part of their educational training, so that there shall be no displacement of the wage-earner, no disruption of adult careers, no economic upheaval produced by drawing men away from their work in time of peace.

The Legion and organized labor, as represented by the Federation, have much in common as Mr. Green has so ably stated to you. Both of us have espoused great humanitarian programs. Both of us have recognized the validity of man's claim to achieve the greatest return for the talents and the skills with which God has endowed him. We yield to none in our adherence to our beliefs in the sacred rights of the individual to make the pursuit of happiness—in the broadest sense of that phrase—our life goal.

We have demonstrated, through the example of our members the will and the capacity to suffer in war. Similarly we have struggled in peace to overcome the problems facing us. While we have not always been successful, we have remained undaunted. In the face of great odds, we have gone on in the effort to preserve the general well being.

Each of us has denounced Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and all they represent. We have recognized them for the things they are (applause). We have demonstrated the wisdom of banning them from America. The world revolution now in progress is the battle of ideologies we foresaw. If our warnings have gone unheeded in other parts of the world, we have succeeded in strengthening the peo-

ple of this country against the wily cunning of all their agencies.

As the days become more difficult, as we refuse these non-American doctrines that seek cover in the darkness of the past and dare not face the bright sun of the future, we must remind ourselves and our children continually that while life in America may not be perfect, and while some of the things which make it more nearly perfect have to be postponed to a future date, there is no place better anywhere else in the world (applause).

We are Americans in the world of today, and what a privilege. If you question it at all, and I know you do not, compare the blessings we are enjoying this very minute right here in this very room with those any other country in the world has to offer. While we are gathered here in a great body with great advance publicity, there are few places across the seas where men may gather even in the smallest groups without arousing suspicion.

While we speak freely, and indeed I am speaking freely to you today, others must padlock their lips or whisper in guarded tones.

While lights may brighten these walls, others live in the darkness, the tragedy of the blackout.

While we breathe God's own pure air, others are adjusting their gas masks. While we live peacefully among ourselves, others stand day by day in increasing terror of their nearest neighbors. While we may dial our radio to any program anywhere in the world, others must deafen their ears to the outside and listen only to the voice of the self-appointed master. While we may think and say what we please, the lives of others are circumscribed to the minutest detail.

Here in America each of us is still free to live his own life in his own way so long as he doesn't encroach upon the similar rights of others. In Europe there may be indeed even a stigma attached to class origin which may taint the life of a whole family, even a whole people. Here in America men are measured by their own conduct.

If you of the American Federation of Labor and we of the American Legion suffer our country to lose this liberty, our dreams and plans for a better, happier life, will be destroyed. A time will come and may come soon—fellow Americans, when again you and I as individuals can emphasize our personal hopes and our individual desires. But now we must see that all Americans understand—as you and I understand—that until we of America achieve a strong armor of protection for our beloved country such things must take second place. For, fellow Americans, unless we become strong immediately, and parenthetically, unless we furnish England equipment in great quantities immediately, the world and we of America, may be turned back into a darker age when the

simplest of rights, which we now take for granted, will be lost for generations.

(Applause.)

This is the language of foreboding. It is not the language of defeatism. It is the language of understanding and confidence in our future coupled with the realization that American must understand, even as you and I, that the crisis of today is the crisis which vitally affects you and me, our country, and our future.

Now you have not always agreed with us in everything we urged. We have called for universal service in time of war. Our advocacy of universal service in time of war is born of the conviction that war economy creates a situation where equal service for all, with special privilege for none, is demanded. All of our effort in this direction for the past two decades was for the establishment of a system available for instant use in any emergency.

It is almost totally academic to discuss this point now. And may I say this, I feel this country can properly preserve every democratic institution and form of government, and I am sure we can and will get together as a united nation. The Congress has enacted legislation giving, in time of peace, many policies we advocated for a time of emergency. Universal Service is being given effect piece-meal, through the legislation being adopted by Congress. There is nothing to indicate the process will not be continued as our Nation struggles to prepare a total defense in the hope we may be ready for any emergency.

You in your sixty years, have seen three generations come to manhood. Your organization has gone through two wars and through great periods of economic stress in peace time. Yours is a continuing and renewing organization geared to bring its great strength to the benefit of all our people. In war and in peace you have demonstrated your strength.

We, of the Legion, an organization born of war, are dedicated to the cause of peace. We ask for total preparation of our defenses now as a means to avoid war. Sixty-five thousand of us who are ill in hospitals now, are an ever-present warning against the horrors of war. Hundreds of thousands of disabled carry their war disabilities in all the paths of life. It is because of these experiences of war that our members now demand the most complete total defense capable of production in this great, highly industrialized Nation—in the interest of peace. We of the Legion believe, as I believe you do, that the road of speedy and adequate preparedness, is the only road to peace.

In my belief all that our organizations have done—both the Federation and the Legion—has been a course of education to prepare us for the present moment in history. We are engaged in the struggle to determine whether government as we know it can survive. A determined and resourceful enemy of individual freedom has gone far in the effort to reduce men to slavery.

What we do may determine whether our Nation shall be strong enough to turn back such a threat from this Hemisphere.

Our people are national defense minded. There is no question of the will to prepare for any emergency. Man and machine are allied with the resources of a great people in the effort to lighten the threat against life as we know it. There remains only the actual test to determine whether each and every one of us—whether every great organization in our land—is ready and willing to make the sacrifices demanded of us—if we are to escape the sacrifices we shall be compelled to make to turn back the thrusts of the dictators designed to reduce us to slavery.

Oh yes, there are great domestic problems to be solved. The problem of unemployment is far from solution. Social legislation is far from achieving the things of which it is possible in our land. Many there are among us who have not shared the kind of life all of us would like to see all Americans enjoy. But these are problems we can solve only by preparing now to do everything possible to bring a return of world peace—through arming in defense of our own land.

Between June and November of this year our government let contracts for nearly eight billion dollars worth of national defense equipment. Thus a great portion of the funds appropriated has been started on the road to provide the ships and planes, the guns and shells, the food and housing, the training of men, it is necessary for us to have when total defense is achieved.

But more than all of that is required if Federation experience of the past 60 years and Legion experience of post-war decades, are to prove themselves in this testing time.

Our form of government is on trial before the most brutal court known to man. It is a trial where the least error in the brief for the defense will place us in the unenviable position of the small European nations that have gone down to destruction.

Our commitments in this hemisphere are vast. Literally the hopes of the world are bound up in the preparations we make to defend our own shores. The question is whether we shall have the capacity for suffering and for sacrifice all of us will be called upon to make to preserve the things we love.

America yet has a choice in this world situation. Now—while we are at peace—all of us can make the lesser sacrifices necessary to avoid the greater sacrifices that threaten. Each of us in the Legion, each of us in the Federation, can put a valuation on the things we hold most dear. We can determine for ourselves whether we choose the path of the immediate sacrifice that must be followed if we are to make it clear to dictators everywhere that here is a Nation prepared to speak the language of force, if that is the only language with meaning to them. (Applause.)

I have great confidence in the ability of all America to meet this challenge. I am

equally confident the membership that gives strength to the Legion and the Federation provides a great share of the strength of our Nation. Each of us has seen enough of sorrow and of suffering. We go now to prepare a Nation destined to preserve its greatness against any threat.

The sanctity of our homes, the fulfillment of our hopes, the preservation of Christianity here in America, will be much safer if our preparation of the Nation leaves us a people still privileged to protect the God-given rights of man. The sacrifices that we make now are our assurances that we shall be able to defend our lives, our families, and our homes against the sacrifices we must be prepared to make if the world revolution now in progress is successful.

We, who saw the Federation serve the Nation in the World War, have no doubt of your willingness to make the proper choice now. There is none who can question the record of your willingness to prepare the Nation to the utmost limit of your strength as an organization.

In visualizing the course the Legion and the Federation must follow in the immediate future, in preparing all America to choose the lesser sacrifice, let me quote one who knows the price each generation must pay to re-win, to re-establish, individual liberties. He said:

"The future of democracy on all continents as well as here in the United States lies largely in the hands of labor. Wage earners and their families constitute the great majority of the people. It is primarily the workers and the other underprivileged who gain new opportunity with each forward step in establishing for every human being real opportunity for his progress in all the relationships of our common life. Wage earners are helpless without the opportunity for progress which democracy provides. We want to see an end of starvation on this earth—whether starvation for food or for the opportunity of living a good life. This is our special interest. Democracy is not confined to the political or economic fields; it is a way of living applied to the whole of existence. It implies the principles of freedom that must continuously be applied to human relationships under changing conditions. Democracy does not bring the dead-levels of regimentation, but experience with democratic procedures develops discrimination and the realization that identical provisions for all do not necessarily result in equal opportunity for all. Democracy assures individual freedom. To work out the transition from a social structure that provides special privilege for those in positions of power, to a social order providing equal opportunity for all, is something that challenges both our intelligence and our integrity."

Gentlemen of this convention, I have no doubt the quotation I have just read is familiar to you. It is taken from Mr. Green's volume on "LABOR AND DEMOC-

RACY". I can think of no finer call to labor in its application to the present emergency than the one he has here expressed. I am sure that in your hands there will never be any doubt of labor's capacity and willingness to accept the test of these times. In so doing labor will go far to establish the type of government Mr. Green had in mind when he wrote those lines. We in the Legion will continue to work with you in promoting peace in America. (Applause.)

President Green: We have been especially favored this morning through the visits of these two distinguished men. This marks another outstanding experience in the proceedings of this convention.

I want to assure the Commander of the American Legion that we respond wholeheartedly to the national patriotic sentiments which he expressed in his eloquent address this morning. It is indeed fortunate that in this our hour of great distress, with a shadow of war hanging over us, there are functioning in America two great organizations such as the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. As the Commander has well pointed out, we disagree on some matters of policy—that is democratic in action—but upon the great primary questions of patriotic service, national unity and democracy, we are in common accord.

I thank Commander Warner for his visit here this morning and for the eloquent address he delivered to this convention.

We will now resume the regular order of business, and the Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

Expressing Sympathy for Cause of Gantner Employees of California

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles Zimmerman, Morris Bialis, Louis Stulberg, John Gelo, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union employed by Gantner of California, formerly known as Gantner & Mattern, manufacturers of swim suits and sweaters, have been locked out since January of this year and the firm has since then obstinately refused to renew its contractual relations with the union and defiantly rejected collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, This lockout was precipitated because the Gantner workers had in October, 1939, refused to pass a picket line established by striking building service workers in the Gantner factory and the firm in a spirit of revenge thereupon refused reemployment to these men and women, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, taking cognizance of the plight of these locked out members of organized labor, have endorsed this fight of the Gantner workers for their jobs and for the elementary rights of organized American wage earners and have placed the Gantner products on the unfair list thereby apprising the entire country of the union-smashing attitude of the Gantner firm and asking members of organized labor to do likewise, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New Orleans, La., express its full sympathy with the locked out Gantner workers and place the Gantner products on the unfair list of organized labor until such time as the Gantner firm will reemploy its workers and agree to reenter contractual relations with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on the basis of collective bargaining and the generally accepted trade union conditions prevailing in the knitwear industry.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that an effort be made to effect an adjustment of the dispute, failing in which information shall be sent to the trade union movement, setting forth the unfair attitude assumed by the Gantner Company.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Jennie Matyas, Ladies' Garment Workers, San Francisco: May I speak for the approval of the committee's report. I should like to do that because I would like to tell the delegates here of our lockout and thank them for the help that has already been given to our very serious situation and to appeal to you for further assistance.

I rather believe that most of you know the story of the unprecedented victimization of a great many of our workers in San Francisco. You have probably received mail from our officers, but I should like, however, to be allowed the privilege of telling you the story of our locked-out workers in as few words as possible.

I have read the history of the labor movement. To my best knowledge there was never before a situation where so many workers were victimized for so long because they refused to cross a picket line of another union.

In October of 1939, more than a year ago, the firm of Gantner & Mattern, now known as Gantner-of-California, manufacturers of bathing suits and sweaters, fired a janitor. This man was not a member of our union. We have no jurisdiction over janitors. The janitors' union of which this man was a member tried to get the discharged man reinstated. The firm, very anti-union in its attitude, refused to meet with the Building Service Employees Union. The janitors' union

felt they had no other alternative but to call a strike. Although only one man was involved, 150 members of the International Ladies' Garment Union, then through no choice of our own, not affiliated with the Central Trades Council or the A. F. of L., nevertheless refused to cross the picket line when the janitors' union established a picket line.

In January, 1940, the janitors' union finally withdrew that picket line and allowed our people to go to work. When our people, through the union, asked for their jobs, they found the firm would not have them. Since January of 1940, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union made every effort to reinstate these workers whose jobs were lost to them because they respected a picket line of an American Federation of Labor union. All of our efforts were futile. The workers could not get their jobs back. We tried to arbitrate even the question of whether or not our workers were entitled to their jobs in spite of the fact they respected the picket line of another union.

The United States Department of Conciliation tried and made every effort to bring about a settlement, but the firm, die-hard and anti-union, refused to take back our workers.

Now, one year later our workers in San Francisco are still on the picket line, and through me they appeal to you to help them in every way that you can to make that firm realize that organized labor throughout the United States will not let down men and women—mostly women—who in their turn refused to let down another organization.

I want to say now while on the floor of this convention that the Teamsters' Union of San Francisco has helped us most beautifully. When we came out in our strike defense or the locked out Gantner employees they refused to pass our picket line, as we refused to cross the picket line of the Building Service Employees. The Teamsters' Union has been threatened with suit; yet they stand fast, and I wish to publicly thank them and President Tobin for the help they have given us. The Central Labor Council of San Francisco has helped us in every way. The California State Federation of Labor has helped us, but still the firm is adamant in its refusal to reinstate our workers.

Our International is of course back of these 200 workers in San Francisco who have been victimized. Not only are they conducting a boycott and asking every man and woman in sympathy with our cause not to buy any Gantner sweaters or bathing suits, but in addition they have stopped the production of Gantner & Mattern products in eastern factories. As a result, we have unemployed people in Pennsylvania and other New England states where Gantner merchandise had been manufactured. All our efforts to bring this firm to terms have so far been unproductive of bringing about a settlement. Unless you from all over the nation will go back and in your report of this convention will also remember to ask

your membership and the public at large in your communities, as well as the merchants in your cities, not to patronize Gantner so long as the firm insists on depriving these men and women who have worked for them for many years of their rightful jobs, and until you will have persuaded this firm that an agreement with organized labor is finer and better business than to fight labor.

I am very glad the Executive Council will be asked to attempt to bring this firm to terms. When you come to San Francisco for your convention next year, as, being a San Franciscan myself, I hope you will, it will be a great thing for our workers to come to the convention, not as strikers, but as reinstated workers in a union shop, to thank you for the splendid help you have given them and to thank you for the settlement which we hope you will have achieved.

In the meantime, we hope you will remember not to buy any Gantner merchandise until the firm has reinstated our workers, as it has refused to do during the past year, and will sign an agreement with the Inter-

national Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Thank you.

Delegate McFetridge, Building Service Employees International Union: The lady of the Garment Workers made a statement in respect to our picket line and her workers keeping away from work. That was during the previous regime, and may I say for the benefit of the delegates here, it has not been brought to our attention—I mean the present regime of the Building Service Employees International Union—and I assure the Ladies' Garment Workers and the delegates here that we will do everything possible to co-operate and see that these people get back to work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The hour of adjournment having arrived, we will recess until 2:30 this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 o'clock, p. m., of the same day.

Seventh Day — Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

Special Order—Election of Officers

Delegate Kovaleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a motion at this time, with your permission. I move that we have a special order of business tomorrow afternoon at 2:00 o'clock for the nomination and election of officers and the selection of a convention city for next year.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The special order is for the election of officers and the selection of the convention city for 1941.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Proposing Legislation to Provide Nation-Wide Program For Public Health

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The problem of public health, its cure and prevention, has been receiving serious public attention for years; and

WHEREAS, Much progress has been made in the direction of the care and treatment of disease among those able to pay for hospitalization and medical care; and

WHEREAS, But little progress or attention has been made toward the prevention of disease except in relation to the social and pulmonary diseases, among those in needy circumstances who are unable to afford regular or periodic medical examinations; Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to sponsor any and all legislation necessary to provide for a nation-wide program of the prevention, elimination or cure of disease among the needy or destitute workers of the country.

Inasmuch as Resolution No. 125 deals with a subject which has been referred to the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L., your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to that committee for its consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appointment of Governor of Puerto Rico to Succeed Admiral Leahy

Resolution No. 133—Submitted by P. Rivera Martinez, Delegate, State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, Admiral William D. Leahy was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico by the President of the United States in 1939, having taken possession of his office on September 11 of that year; and

WHEREAS, He has during the short period he has been in that post carried on a big task in the reconstruction and defense work of our Island, having been sympathetic to the cause of labor and unceasingly striving for the wellbeing of Puerto Rico; and

WHEREAS, He unflinchingly stood for the rights of all classes and never yielded to political demands insisting on depriving labor of representation in his Cabinet; and

WHEREAS, All well informed officials think of Governor Leahy as a man of superb all-around ability what he has demonstrated in all positions held, and

WHEREAS, All the press of the United States of the 23rd and 24th of November of this year carry the news that Governor Leahy has just been appointed Ambassador to France by the President of the United States, what represents a very well deserved promotion and recognition to the ability, intelligence and integrity of Governor Leahy; and

WHEREAS, While we feel gratified for his advancement into our public and International Life, we have to regret that Puerto Rico is to be deprived of his invaluable services to our Island who never before was served so faithfully and efficiently; and

WHEREAS, Changes in Governorship in the Territory of Puerto Rico have ever been seen with apprehension, since men unknown to the Island are selected for no term and at the pleasure of the President, the people of Puerto Rico having no saying in the selection; and

WHEREAS, While we have been privileged with the services of Governor Leahy at this time, and with other good selections, however, there have been instances in which wrong selections have been made to the detriment of Puerto Rico and the Federal Administration; and

WHEREAS, political changes were effected in Puerto Rico in the last general election which will demand the ability, intelligence and determination of a type

of man like Governor Leahy, in sympathy with labor and its problems, a social minded man determined to cope with all our local problems which are mainly social and economic, a firm believer in the New Deal and advocate of democracy that might guide our people in the right direction under the leadership of our President.

BE IT RESOLVED By this 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. THAT We feel gratified on the promotion of Admiral Leahy, Governor of Puerto Rico to the position of Ambassador of the United States to France and publicly express to him through these means our recognition and appreciation for his services to the people of Puerto Rico.

2. That in view of our interest in the wellbeing of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to wait on the President of the United States and to convey to him the message of this Convention that in appointing a New Governor for Puerto Rico, the interests of labor constituting the great majority in the Island, be taken into consideration.

3. That the President of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed, in learning of the appointment of a new Governor for Puerto Rico, to confer with him and advise him on the necessity of following the very well established policy of keeping at the head of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, a man from the ranks of labor selected from among the members of the American Federation of Labor, as it has been the case in Puerto Rico since the organization of the Labor Department in 1931.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Expressing Sympathy On Death Of Jerome Jones

Resolution No. 182—Submitted by Dewey L. Johnson, Atlanta Federation of Trades; J. O. Morgan, Georgia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jerome Jones, father of the southern labor movement, founder of the Atlanta Journal of Labor, and president-emeritus of the Atlanta Federation of Trades and the Georgia Federation of Labor, died in Atlanta, Georgia, early Tuesday morning, September 24, 1946, in his eighty-sixth year, and

WHEREAS, His service to the worker in general and organized labor in particular, his persistent espousal of the cause of public education, his fight for civic betterment and the promotion of human welfare brought him into nationwide prominence as one of

the country's most constructive citizens, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desires to recognize him not only as one of its own number but as one who has by his active life of service, earned for himself the undying gratitude of his comrades and has transmitted to the labor movement a heritage that is invaluable,

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that the following be inscribed on the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor convention as a perpetual tribute to him and as a token of our love and esteem:

A Memorial To Jerome Jones

Jerome Jones was born in Nashville, Tennessee, July 4, 1865, the son of Welsh parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Jones. He was the son of the editor of the Daily Nashville Union American. Early in life he espoused the cause of labor and was one of the organizers of the Central Labor Union of Nashville, the founder of the Nashville Journal of Labor. At one time Jerome Jones served in the Tennessee legislature.

At the request of Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, Jerome Jones went to Atlanta, Georgia, to assist in the promotion of the union movement in the southeast. He organized the Atlanta Journal of Labor, a newspaper which he edited up to the time of his death more than forty-two years later.

Jerome Jones was fearless and bold in the cause of right and earned national recognition for his conservatism, wise counsel, and his advocacy of conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes. In 1914, he, as Southern Representative of President Samuel Gompers, was called to Washington to assist President Gompers in securing the passage by Congress of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. This far-reaching legislation has been truly called the Magna Carta of the working man in America, declaring as it does that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity, or an article of commerce," and, therefore, not subject to anti-trust laws.

Jerome Jones was recognized as one of the ablest advocates of universal education and strongest supporters of the public schools, believing that only through education could the children of America be best fitted for efficient and happy living in a democracy. He was recognized by people in all walks of life as one who sought not to advance the cause of one group at the expense of another, not to enrich one at the loss of another but sought to achieve the advancement of one through the betterment of all. He was a sincere, loyal, constant and powerful force for social and economic betterment of the masses of the people.

His activities in behalf of the American Federation of Labor have covered more

than a half century. This great patriarch of the labor movement, the "Samuel Gompers of the South" lived through that era when to expound the tenets of labor brought down the wrath and ire of most employers together with governmental forces. However, he lived to see, and we believe with God that watches above us preserved him to witness it, the greatest assembly of labor representatives ever known in the southeast. He lived to see the City of Atlanta honor the American Federation of Labor. He lived to see and hear employers on this occasion deliver messages to labor, avowing their trust in the labor movement. This occasion was the Southern Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, this past year. Jerome Jones, in his years of active effort for the labor movement throughout the South, saw great changes and mighty forces at work.

We recognize our indebtedness to Jerome Jones for his patient teaching of the fundamental principles of organized labor, for his example of unselfish zeal and faithfulness in the cause of the union movement and, above all, his supreme faith in man and in God, his creator. He truly was

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,

Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, that right were worsted,
Wrong would triumph.

Held that we fall to rise, are baffled to
fight better,

Sleep to wake!"

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Expressing Sympathy for Cause of Greece in Its Struggle Against Fascist Italy

Resolution No. 180—By Delegate Hugo Ernst and Nat Messing, on behalf of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The country of Greece is today being threatened with invasion by the Axis Powers; and

WHEREAS, Fascist Italy has without just cause sought to impose its will upon a free people; and

WHEREAS, a national committee composed of outstanding Philhellenes and Greek-Americans, both known as the Greek War Relief Association has been formed with offices at the St. Moritz Hotel, New York City, for the purpose of raising funds to furnish relief to the stricken families in Greece. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record expressing its warmest sym-

pathy for the cause of Greece in its heroic struggle to uphold the hand of liberty, democracy and everything that is precious to mankind, and to prove that men shall continue to be free, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that all possible material and moral aid be given by the various locals of the American Federation of Labor to Greece through aforementioned Greek War Relief Association and other accredited channels.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Extension of Union Management Cooperation

Resolution No. 181—By H. W. Brown, International Association of Machinists; E. E. Milliman, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; B. M. Jewell, President, Railway Employees Department; Felix H. Knight, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; Roy T. Horn, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

The world-wide situation in which democratic and totalitarian institutions are contending for supremacy, make unprecedented demands upon our industries for the materials for defense as well as for the things required for civilized living. To produce with speed and efficiency the things necessary for the adequate defense of our country and the improvement of our living standards is our most urgent present necessity, for we face great danger.

The highest level of organization for production which we have achieved for peace time needs is that based on co-operation between management and the free and independent unions of workers. Union-management co-operation, by mobilizing the intellectual and productive capacities of all engaged in industry, makes possible improved production and more equitably distributes the general responsibility for output.

So that we may be ready for this crucial test of the ability of our democratic people to rearm for defense quickly and effectively and at the same time maintain and improve our living standards as well as demonstrate the soundness of democratic procedures, be it

RESOLVED, that we urge the extension of the practice of union management co-operation throughout industries as rapidly as union organization will warrant and for the encouragement and maintenance of such extension we direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to create a committee on which he shall serve to plan for a service agency to

counsel union management co-operation undertakings.

Your committee recommends that this question be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTRODUCTION

(Executive Council's Report)

Your committee approves of the introduction, and would call particular attention to the final paragraph which reads:

"As we realize the value of institutions preserving individual liberty and personal rights, we pledge ourselves and our movement during the coming decade to the preservation and the practice of the democratic way of life. We would be free and give our children opportunity for freedom."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSCRIPTION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 68)

In this section of the Executive Council's report, reference is made to conditions which preceded the enactment of the Conscription Law, and closes with the statement that

"The Executive Council has ordered that members of local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, who enter the military service, be protected as to their standing in their unions, and it has also recommended that affiliated National and International Unions give consideration to this question."

Your committee concurs in these recommendations.

The existing Conscription Law covers a five year period. It is the sincere hope of your committee that conditions abroad as they affect the defense of our continent, will be such that there will be no continuation of a conscription system when the present law expires.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

IMMIGRATION, NATURALIZATION, ETC.

(Executive Council's Report, Page 87)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report it deals with alien registration, naturalization without declaration of intention, deportation, nationality code, and Asiatic exclusion.

With these portions of the Executive Council's report your committee is in harmony and moves their approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

(Executive Council's Report, Page 181)

This portion of the Executive Council's report calls attention to the changes made in the publication of the American Federationist, its format and its exclusion of advertisements.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee records its approval of the appearance and the contents of the American Federationist since the action taken by the Executive Council at its meeting in January of this year. The changes made are most commendable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 182)

Your committee concurs with the statement of the Executive Council in this portion of the report, that the labor press has rendered most valuable service to the trade union movement in its publicity and its education of trade unions.

We join with the Executive Council in expressing the belief that the Weekly News Service has been of most practical assistance to the labor press, and we likewise concur with the appeal voiced by the Executive Council that our labor publications loyal supporters of the American Federation of Labor, will be given increased support by the membership of the American Federation of Labor and all their friends in every locality where a bona fide labor paper is published.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF FOR FISCAL YEAR 1941

(Executive Council's Report, Page 78)

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the sub-caption Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941, your committee recommends approval of this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 212)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report, attention is called to the present condition which prevents the shipping of German goods to our country. This condition in no way changes the underlying principle and purpose which led the American Federation of Labor to place a boycott on German goods and German services.

We concur in the Executive Council's declaration that policies of racial persecution, personal cruelty, reversion to absolutism on the part of the Nazi Government represent a philosophy and a course of action with which we can have nothing in common.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 56)

This portion of the Executive Council's report, relates to the reaffiliation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union with the American Federation of Labor. The action taken by this great International Union and its officers has a far-reaching effect upon that membership and upon the trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

It has always been recognized that this great organization in addition to its virility, has given special consideration to the education of its membership and the development of their cultural possibilities, as evidenced, among other things, by their play "Pins and Needles," in which all of

the actors were members of their union, having their primary education as actors in the numerous local theatrical groups whose activities were carried on under the auspices of the International Union.

This organization was one of the first to establish a summer camp where its members could vacation during the summertime under wholesome trade union conditions and where their education in the problems of labor could be continued.

There was profound regret when circumstances removed them from our councils. There is much satisfaction in their return. Their re-affiliation had a most far-reaching effect upon the organized movement which had fondly hoped to supersede the American Federation of Labor.

Their return to the family of the American Federation of Labor will have a far-reaching influence upon other organizations not now affiliated with us, and should hasten the day and make easier those negotiations which we fervently hope will soon be resumed having for their purpose the unifying of the American trade union movement.

We welcome the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and extend to them without reserve the hand of friendship, fellowship and fraternity.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: The chair cannot refrain from making just one or two observations in connection with this report. I want to frankly state that nothing that has transpired in the administrative affairs of the American Federation of Labor during the past year has made me more happy than the return of the International Ladies' Garment Workers to the American Federation of Labor. I know the officers and members in the American Federation of Labor, the millions associated with me, shared with me my feeling of happiness and satisfaction over this event.

No one can adequately express the favorable effect of the Ladies' Garment Workers return to the American Federation of Labor upon the strength and administrative policies of the American Federation of Labor. It is, as you know, a very large organization. It has made a wonderful record in the field in which it exercises jurisdiction. I can recall when only a few years ago the members of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union were fighting and struggling in order to gain recognition. Since that time, because of the courageous action of the officers and members, the organization has been established and has extended its influence until practically all those employed in the Ladies' garment industry of the country

belong to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. It has carried on heroic fights in almost all the cities of the country. This international union possesses a broad, progressive outlook on life. It is constantly expanding its activities, it is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on artistic endeavor. It has made a record of which we can all be proud. I repeat and re-emphasize the language contained in the report of the committee, that we welcome the Ladies' Garment Workers back to the American Federation of Labor, and it is the warmest, most cordial welcome we can extend to any international union.

We hope that others who have left us have now become sufficiently disillusioned to see the light. We hope they will be courageous enough, as was the International Ladies' Garment Workers, to take the step, to take the road onward and come home to the American Federation of Labor during the coming year. I cannot refrain from expressing these sentiments on this occasion. We are happy to have the splendid delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers seated with us in this convention, sisters and brothers, helping us to formulate our policies and carry on our work.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 185)

The many legal problems arising as the result of new legislation such as the Norris-LaGuardia Act; the Bacon-Davis Act; the National Labor Relations Act; the Social Security Act, and others, led the Executive Council some three years ago to engage the services of legal counsel. As the Executive Council's report indicates, many important legal matters affecting the general interests of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International Unions have been handled by the Federation's General Counsel.

In addition to trying court cases, the General Counsel prepared numerous legal opinions, gave assistance in the preparation of legislative measures, and made appearances at hearings held by the boards and departments.

Your committee commends most highly the legal services rendered by the General Counsel and his associates. It has been made evident that the Legal Department is a valuable adjunct to the activities of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 129)

In this section of its report, the Executive Council calls attention to a most significant policy and trend which has interfered with the recovery of private industry and has created obstacles impeding a decline in relief expenditures and normal contraction of the relief program. This trend and policy is illustrated by the invasion of the construction industry by transferring construction of public projects from contracts with private companies to W. P. A. undertakings with wages and labor standards below those fixed by union agreements and prevailing in private industry.

The result has been to undermine by legislative enactments and by administrative rulings the constructive policy of prohibition of destructive competition between public and private construction work. The Executive Council points out that since the summer of 1939 at least 7 out of every 10 W. P. A. workers have been employed in the construction of public works. By administrative ruling the W. P. A. directed that labor on all contract work should be supplied from relief rolls and only in the event labor could not be supplied by this source could the contractor employ workers through the normal channels. As a result practices subversive to trade skills have been set up which will plague the workers of the construction industry while the industry itself has been prevented from exercising its normal pull toward recovery.

These policies are unfortunate and harmful and we recommend every effort possible to secure reversal. We recommend that emphatic and positive action be taken to prevent the extension of such short-sighted policies into defense construction as a policy calculated to destroy confidence in the good faith of the government, thereby undermining morale and national unity when most needed. We recommend full provisions for the needy and unemployed workers but under conditions that will not interfere with their readjustment in the normal business structure and future progress. The first step to this end is the proposal we have repeatedly endorsed and urged—a long range public works program designed to conform to changing business trends and adjust to need for greater employment. We must find remedies for relief that do not interfere with permanent relief and which strengthen our free democratic institutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR STANDARDS ON PUBLIC CONTRACTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 138)

This law (Walsh-Healy Act) in effect since June, 1936, has been more important with the decline in relief production and expansion of defense production. We note that prevailing minimum rates have been determined for thirty-one industries and the regional variations have been asked and granted in a number of industries. We approve the position of the American Federation of Labor in opposing such regional differentiations and recommend continued efforts to maintain the protection afforded workers and industries by the provision of this law which outlaws irresponsible bidders and prohibits the employment of girls under 18 and boys under 17 years of age, together with convict labor.

Our intention has been called to a ruling of the Comptroller General which if continued would place many millions of dollars worth of manufactured goods outside the operation of the law. As a result of the Comptroller General's ruling the Cessna Aircraft Company has obtained exemption from the provisions of the Public Contract Act on the ground that the manufacture of aircraft engines does not come under the law.

The ruling is of such grave importance that your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this question so that the ruling relative to the manufacture of aircraft engines and other commodities placed on order, be set aside.

With this recommendation your committee moves approval of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AN ADEQUATE LIVING STANDARD

(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)

In this section of the Executive Council's report is indicated what is necessary to bring standards of living for all families up to an accepted American standard. Certainly \$1 per hour for 40 hours a week is not an extravagant standard and that standard is the least that will maintain a health and efficiency standard for a family of five. Yet only 15 per cent of all wage earners families could maintain that standard in 1935-6. As the Executive Council points out this situation remains materially unchanged.

Your committee wishes to emphasize the fact that only increased business activity

will enable us to raise living standards for more families to a health and efficiency level with the maintenance of existing work and pay standards. In addition to defense production there must be expansion of consumer and capital goods industries.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRODUCTIVITY AND EARNINGS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 99)

Increased productivity means that each worker is responsible for a larger output, and that he should be paid a proportionately higher rate for his services. No matter how intricate and valuable the machinery he can operate, its usefulness and profitability are conditioned by the control of the worker operating it.

Fittingly increased productivity of our workers has resulted in an all-time high in average hourly earnings reported by the U. S. Department of Labor. The Executive Council's report emphasizes the fact that this improvement is the result of union organization and collective bargaining, reinforced by the foundation of minimum standards fixed by the Fair Labor Standards Act, was an all important contributing factor to these results.

The Executive Council emphasizes that increased productivity has been accompanied by lower labor costs per unit of product. In addition, increased productivity has resulted in lower prices which have brought higher real incomes to wage earners and all salaried workers.

As the Executive Council points out, sustained increases in productivity make possible continuous increases in wages and decreases in the work hours.

We recommend approval of this section of the report with appreciation of the facts presented which constitute measuring rods indicating the effectiveness of collective bargaining.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION AND LIVING STANDARDS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 95)

We wish to commend the Executive Council on its clear-cut factual presentation of the need to maintain production for the normal needs of the nation. Our plans and efforts to defend democracy must be based

on the concept that democracy is a way of life for all of our people including the workers as well as those devoted to other interests.

As the Executive Council points out, our first concern in our program for expanded production is to absorb into our work program our army of unemployed. Although we have added our defense production controlled by the Federal Government, to production to serve the normal needs of our nation, we still have a reserve of over 8 millions of persons without jobs.

The major and controlling fact in relation to war and defense programs is that there must be a total plan covering all groups in the nation. In planning defense for the United States we have three major groups: enlisted persons operating our defense agencies, those engaged in defense production, and those carrying on the normal activities in our country. This section of the Executive Council's report is concerned with the second and third groups.

The major and controlling fact with regard to plans for workers employed on defense work and standards of living for them and all other citizens lies in our capacity to produce. In the United States we have achieved the highest productivity per worker in the world, and have geared our labor and living standards accordingly. Highly mechanized tools geared to mechanical power, have made it possible for fewer workers to turn out a greatly increased production—output per worker has increased 25 per cent since 1935. As the report points out, in the past decade output of mines and factories increased 6 per cent while the work week was cut 10 hours and the work force cut by 800,000.

If we maintain our consumer industries at levels that will at least maintain established standards of living for those in both normal and defense production within the coming year, millions of additional workers will be employed in defense and consumer goods production.

To maintain our purchasing power, the real wage must be maintained. As prices increase, wages must likewise increase, or labor suffers a reduction in its income. In addition, to maintain a sound economic balance, wages must increase with corresponding increased productivity.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted. The committee reported jointly upon the following subjects:

The C. I. O.—Its Attitude Toward Peace Negotiations, page 59 Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 167.

Letter from President Roosevelt to President Green.

Resolution No. 167 is as follows:

Proposing Appointment of Committee to Settle A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Controversy

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, George L. Googe, Louis P. Sahuque, Thomas E. Dunwoody.

WHEREAS, The existing controversy between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations presents an order that is dangerous not only to the trades-union movement of America and the processes of recovery in industry, but likewise to the Republic of the United States, and

WHEREAS, There should be no insurmountable obstacles in the adjustment of this important issue contemplating the establishment of solidarity and peace in the labor ranks of the United States and of Canada, Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to appoint a Committee of three (3) members of the American Federation of Labor, who will be clothed with authority to open negotiations with the Congress of Industrial Organizations looking to an amicable and equitable settlement of the pending differences, and that said committee shall have full and complete power to make such adjustments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the president and secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to place at the disposal of the committee all the facts and records in connection with previous negotiations, and that they be likewise instructed and directed to meet such expenses as may be incurred by the committee of three in connection with the negotiations and settlement of the issues.

In connection with this subject, your committee has considered Resolution No. 167 and the communication of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the President of the American Federation of Labor, and his reply thereto.

The Executive Council's report contains a record of what has transpired in connection with peace negotiations during the year. It is a most worthwhile addition to the reports made on this subject at previous conventions by the Executive Council, and brings the record up to the present time.

There is unquestioned evidence that at all times the American Federation of Labor has endeavored, and with a friendly attitude, to continue peace negotiations with the other organization. The committee appointed by the Executive Council to carry on negotiations with a like committee from the other organization is still in existence,

and your committee recommends its continuance.

Your committee recognizes the friendly suggestions contained in President Roosevelt's message to this convention, and approves of the reply made thereto by President William Green.

In connection with the subject of peace negotiations, attention must be called to the large number of wage earners who are still unorganized and unable to advance their wages and improve their conditions of employment. Regardless of the trend taken by peace negotiations, it is mandatory that the American Federation of Labor make use of all of its agencies so that trade unionism may be brought to the assistance of those who are at present unorganized. This is a duty and a responsibility which we cannot and must not evade.

With these comments your committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR AND THE ANTI-TRUST DRIVE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 143)

Your committee jointly considered that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption and Resolution No. 129, which is as follows:

Demanding Legislation to Protect Labor Organizations From Application of Anti-Trust Laws

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the past year, the U. S. Department of Justice, through Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, has taken upon itself the criminal prosecution of many labor unions and their officers under the Sherman and Clayton Anti-Trust Laws, from the provisions of which, for many years, organized labor had deemed itself exempt; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice has taken unto itself the power of declaring what activities of labor are "reasonable" and which are "unreasonable restraints of trade", and thus has arrogated unto itself the powers of legislation, and has caused great confusion, dissatisfaction and misunderstanding among the ranks of labor; now Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation goes on record as demanding the immediate pas-

sage of Congressional legislation designed to clarify the meaning of the Sherman and Clayton Acts, and to prevent their application to legitimate, time-honored and proper labor union activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary is directed to forward a copy of this resolution to President Roosevelt, to Attorney General Jackson and his assistant, Thurman Arnold, and to each member of Congress.

A little over a year ago, organized labor was startled by a criminal prosecution instituted by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice against an American Federation of Labor affiliate for having engaged in usual and ordinary union activities in furtherance of labor's interests. Before labor had an opportunity to appraise fully its significance, a number of prosecutions were instituted by the same Division of the Department of Justice against labor unions and their officials. In the past two years more prosecutions have been brought against organized labor for alleged violations of the anti-trust laws than had been brought in the preceding fifty years.

Thus, after years of effort and at a time when labor has succeeded in protecting its basic rights by legislation such as the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, and similar labor enactments, it is now confronted with the most vicious attack ever made upon it. No power or force, intent upon destroying labor's rights, could have devised a more destructive weapon with which to accomplish its end than the revival of anti-trust law prosecutions against labor unions.

These are not isolated prosecutions of alleged isolated violations of the law. The prosecutions are a course of action planned to fit in with the personal views of the head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice as to what constitutes proper labor union activities in relation to inter-state commerce.

With dramatics that approximate the art of showmanship, a number of prosecutions were launched at one and the same time on fantastic economic theories never heard of before. We use the word "dramatics" advisedly, because these prosecutions are based on new concepts of what constitutes a violation of the anti-trust laws, and good legal strategy would have dictated the bringing of one test case instead of launching upon an expensive and untried series of cases at one time. Likewise, we use the word "fantastic" advisedly, for what could be more fantastic than the interpretation placed on the anti-trust laws as to what constitutes illegal restraints of interstate commerce by the head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. In a letter dated November 20, 1939, to the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis, he holds among

other things the following union activities to constitute criminal violations of the anti-trust laws if they result in restraints upon interstate commerce:

- (1) Union activities designed to prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment, or more efficient methods.
- (2) Union activities designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor.
- (3) Union activities designed to bring about a change in an established bargaining agency.
- (4) Union activities in furtherance of jurisdictional disputes.

This concept discloses a woeful ignorance or deliberate attempt to destroy the fundamentals on which the organized labor movement was founded.

Regardless of the interpretation the Anti-Trust Division places upon union activities designed to prevent the use of cheaper materials, etc., every unbiased and informed person knows that these activities are engaged in, to prevent sweat shop labor and the distribution of sweat shop products. Regardless of the construction the Anti-Trust Division places upon union activities designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor, these activities are engaged in, among other things, for the purpose of shortening the work day and the work week, thus reducing unemployment by bringing about the hiring of additional labor. Regardless of the holding of the Anti-Trust Division, union activities designed to bring about a change in established collective bargaining agencies, are engaged in for the purpose of eliminating company unions and supplanting them with bargaining agencies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Regardless of the views of the Anti-Trust Division in relation to jurisdictional disputes, such disputes generally result from differences between labor organizations, arising out of the asserted right of workers to engage in particular classes of work for the protection of their livelihood. Often the jurisdictional dispute results from technological changes over which unions and their members have no control. Regrettable as jurisdictional disputes are, and desirable as it is to eliminate them, by amicable adjustments, the processes for adjustment are within the jurisdiction of labor and not within the civil or criminal courts.

However, this insidious attack by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice upon organized labor has, to quite a degree, been halted by decisions of the Federal courts.

We question the motives of the Anti-Trust Division in instituting criminal prosecutions and we can see no other reason for the prosecutions than that of malice towards our American Federation of Labor affiliates. This is further emphasized by the fact that only unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been prosecuted by this Department. Interference with in-

terstate commerce in restraint of trade by sit-down strikes and other activities, staged by dual and rival unions, brought no prosecutions against these dual and rival organizations, whereas American Federation of Labor unions having engaged in peaceful activities have been prosecuted by the score.

It remains for the American Federation of Labor to caution its affiliates against subtle attempts on the part of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice to procure conformance to its views of what constitute violations of the Anti-Trust laws by obtaining consent decrees from labor unions. A consent decree is, in effect, an injunction, rendered by the court through agreement of the parties by which the union is thereafter prohibited from doing certain things. In other words, it is nothing more nor less than old-style labor injunction, for the violation of which, unions, officials, and their members may be punished for contempt of court. This form of injunction is as abhorrent to organized labor as the injunctions against which labor fought for almost half a century, and which resulted in the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. We must beware lest the consent decree becomes as serious a menace to organized labor as was the old type injunction prior to the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. We therefore, admonish our affiliates to weigh carefully first, whether it is advisable to enter into a consent decree at all, and second, to have the provisions of the consent decree analyzed most carefully so that labor's fundamental and constitutional rights are not surrendered or destroyed.

In connection with the subject under consideration, attention is called to the fact that so far the Anti-Trust Division has prosecuted businessmen on a civil basis and under the operation of civil law, while labor officials and trade unions have been prosecuted under the criminal law and procedure. This is another evidence of the unfortunate bias and misconception of his responsibilities which has been shown by the head of the Anti-Trust Division.

We re-emphasize what was definitely expressed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor when the anti-trust laws were being considered by Congress, that is, that we were assured that these laws were not intended to embrace within their provisions labor unions and their activities. We re-emphasize that classic pronouncement which is the first sentence of Section 6 of the Clayton Act,—"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," and not being a commodity or article of commerce. It is not within the purview of the anti-trust laws, for such laws apply only to, and deal solely with, commodities and articles of commerce. There is a vast distinction between "labor" and the "thing produced" by labor. While "things produced" are subject to the anti-trust laws "labor" is not.

Therefore, we condemn most vigorously the unwarranted course pursued by the present Anti-Trust Division of the Depart-

ment of Justice towards organized labor and the fundamentals upon which it is founded. We must demand from those occupying higher positions than the person in charge of the Anti-Trust Division that they curb these unwarranted and destructive activities against organized labor.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee also considered Resolution No. 129. This report is designed to cover both subjects.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: For you and in your name, I commend the committee for this splendid report upon the subject of anti-trust to this convention.

WAGE INCREASES COMMENSURATE WITH PRODUCTIVITY

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 101)

The cornerstone in efforts to increase national income, to sustain business improvement, to health and efficiency standards of living for all families, is to increase the real wage in step with increases in productivity.

We urge unions where collective bargaining is established and agencies have been set up to handle grievances, to set up formal committees through which workers may co-operate with management in production efficiency and earning power. Unions should also understand the financial and production records of their employing companies for these records are properly the bases for bargaining upon the returns from joint work to be allotted to workers in the form of wage increases and hours decreases. Failure of unions to function properly—whatever the cause—will be reflected in consumer buying inadequate to sustain production.

Your committee recommends endorsement of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 182)

This section of the Executive Council Report deals with the service which the Federation supplies to federal labor unions. Your committee believes this policy is wise both from the business and

the educational approach. By helping these federal unions to develop constructive methods of collective bargaining the Federation is not only strengthening the union organization but is developing local leadership to become self-dependent. Information furnished to unions making ready for negotiations with their employers includes reports on the financial status and earnings of the employing company, wage scales in similar industries, outlook for their industry, productivity trends in the industry, cost of living changes, and budget costs.

Your committee records hearty approval of policy of the Executive Council in providing this type of service as well as in supplying the necessary research and information service in connection with the administration of the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts. Without factual information our efforts to secure fair determination of maximum hours under those acts would not have been so successful.

We note the practical service to state federations of labor by studying and furnishing information on trends and formulas in unemployment compensation laws. These formulas are so highly technical and deceptive that expert study is necessary as a basis for decision upon them. We hope state federations of labor will apply to the Federation for service before committing themselves to technical proposals in this field.

We believe the Federation has a responsibility for leadership and co-ordination of union activity in this field as in all union activities. A growing number of national and international organizations have set up research services for their unions. To them and to all other unions the Federation can serve as a clearing and co-ordinating agency for economies in securing information and in helping government agencies to understand union needs as a basis for determining what information to gather and compile.

We recommend approval of this section of the report and continuance of this service with such expansion as may be possible.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Reisdorf, Federal Labor Union 19806, Milwaukee: I want to commend the American Federation of Labor on this service to the Federal Labor Unions. We had occasion to use this service when we negotiated our new contract, and when we came to an increase in wages, we ran into a little difficulty until I pulled out the service that the American Federation of Labor had sent us showing how much money the company had made during the past year and which they would not admit until I showed them this report. I would highly recommend it to all Federal Labor Unions to take advantage of this

service because it was of great help to us as it will be to you.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 101)

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT AMENDMENTS

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 79)

The detailed and comprehensive report on the administration of this Act relates experiences typical of the administration of labor laws. Through informal rulings and administrative interpretations the scope and the purposes of law may be definitely curtailed and restricted. Against such administrative amendments, Labor finds relief most difficult. The experience gives special emphasis to our continued demands for intelligent and experienced personnel in administrative positions who understand the consequences of such interpretation in terms of labor welfare.

It is apparent that basic minimum standards are an important factor in raising living standards and in stabilizing business. These standards have been a deterrent to emotional changes in an emergency and thereby have helped safeguard established gains, and to maintain the morale of a large group of citizens.

Because of the magnitude of the job it is obvious that those directly concerned must assume a primary responsibility for the enforcement of minimum standards and for the payment of overtime for hours in excess of the minimum. Combined efforts will be necessary to secure the widest application and enforcement of the law.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee believes it important to commend Colonel Fleming, Administrator, Fair Labor Standards Act, for his definite position declaring that there should be no lowering of labor standards established by law because of the national defense program. We appreciate his understanding and sympathetic administration of the law.

We recommend approval of the Executive Council's report and concurrence with suggestions for amendments to extend the coverage of the law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF LABOR

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 220)

This portion of the Executive Council's report deals in much detail under a number of sub-headings with what has transpired during the year as it affects the trade union movement in Puerto Rico.

The report contains a statement of the record which does not require comment by your committee, with one exception, the reference made to Santiago Iglesias, President Free Federation of Labor, and of the Labor Party in Puerto Rico, and Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, as well as Secretary of the Pan American Federation of Labor.

For a lifetime Santiago Iglesias has been the great leader of Puerto Rican labor. He was active in the Pan American Federation of Labor from the time of its organization. Much of his time was spent in the United States where his contribution to the American trade union movement was widely recognized.

We knew him as a man of deep conviction and philosophy, tireless effort and unstinted devotion to the cause of labor. His memory should be a constant inspiration to those whom he served so long and so loyally in the labor movement in Puerto Rico. Our most profound sympathies are extended to the members of his family.

Your committee notes that on September last a commission was selected and authorized by the Wages and Hours Division, Department of Labor, to visit and survey industrial conditions in Puerto Rico, and submit recommendations regarding wage minimums in local industries.

The commission found deplorable conditions to exist. After a number of years it recommended a set of wage minimums for trades in Puerto Rico under the Fair Standards Act which, if adopted, will materially raise the standards of earnings and of living for tens of thousands of workers involved.

We are pleased to note that in addition to the selection of Prudencio Rivera Martinez, President, Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, also Commissioner of Labor, Mr. David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers was also appointed to this commission, and we commend Mr. Dubinsky for the valuable contributions made as a member of this commission.

Your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

In addition, your committee calls attention to the problems of organized labor in Puerto Rico, including the formation of a dual movement with the improving standards for labor and the op-

portunity for extended trade union organization. Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor give every possible assistance to the trade union movement of Puerto Rico.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY (NATIONAL LEGISLATION)

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 86)

The Executive Council reports pending national legislation intended to increase the coverage of the Social Security Act; to increase the amount of Federal aid for old age assistance payments in states with smaller per capita incomes; to provide minimum Federal standards for unemployment compensation with a reinsurance fund to assure the payments; to provide new hospital facilities especially for rural areas; to increase the appropriation for industrial hygiene work and place the supervision of such work under state departments of labor; and to provide for the appointment of a representative advisory council to study unemployment compensation. A more detailed report on these measures is included in the Executive Council's special report on social security. We recommend approval of the Federation's efforts on these measures.

The Executive Council further reports the enactment of laws which increases the benefits under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act; provide more adequate benefits and a reduced tax rate for unemployment compensation in the District of Columbia; allow bank employees in the District of Columbia to qualify for unemployment compensation benefits; and improves the retirement plan for the members of the police and fire departments of the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee will now report upon the subjects under sub-headings to that of Social Security.

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 113)

The Executive Council reports the highlights of five years under the Social Security Act. More than 50,000,000 workers now have accounts with the Social Security Board. Over \$38,000,000 has been paid in benefits to aged workers and surviving dependents of deceased insured workers. Every state has begun paying unemployment compensation and over \$1,000,000,000 has been paid in unemployment benefits. Jobs have

been found by the public employment offices for more than 5,000,000 persons since January 1, 1939. The aid to needy aged persons, children, and blind persons has increased more than four and a half times.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OLD AGE PROVISIONS (Old Age Assistance)

(Ex. Council's Report, Page 114)

The Executive Council reports that aside from the inadequate size of the old age assistance grants in many states, much of the criticism of such grants which helps promote unreasonable demands for pensions for everyone based on right, not on need, arises from onerous and unnecessary requirements for eligibility for pensions. A number of states have unnecessarily multiplied the difficulties of a needy old person in securing a pension.

We recognize the practical problem involved in paying uniform pensions to all persons of any specified age, regardless of need. We know that many extravagant pension plans would handicap tax-paying wage earners and prevent a sound development of a well-rounded plan of social security. We therefore recommend full support of the Executive Council's advice that we work for improvement and expansion of the Social Security Act rather than its replacement by any extravagant pension plan which is not on a sound financial basis and which concentrates on only one part of the total problem of social security—that of the aged person.

Your Committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS' INSURANCE

(Ex. Council's Report, Page 117)

We recommend hearty approval of the position of the Executive Council that we should work for old age protection for all wage earners and their families under either the Social Security or some existing public pension program.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security study the problems of providing continuous protection for persons who move in and out of covered employment or from the coverage of one type of pension plan to another, with a view to preventing loss of security to workers because of changing jobs.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY (Employment Service)

(Executive Council's Report, Page 119)

We recommend the activities of the Executive Council and Committee on Social Security in urging the adoption of such rules, and we recommend that the local social security committees work with our Committee on Social Security in observing the operation of these rules in local employment offices to the end that employment offices may in no case injure union standards. We recommend approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 120)

We recommend hearty approval of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to secure legislation providing for a thorough study of the whole unemployment compensation system. The failure of the states as reported by the Executive Council to provide reasonable benefits in spite of large and growing unused reserve funds which would have been kept within bounds had adequate benefit standards been adopted, makes it clear that Federal standards are necessary.

Pending the adoption of a Federal unemployment compensation system or adequate Federal standards for minimum benefits, maximum disqualification provisions and a reinsurance fund to assure benefit payments, we recommend endorsement of the Executive Council's proposals for an immediate program of state legislation.

1. A flat duration of at least 16 weeks in every state. In those states which can afford a better program, 20 weeks should be adopted.

2. A waiting period not longer than one week.

3. A reasonable minimum benefit—not less than \$5 in any state and higher in industrial states.

4. A benefit calculated in a manner which will pay at least 50 per cent of the worker's normal full-time wage. If quarterly-earnings formulas are used, the normal full-time wage should be deemed to be not less than one-tenth the earnings in the highest quarter. In no case should an annual-earnings formula be accepted.

5. A maximum of more than \$15 in industrial states in order not to depress so

seriously the standards of the average worker.

6. The limitation of penalty, disqualifications to an increase in the waiting period to a total of not more than 6 weeks. In no case should disqualifications cancel wage credits previously earned or charge off benefits as if they had been paid during the weeks of disqualification.

7. Benefits for partial unemployment in those states which still have no provision for such payments.

8. An elimination of experience rating.

We note with approval the A. F. of L.'s efforts to extend coverage of unemployment compensation to workers in small shops.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt this section of the committee's report.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, I rise at this time to state that I am in perfect accord with the report of the Executive Council and the report of the committee thereon. I am fully aware that it is not necessary for me to speak upon this subject to influence in any manner the action of the convention upon the report of the Executive Council and the report of the committee thereon, but I do believe that I should raise my voice at this time, perhaps for no other reason than to concentrate a little more the attention of the delegates to this convention on the importance of the subject which has been reported upon.

We have during the past few years gone into the matter of unemployment insurance, or as it has been latterly called "unemployment compensation legislation." It is unfortunate to my mind that labor of America was compelled to go upon the battle front on this subject in all of the states of the Union, as illy prepared as it was to meet the opposition and proponents of counterpropositions. As a result of that lack of information and preparation, there have been enacted in the United States a series of laws rather different and in many instances wholly inadequate to meet the problem of unemployment upon the part of the industrial workers.

I noted in the report, Mr. President, that it has something to say and also in the committee report that it has something to say about adequate benefits for those who are not employed. I should like to say that during the past few months I have corresponded with the American Federation of Labor rather extensively and with the members of Congress from the state of Ohio, as well as the Social Security Board, the Department of Labor and other governmental officials in Washington, urging that something be done along the lines of the McCormick Bill now pending in Congress. I take that position because I feel that unless we can have some Federal Act which will enable all of the states to proceed along the same line in re-

lation to the payment of benefits and the manner in which they shall be computed, we are going to work first a great injustice upon the unemployed worker of this country when he comes for his unemployment compensation. The reason I commented on that part of the report with reference to the injustice to the worker is that I think it is a larger subject than it appears to most of the delegates who sit here at this convention.

Unemployment insurance, unemployment compensation, Mr. President, redounds to the benefit of the individual worker. Unemployment insurance is a vehicle that was built to carry us through depressions. Unemployment insurance is for the whole body politic, and there is no one class of people in America that is more interested or should be more interested in adequate benefits to the unemployed than the business interests of this country, and yet in every state of the Union, every State Federation of Labor has battled to the death to prevent laws from being enacted that would minimize benefits to the level of bread and butter for the unemployed worker.

The purpose of unemployment insurance is, of course, to give benefits to the workers who are unemployed, but it is also for the purpose of putting purchasing power in the pockets of the unemployed of this country, so we may have a lessening of the valleys of depression caused by unemployment, and so we started out with 50 per cent of the wages. We had the idea that we would give to the unemployed workers 50 per cent of their normal full-time wage, and since it got into the hands of certain people to be administered, we find that ideal is not being carried out, and this report shows that men have received, and women, too, as small an amount as \$2.00 a week in my state in some instances—and I think that this state of mine is perhaps one of the best states in the payment of unemployment compensation—but in my state because of refusing to follow the law clearly, that benefits shall be paid upon the basis of full-time week. If it would work, we would not have as low as \$2.00 a week being paid to men and women to sustain them in times of unemployment. So I ask you officers of the American Federation of Labor, where is the purchasing power to assist business in periods of industrial depression if we give such a small amount to our unemployed?

The idea of unemployment insurance is not for any one particular state. It is for the whole United States of America. It is for the purpose of giving purchasing power for the purpose of relieving taxpayers from the burden of supporting those whom industry has put on the labor market. So I rise today to say these few words on this subject, so we may be able to do something in relation to these enormous surpluses that have been set up in every state of the Union, and as my fellow delegates who are in this convention today, know, in every state experts are being employed and schemes are being set up, for the purpose of doing what? For the purpose of further reducing the benefits, further curtailing the benefits that

will go to the unemployed workers, and for the purpose of turning back those surpluses to those who have paid their premiums under the State Compensation Law. And I say to you, Mr. President and delegates of this convention, we are faced at this time in America with the most serious situation that has ever confronted the American people because of the situation in Europe and other parts of the world.

Now is the time, in my judgment—now is the time to freeze these surpluses, freeze these surpluses that have accumulated and use them to reduce premiums without experience ratings. It can be done and it will make it possible to pay the workers of this nation sufficient benefits to sustain them and give them purchasing power in the next depression.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

DISABILITY PROBLEMS

Health Insurance and Hospitalization

(Executive Council's Report, Page 124)

We note with approval the continuation of the efforts of the A. F. of L. to promote the adoption of national legislation to provide more adequate hospital and medical care for persons of low income and to secure a program designed to meet the health needs of workers and their families.

We recommend approval of the position of the Executive Council that both permanent and temporary disability insurance should be added to our social security program within the next year and that the financing of these programs should avoid too heavy reliance on payroll taxes for workers and employers.

We further recommend that our Committee on Social Security study the whole field of social insurance to prepare plans to fill the gaps in the system so that our wage earners and their families may not suffer from loss of income, whatever may be the cause of such loss.

We commend to the attention of local unions consideration of the E. C. report on voluntary co-operation for medical service which, while not taking the place of a properly financed comprehensive national health insurance program, pays a useful part in many communities.

We recommend approval of this section of the E. C. report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION (Executive Council's Report, Page 127)

Your Executive Council warns of the continued opposition of stock and mutual insurance companies to state workmen's compensation funds, and the growing tendency of private insurance companies to fight the payment of benefit claims.

We recommend that the Federation and its affiliated unions renew their efforts to promote the real purpose of workmen's compensation by securing legislation which will preclude narrow, technical interpretations of the laws to the detriment of injured workers, and will replace private insurers by single state funds.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I do not want to trespass upon your time, but I just want to point out one thing in connection with that report, good as it is. I have no knowledge of any state in the union that enacted a compensation law and provided for an exclusive state fund or competitive state fund that has amended its law and gone over to the casualty insurance companies. Neither have I any knowledge of any state in the union that has adopted compensation laws and then gone over to the exclusive state fund, notwithstanding the declarations of this Federation over a long period of years and notwithstanding that very many prominent men in this Federation as well as some of the officers of it have journeyed at times to states to tell the story of exclusive state funds.

It is understood that where you have casualty companies the figures prove very distinctly and without question of doubt that it costs industry from 37 to 40 per cent more for the carrying of that insurance than it does under an exclusive state fund. The point I want to make, Mr. President, is this: Many of the State Federations of Labor over the years have endeavored to have this kind of legislation enacted. They have had the bills drawn and they have endeavored to convince the committees in their legislatures that the bills should be reported favorably and enacted into law. Just as soon as that is done in any state there is an immediate flocking of casualty insurance agencies and their attorneys to appear in these state capitals, and finding these men not as well equipped as they are to talk on such legislation they succeed in defeating it, and when all else fails, Mr. President, they will invariably say, "Why, there is Ohio, the fund is insolvent, the men and women of that state are not getting their workmen's compensation. Does labor of this state want to be in that condition?" And yet at the very time they are saying

it, the Ohio state fund is solvent and has the very largest reserves and surpluses ever known in the history of the state. No man or woman injured in industry in Ohio, no widow or dependent child of a killed worker in Ohio during all of the years of the depression ever was denied their compensation, and never did they fail to receive it because the fund was not able to pay it.

Go to California, go to New York, go to the other states and see what happened in the casualty companies in those states during the depression, when men and women and dependent children and widows were not able to secure their compensation because casualty companies became insolvent.

So I think this Federation and the officers of it should propose some plan by which they could furnish the information that when State Federations of Labor desire to approach the exclusive state fund principle in workmen's compensation, this Federation should be made familiar with the fact that they are going to undertake it, and then in the states in which there is a possible opportunity of stepping forward and adding another State to the exclusive state funds of this country, the Federation could step in and give every bit of technical and expert knowledge to that State Federation of Labor, because the State Federations of Labor, while they are efficiently manned, while their officers possess great ability, are sometimes isolated from the other states that have exclusive funds, and with their multitude of duties to perform they cannot get themselves in shape to meet this concentrated effort of the casualty companies in this country.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL SECURITY RIGHTS COM- MITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY (Executive Council's Report, Pages 127-128)

Your committee reports jointly upon the subjects, "Defense Production and Social Security Rights," Executive Council's Report, page 127, and "Committee on Social Security," Executive Council's Report, page 128, as follows:

Defense Production and Social Security Rights

The Executive Council here raised important questions of the social security rights of workers who go from private employment into military service or into civilian defense

work for the government. Unless the law is changed to make provision for these persons, they will lose valuable rights to unemployment compensation, their families will lose survivors rights, and they will either lose entirely or have decreased in amount, the retirement benefits they otherwise would receive at age 65. We believe those who contribute to the defense of our country, either in its military forces or in civilian defense occupations should be protected against loss of social insurance rights.

Committee on Social Security

The Executive Council reports the action of the Committee on Social Security in preparing a booklet designed to aid workers in keeping their own wage records to check against the wage receipts employers are required by the Social Security Act to furnish their employees. We note this action with approval.

Defense of our country demands that we strengthen the morale of wage earners and their families by fair treatment and protection against wage loss from all hazards beyond the workers' control. This is a time in which social insurance should be extended to millions of workers now excluded, and broadened to cover hazards against which the worker now has no safeguard.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, with one exception this completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and this exceptional resolution will be reported on just previously to the adjournment of the convention sine die.

The report of the committee is signed by:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman.
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.
A. A. MYRUP.
J. A. FRANKLIN.
THOMAS L. HUGHES.
WILLIAM E. MALONEY.
P. J. MORRIN.
DAVID DUBINSKY.
JOHN B. HAGGERTY.
L. P. LINDELOF.
R. G. SODERSTROM.
THOMAS H. O'DONNELL.
JOHN J. MARA.
FRED BAER.
HENRY STRICKLAND.
M. A. HUTCHESON.
ARNOLD ZANDER.
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT.
JOSEPH P. RYAN.
FRANK KASTEN.
D. A. MANNING.
Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: I now move you that the committee's report as acted on by this convention be approved as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I want to thank the committee in your name for the fine service rendered to this convention.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Building Trades Committee, President Coyne, of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Chairman Coyne: Secretary Masterton, of the committee, will read the report to the convention.

Proposing Adequate Housing in Defense Industry Areas

Resolution No. 150—By Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing conditions in the industrial areas of New Jersey and other States of this country are by no means adequate to provide properly for industrial workers, resulting in crowded, unsanitary conditions constituting a menace toward public health and morals, and

WHEREAS, The projected large increase in defense industries in these areas threatens to increase this overcrowding to a point where epidemic conditions will be certain to follow, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the Federal government to take all steps necessary to erect sufficient, sanitary dwellings to house all workers in defense industry areas, so as to avoid the dangers incident to such overcrowding and urges the adoption of legislation designed to effectuate such housing developments.

The war abroad is already creating new conditions in our economy, most important of which is the syphoning of wage earners into communities dominated by specialized production. The national defense program will also involve a rapid increase in specialized industrial facilities and their shift to the central cities of the nation. These developments will create emergency housing situations which must be remedied. Good housing must be provided for the workers who will flock to these industrial centers.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing National Conference On Housing

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The country is now faced with a serious housing shortage, and

WHEREAS, There is an ever increasing need for adequate housing for families of low and moderate incomes, and

WHEREAS, The danger exists of a recurrence of the experience during and after the last war when unwarranted increases in rent occurred, putting a serious strain upon the purchasing powers of our members, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor keep in close contact with the housing situation in all parts of the country and advise the American Federation of Labor, as well as the State and local federations, on steps to be taken to secure adequate housing facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give consideration to the desirability of having a National Conference called to consider all aspects of the housing situation and to discuss the problem thoroughly with the purpose of working out adequate national and local plans.

Resolution No. 100 provides that the American Federation of Labor give consideration to the desirability of having a National Conference called to consider all aspects of the housing situation and to discuss the problem thoroughly with the purpose of working out adequate national and local plans.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the provisions of the resolution are timely but that the time for such a conference to be held should be based upon legislation now before, or later introduced, in the Congress for enactment and your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation to Finance Extension and Continuity of Low Rent Housing Program

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, During the last decade, the Federal government, through several federal agencies particularly the United States Housing Authority and through local housing authorities, has entered upon a program of providing decent housing for families of low income, and

WHEREAS, The country is still faced with a serious housing shortage of more than 5,000,000 units, and

WHEREAS, In nearly all our communities, housing has fallen below the standard at which family life, health, and morals can be maintained, and

WHEREAS, The appropriation under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended in April, 1938, has now been expended, and

WHEREAS, The activities carried on under the Housing Act of 1937 gave a total of 600,000,000 man hours, in direct and indirect employment at prevailing wages, and

WHEREAS, At present families of low income cannot secure decent living accommodations at prices they can afford to pay, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to secure the passage of Senate Bill No. 591 in its original form, thus providing an additional \$800,000,000 for low rent housing construction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the continuation of a Federal and local program of slum elimination and low rent housing until all families have secured decent and safe housing accommodations.

Resolution No. 99 favoring legislation to finance extension and continuation of low rent housing program was referred to your Committee and we recommend concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor: I would like to express my appreciation and that of the Chicago Federation of Labor for the action of the committee in approving both of our resolutions in respect to housing. We in Chicago feel this is a question of the broadest implications. We are in favor of a housing program for America, not only because of slum clearance, not only because it will give employment to workers, but because of the social significance of the program.

I am a teacher, and I think it is difficult to teach children properly when they are living in undesirable surroundings. It seems to me that a grand program of housing for the people of the United States would be one of the best steps that could be taken, first to help bring us out of this horrible depression and, second, to establish a fine standard of living, both from a health and a moral point of view. I want to assure the committee that in Chicago the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Building Trades will do all in their power to assist in carrying out the program.

President Green: I suggest that when you go home to Chicago you get hold of John Fitzpatrick and the building tradesmen and tell them what a sweet lady did for them in this convention.

Delegate Duffy, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters: I am in entire accord

with this housing program, but I would like to remind the delegates to this convention that you could hardly build or construct or provide an ideal housing situation in a community unless you also include in that program that all materials and all products going into the construction of housing are manufactured and produced by members of organized labor. For instance, in this housing program there are undoubtedly millions of dollars of plumbing fixtures and electric fixtures, and no one can consider himself ideally and decently housed unless he has plumbing fixtures and all that goes with a modern home.

We have heard a voice, it seems to me, for forty years crying in the wilderness, asking that something be done by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor in seeing to it that plumbing fixtures and electrical fixtures and all those clay products that are being manufactured through the use of labor of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, are used. We have been in constant affiliation with the American Federation of Labor since 1899, not one break in all that time. From 1901 until 1910 or 1915, or along in there, the then officials of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters endeavored to have some wholehearted support, and they have with the sanitary potters, and we are still a voice crying in the wilderness.

May I ask that the Executive Council, and I am certain it lies within their power, endeavor to have the officials of the affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor in the building trades co-operate to work out some plan whereby they can give some practical and some definite assistance to the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters in working out some plan helpful to our people in their branch of the industry.

In the dinnerware, the hotel and restaurant branch of the potteries, we maintain good relations; but in the plumbing fixtures, the sanitary branch and in the art and novelty branches we find we are at a very great disadvantage, and I am asking you again to keep the Potters in mind, and every group affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whose members perform labor in the production of any material going into the housing program.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United States Housing Authority

Resolution No. 151.—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is urgent need for adequate new housing facilities to be constructed in connection with military and naval bases and defense industries, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority has demonstrated its ability to finance and supervise the construction of

decent, safe and sanitary public housing facilities efficiently and economically, and

WHEREAS, The labor standards and policies of the United States Housing Authority require payment of prevailing wages and fair labor practices, and

WHEREAS, Duplication of agencies, effort and personnel is wasteful and confusing and should be avoided, particularly in times of emergency, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the record of the United States Housing Authority is approved and the President and Congress of the United States are requested to direct the United States Housing Authority to construct or finance and supervise the construction of all public housing necessary in connection with the national defense emergency.

In connection with Resolution No. 151 your Committee being familiar with the operation of the United States Housing Authority have no hesitancy in recommending concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing United States Housing Administration Program For Low Rent Housing And Slum Clearance

Resolution No. 168.—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, William J. Moran, Thos. O'Donnell, Edward L. Nolan, Robert Dale, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union; George Master-son, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, William E. Quirk, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor initiated and secured the enactment of the low rent housing and slum clearance act, known as the United States Housing Act of 1937, and has given its full measure of cooperation and support to the United States Housing Authority in the administration of the program of low rent housing for wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The USHA program has made available to wage earners and their families compelled to live in slums, sound, decent and healthful homes in hundreds of communities throughout the United States at a negligible cost to the government and with full participation of local communities and of private enterprise, and

WHEREAS, The low rent housing and slum clearance projects made possible by the USHA program are built under fair labor conditions and provide employment to thousands of unemployed building trades mechanics and laborers under a plan which constitutes one of the most desirable and practical public works programs in terms of improvement of the welfare of the American people and of its lasting value to the nation, and

WHEREAS, The continuation and expansion of the low rent housing and slum clearance program has been made impossible by the pressure of the special interests opposed to labor which succeeded in blocking the approval of the USHA amendments in the committees of the U. S. House of Representatives and thereby prevented the consideration of these amendments by the House, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declares its unqualified support of continuation and expansion of the USHA program of low rent housing and slum clearance and directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon Congress early enactment of amendments to the United States Housing Act which would authorize construction loans and annual contributions sufficient to continue the USHA program under its present terms at the rate of not less than 100,000 dwelling units annually, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed to call upon all National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, State and Local Building Trades Councils, and the directly affiliated unions to appoint housing committees for the purpose of participation in all phases of the housing program and of full representation and protection of the interests of the American Federation of Labor membership in housing problems, with the aid and under the general direction of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 168 provides for the continuation and expansion of the United States Housing Authority's program of low rent housing and slum clearance and requests the cooperation of all National and International Unions State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, State and Local Building and Construction Trades Councils and directly affiliated unions to appoint housing committees for the purpose of participating in this program.

Having surmounted the initial obstacles incidental to the organization of this pioneer program, the U. S. H. A. was soon able to demonstrate the effectiveness, economy and soundness of the basic plan underlying its operations. In the face of a rising need for low rent housing and a large measure of employment which the program was able to provide, the American Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Department placed a new demand before Congress urging for further expansion of the United States Housing Authority in order to make the program more nearly commensurate with the nation-wide need for its benefits. In the spring of 1939 Senator Wagner introduced the second amendment to the Act (S. 591) designed to double the authorization for construction loans and to increase the amount of annual contributions proportionately. Although this amendment quickly passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote, the House of Represent-

tatives refused to consider it before adjournment in August, 1939. In July, 1940, the amendment was pending final consideration by the House.

While there appears to be an attitude on the part of the Congress to curtail appropriations to the United States Housing Authority, your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor, its Departments, State Federations of Labor, Central bodies, National and International Unions, and directly affiliated unions urge the members of the Senate and House of Representatives to provide the necessary appropriations to continue the life of the U. S. H. A. in order that it may continue its activities and supply the additional needed low rent housing and slum clearance to house under healthy and sanitary conditions workers in the low income groups.

Your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wages on Defense Construction

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 10

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Many millions of dollars will be expended by the Government of these United States, through its various Departments, in the construction of buildings for the housing of hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of twenty one (21) and thirty-five (35) years who will in the near future be conscripted for military service and made ready for the defense of our Country, and

WHEREAS, According to plan, approximately nine hundred thousand (900,000) of these young men will be inducted into the military service during the first twelve (12) months; the same number during each succeeding twelve (12) months until the United States will have in active service and in reserve, approximately, five million (5,000,000) men, and

WHEREAS, This will require constant construction and reconstruction of buildings in order to properly house the men being trained for service who will be entitled to the best and most sanitary living conditions that can possibly be provided for them by our Government, and

WHEREAS, These military camps are and of necessity will be situated at distant points from the large urban centers of our population in localities where the prevailing rates of wages, as established by the United States Department of Labor, are low in comparison, and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of mechanics will be required for the rapid construction of buildings that will be necessary, and

WHEREAS, The construction of these buildings will be carried on either by contract through competitive bidding or by a "cost-plus plan" in which contracts or agreements, the prevailing rates of wages will be incorporated as set forth by the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Even though the prevailing rates of wages as determined by the Department of Labor are slightly higher than the rates actually prevailing in some localities, the contractors will find it difficult to secure sufficient workmen to complete contracts within a specified time because it is fair to presume that mechanics will not voluntarily migrate in sufficient numbers from urban centers, where home conditions and higher rates of wages prevail, to distant points where living conditions and wages are at a sub-level, and

WHEREAS, It is possible that the Government, if unable to secure required labor to rapidly construct the necessary buildings in the various military camps, may use the labor of the many thousands of building trades mechanics that will be among the number conscripted for military service and place them at work on the necessary construction of buildings, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in order to avoid any such contingency, which in effect would be a catastrophe insofar as building tradesmen are concerned, we, the delegates to this Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., assembled in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, beginning November 13th, 1940, instruct the incoming Executive Council to request the United States Department of Labor to establish rates of wages for this particular class of work which will be equal to that prevailing in the largest urban center within a reasonable radius from the site where a military camp may be contemplated or where buildings are under construction, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council take this matter up immediately with the proper authorities at Washington, D. C., in efforts to bring about an equitable understanding in this most vital matter and be in readiness to oppose vigorously—through its own activity and the many units of the Building and Construction Trades Department—any steps that may be taken by any Department of these United

States to use or attempt to use any men in military service to do the work of building tradesmen, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor together with a request that the subject matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council of that Body requesting its active and immediate support.

Delegation of Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
L. P. LINDELOF,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE,

Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the action necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Resolution No. 174, which was adopted by the 34th Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department is an important one and visualizes a condition which may arise in the near future in connection with the defense program.

The representatives of the Labor Advisory Committee to the National Defense Commission have been successful in establishing wage and working conditions to apply to all projects undertaken in connection with the national defense program, and your Committee recommends that they continue their efforts to carry out the provisions of the labor policy of the National Defense Council which was approved by the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Assistant Secretary of War, and further recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 174.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Adequate Paying For Defense Construction

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 8

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Many Millions of dollars are, and will be, spent by the Government of the United States, through its various Departments in the construction of buildings for the housing of hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of twenty-one (21) and thirty-five (35) years who will in the near future be conscripted for military service and made ready for the defense of our country, and,

WHEREAS, These young men leaving comfortable and sanitary homes are now to be housed in these buildings that have not received proper sanitary protection by the application of paint, and

WHEREAS, The specifications did contain conditions for the proper protection of the health of these young men, but for some reason have now been taken out, and

WHEREAS, The possibility of vermin and disease in these unsanitary buildings may cause our Government serious results, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Incoming Executive Council take this very important matter up with the proper authorities at Washington, D. C., and request that these buildings be painted thereby offsetting any possibility of unhealthy conditions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor with a request that it be approved.

L. P. LINDELOF,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE,
Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor voice its approval of the recommendation set forth above, and take the action necessary to carry out the intention thereof.

Resolution No. 173 is designed to provide adequate painting on construction projects in connection with the national defense program in order to provide sanitary conditions, protect the health of the citizens of our nation in the armed forces who will be obliged to occupy the newly erected barracks at military camps, forts and naval stations,

and to further preserve and prolong the life of such buildings and structures.

Your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Adequate Labor Standards on Private Plant Construction on National Defense Program

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 11

To the Building and Construction Trades Department in Annual Convention Assembled in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, November 13, 1940.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has made or is about to make appropriations for the expansion of privately owned industrial plants under the Defense Program, and

WHEREAS, Under this phase of the Defense Program labor has not been assured protection of its prevailing rates of wages and hours of labor as duly established in the various sections of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Many of these industrial plants which will receive a share of such appropriations for expansion for the manufacture of materials necessary for National Defense are known to be anti-union, and

WHEREAS, This policy, if permitted to continue with the use of public funds, will create a condition detrimental to the wage earners in the building industry because of the open shop or anti-union attitude of some companies involved, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., assembled in its Thirty-fourth Annual Convention in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, beginning on the 13th day of November, 1940, hereby instruct the Incoming Executive Council to contact the proper Authorities representing the United States Government in the city of Washington, D. C.—including the United States Senators—Congressmen and the United States Department of Labor—and petition them to insist that the labor provisions as set forth in FWA and other Governmental Agencies be observed and become a part of all contracts

for the building or expansion of privately owned plants wherein appropriations of public funds under the Defense Program are to be used, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor together with a request that it be approved and that the incoming Executive Council of that Body, through all honorable means at its command, lend its aid to the end that the aforementioned provisions be enacted into law at the earliest possible date.

Delegation of Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

L. P. LINDELOF,
JAMES J. KNOUD,
A. W. WALLACE,
ROBERT D. FINCH,
H. KAUFMAN,
M. J. WHITE.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor voice its approval of the recommendation set forth above and take the action necessary to carry out the intention thereof.

Resolution No. 175 deals with labor standards on private construction and expansion in connection with the national defense program.

Your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Complete Cooperation of Building Trades Councils in Defense Housing

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to introduce the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, therefore, in conformity with that action the resolution is presented below:

"RESOLUTION No. 14

To the Delegates and Officers of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, A lack of adequate housing for the workers needed for the completion of the many defense projects now under construction will cause unnecessary delay unless housing is provided immediately, and

WHEREAS, The responsibility of providing these much needed projects will be vested in the P. W. A. it will be necessary for this Administration to utilize the U. S. H. A., the F. H. A. and other administrative branches of the Government in relieving this housing shortage at the earliest possible time, and

WHEREAS, From present indications State and Local Housing Councils will be organized to facilitate planning and building of these housing projects and in addition will assume a large share of responsibility for the type of housing constructed, and

WHEREAS, Labor is vitally interested in this program, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all local Building and Construction Trades Councils, State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions seek active representation on all State and Local National Defense Councils established for this purpose, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Officers of this Department immediately confer with C. F. Palmer, Coordinator of Defense Housing relative to the cooperation of the building and construction workers in facilitating the building of adequate housing for the workers in every community where housing is needed for the successful and expeditious carrying on of the national defense program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Department introduce this Resolution before the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

HARRY C. BATES,
THOMAS H. O'DONNELL,
ROBERT O. DALE,
RICHARD J. GRAY,

Delegates.

The committee recommends concurrence and adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted." Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give due consideration to this matter and take the necessary action to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of Resolution No. 177 favoring complete cooperation of Building and Construction Trades Councils in Defense housing.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring United States Housing Administration Participation in Defense Housing Program

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, William J. Moran, Thos. O'Donnell, Edward L. Nolan,

Robert Dale, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union; George Master-son, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, William E. Quirk, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada.

WHEREAS, An urgent need exists for the provision of adequate housing facilities for workers and families of workers engaged in the national defense program, and

WHEREAS, In the interests of sound public policy as much of the defense housing to be constructed for this purpose as possible should be of sound and durable construction in order to be fully available for rehousing of wage earners at the end of the national emergency, and

WHEREAS, The prevention of speculation and profiteering incidental to the development of such a large-scale program is of vital concern to labor and can be best effected by a public agency thoroughly grounded in experience in residential construction of public housing and operating with full reliance upon representative participation of local public housing agencies, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority and its staff and the local housing authorities which are now functioning in hundreds of communities throughout the United States are best equipped to achieve these purposes with speed, efficiency, economy and full and unstinted cooperation on the part of organized labor, Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, hereby directs its officers to urge upon Congress upon the President, and Advisory Defense Housing Commission, to the Council of National Defense, and the Federal Works Administrator, full measure of participation of the United States Housing Authority and local housing authorities in the development and administration of the defense housing program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the adoption of the basic defense housing policy primary consideration be given to the construction of sound and durable housing, whenever possible, of the type suitable for permanent utilization for rehousing of wage earners after the emergency, and that in all construction of defense housing the payment of prevailing minimum wages and the maintenance of all established basic labor standards be made a specific requirement.

Resolution No. 169 was originally referred to the Committee on Resolutions and has now been referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

The experience of the U. S. H. A. in the construction of workers' housing will enable it to provide such industrial housing with extreme speed and with thorough knowledge of each local problem. The U. S. H. A., with its nation wide network of contracts with local housing needs and with its staff, trained and experienced in deal-

ing with local housing problems, is the only agency equipped to plan and administer such a program.

Your Committee recommends concurrence and adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 97, 98, 149, 152 and 157. These resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Legislation to Prevent WPA Displacement of Employment Opportunities for Qualified Non-Relief Building Trades Workers

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Relief Appropriation Bill as enacted by Congress has eliminated the proviso which limited W.P.A. appropriations on construction projects to \$52,000, and

WHEREAS, This was undoubtedly to encourage local sponsors to undertake major construction projects under W.P.A. regulations, and

WHEREAS, The W.P.A. program has for the past several years seriously affected employment opportunities for non-relief construction workers by approving W.P.A. construction projects without properly determining the trade qualifications of the persons on relief, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officials of the American Federation of Labor and its departments use their full influence in preventing W.P.A. construction projects being approved, excepting only in places where it has been clearly established that qualified construction workers are on relief and available in sufficient numbers to complete the project.

Protesting Awarding of State Contracts for Construction and Remodeling Work On WPA Basis

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become a general practice throughout Ohio for state and local governing bodies to award construction and remodeling work in conjunction with WPA, thereby depriving bona fide building craftsmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor of an opportunity for employment on such projects because of the sub-standard wages paid in connection therewith, and

WHEREAS, Such general practice of awarding public construction and remodel-

ing work on a WPA basis has a demoralizing effect on the wage structure of building craftsmen, in many instances less than half the prevailing union wage rates in the larger cities, and

WHEREAS, It is the contention of those most affected that the time has arrived when such practice of letting public construction and remodeling awards must be discontinued if building craftsmen are to be safeguarded in their established union wage rates and conditions, and if they are to be assured reasonable steady employment, and that building contractors will be enabled to establish themselves on a basis of expectancy to survive. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 56th Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor do hereby go on record as vigorously opposed to state and local governing bodies awarding building construction and remodeling contracts on a WPA basis and insist that such awards now in effect be curtailed and that no further awards on a WPA basis be made by any such governing bodies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the Ohio State Federation of Labor be directed to use all possible means to enlist the aid of all Ohio local unions and central bodies in a concerted drive aimed at the abuses outlined in this resolution, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the consideration and approval of that body.

Proposing Legislation to Check WPA Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For several years, the Works Progress Administration of the Federal Government, in pursuance of the laudable purpose of giving employment to employable persons in need of relief, has entered into the field of building and construction work, and

WHEREAS, At first the WPA confined itself, in the building and construction field, to the making of incidental repairs and alterations of public buildings, and adopted regulations limiting such activities to jobs not to exceed \$25,000.00, but

WHEREAS, More recently, these regulations have been ignored and the WPA has entered into the construction of new buildings, and the making of alterations of tremendous nature, substantially equivalent to new construction, in many instances the cost of which runs into the millions of dollars, notwithstanding the innumerable assurances given to representatives of industry and of organized labor to the contrary, and

WHEREAS, This type of WPA activity is in effect a subterfuge which avoids the

necessity of conforming with the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, and other Legislation for the enactment of which organized labor fought for so many years, and

WHEREAS, This activity results in the deprivation of private industry of its profitable existence, which could be assured by the performance of such building and construction work by private contract, and

WHEREAS, Such activity further results in the tearing down of bona fide labor organizations, in that the work is now being done under the auspices of WPA by untrained, unskilled mechanics, at the expense of thoroughly trained, experienced workers who are now out of work, in a wasteful, inefficient manner, at great and unnecessary expense, and to the immediate and ultimate detriment of organized labor and the building industry, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress has eliminated the requirement for the payment of prevailing rates of wages to skilled mechanics employed by WPA, and

WHEREAS, The performance of such work under private contract would guarantee, by the operation of the Davis-Bacon Act, the payment of the prevailing rate of wage to persons employed to perform the work. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the only effectual manner in which further incursions by the WPA into the realm of private building and construction industry and further interference with the successful establishment of a fair prevailing wage can be prevented is by the passage of legislation to that effect by the Congress of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and it is hereby directed to sponsor and urge the passage of legislation by the Congress of the United States designed to require that all building, construction, repair or alteration work, in any amount exceeding \$2,000.00 to be done or performed by or on behalf of, or with the use of funds supplied or the repayment of which is guaranteed in whole or in part by an executive department, independent establishment or other agency or instrumentality of the United States, or by the District of Columbia, or by corporations all of the stock of which is beneficially owned by the United States, shall be done or performed in pursuance of a contract, advertised and let in accordance with the laws of the United States.

Condemning W. P. A. Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor as represented by the California State Federation of Labor and the Building and Construc-

tion Trades Unions has continuously worked for and established hours, wages, and conditions of employment on public buildings, highway and engineering construction and through the prevailing wage law of the State of California, and the Bacon-Davis Law of the Federal Government, and the acceptance of fair wage standards by private employers, and

WHEREAS, The construction of public schools, city, county and state buildings and other projects such as armories, airport buildings, army, navy and marine corps housing, training, maintenance and repair buildings constitute a major portion of the volume of building upon which organized building trades craftsmen depend for employment, and

WHEREAS, The construction of roads, streets, bridges, storm drains, flood control channels, sewers and water supply systems, airports and other highway and engineering public works have provided another large field for the employment of independent organized workmen, and

WHEREAS, The construction of the federal, state and local public buildings and highway and engineering work is an important factor in the steady employment of building and construction trades workmen, and

WHEREAS, Throughout California, the State, County, City governments and subsidiary boards and commissions are rapidly discontinuing the long established policy of constructing California public works under their own auspices and transferring many of such projects to the control of the Federal Government under the management of the Work Projects Administration, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of organized labor that if this trend continues the whole public works program of the Federal, State, County and City governments will be transferred to WPA in a short time, completely eliminating organized skilled building and construction workmen from all opportunities upon Federal, State, County and City public works projects, and

WHEREAS, The present requirement of the National Defense Program requires the patriotic support of all citizens, particularly public officials, and

WHEREAS, A large volume of National Defense construction is being undertaken in the Pacific area offering an opportunity for those on relief, who are qualified to do construction work, to rehabilitate themselves through employment on an efficient, practical, full-time work basis relieving the taxpayers of the burden of their support by returning to private employment and obtaining for themselves the benefits of satisfying jobs, higher wages and greater purchasing power, which are not obtainable on a relief wage basis, and

WHEREAS, The dual financing and management of WPA projects involving local sponsors and the Federal Government have improperly combined the administration of relief and the construction of public works

in such a manner as to constitute the misuse of public funds by the application of water and power revenues, gasoline taxes, flood control and sanitary district revenues, school taxes and other State and local revenues, for relief purposes, for which they are not intended, upon such an extravagant, inefficient basis that local officials are endeavoring to shift the responsibility to Federal Government, and Federal officials are endeavoring to place the blame upon local government, and

WHEREAS, The subterfuge of carrying on a construction program on a relief basis is a false promise because under WPA these projects cost approximately twice what they should, therefore, the 25 per cent sponsor's contributions in fact, represent approximately 50 per cent of contract cost, which is about doubled for WPA projects, reflecting the most callous and selfish use of political expediency, inasmuch as 100 per cent of these costs can come only from public tax revenues whether it be City, County or Federal tax, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Work Projects Administration is to render unemployment relief and not to take over public works construction requiring the best architects, engineers, contractors and skilled craftsmen or become a huge national, State, County and City public works construction agency administered by social workers and supplied with workmen lacking experience in construction, and

WHEREAS, The volume of WPA construction projects in California now amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars and has shown a very rapid increase during the current fiscal year, and

WHEREAS, WPA building and construction projects are operated upon wage levels far below the standards of independent skilled building and construction trades craftsmen, and, therefore, constitute unfair competition and threaten the wage structure and standards of living of the organized workers, and

WHEREAS, This policy is depriving thousands of skilled building and construction trades craftsmen of California of employment which they are entitled to, and discriminates against the independent workman through low wage levels, the abolition of the skilled classification which organized building tradesmen have developed and the requirement that he must be destitute, and

WHEREAS, The great majority of WPA workmen assigned to construction projects have had very little experience in construction work and are not adapted physically or by experience, or other basic standards for this type of employment, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor represents a great many Unions whose membership specializes in building and construction work and through these Unions have constantly conducted a program of apprentice training which with the many years of experience of their journeymen members in specialized work

has developed a well trained group of building and construction craftsmen with great skill and efficiency, and

WHEREAS, It is the policy upon WPA construction projects to reject the efficient methods developed in the private construction industry and revert to the greatest possible extent to hand labor and obsolete extravagant methods which makes the cost of WPA construction projects far greater than when built by the usual methods of competitive contract and union workmen, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of the California State Federation of Labor that local taxpayers are paying at least twice the cost of public work for the privilege and luxury of having them constructed by WPA, and

WHEREAS, The workmen and families of building and construction trades mechanics and other members of the California State Federation of Labor represent a large part of the population of California and as such through direct and indirect taxes bear a very substantial portion of the tax burden necessary to finance relief which through the WPA program is being used to discriminate against them, they are, therefore, entitled to consideration of their views by all Federal, State and local officials responsible for this system, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of organized labor that this whole combination is a very serious threat to its members, a very expensive extravagance to the taxpayers and is actually a step backward in our democratic civilization, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send copies of this resolution to and request the support and co-operation of the national offices of the American Institute of Architects, American Society of Civil Engineers, the Associated General Contractors, the American Society of Road Builders Associations, the Chambers of Commerce, and any other groups affected, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 1940 Convention in New Orleans lend its support to this resolution, and request the President and the Congress of the United States to take steps through executive order and legislation to prohibit unfair competition of the WPA by requiring all public building and construction work to be constructed under the provisions of the Public Works Administration,

Proposing Legislation to Check WPA Encroachment on Construction Industry

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Roy N. Pearce, Central Labor Union, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

WHEREAS, The WPA was originated to provide work for the unemployed for whom

work was not available in private industry, and

WHEREAS, At the present time WPA has gone far beyond this point and has even usurped the functions of private industry, and even work in connection with the National Defense Program is under construction or being planned under the WPA, and

WHEREAS, This condition has taken much public work away from the skilled building trades craftsmen of the nation and confronted them with the un-American alternative of either working for subsistence wages or leaving their homes to seek employment in other States, and

WHEREAS, The public records prove that WPA building construction is wasteful and inefficient and imposes on the taxpayers construction costs that are from two to eight times greater than under private contract with skilled labor, and

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that WPA flourishes to this extent in the various States only because it suits the selfish purposes of powerful politicians, who are able in this way to control the votes by exploiting the misery and the helplessness of the unemployed, and

WHEREAS, There are many WPA projects which can be carried on legitimately outside of building construction which can provide sufficient work for the unemployed citizens of this country, Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana

1. That all major WPA building construction projects in this category in the United States are hereby declared unfair to organized labor, unfair to industry and to the taxpayers of this nation, unfair to the public interest, and a violation to every decent American principle and tradition.

2. That this condition be brought to the attention of every agency of government, including the President of the United States, the Department of Labor, the National Defense Council, and the Senators and Congressmen of every state in the union.

3. That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor boycott all WPA building construction projects in this category.

4. That all State Federations, Central Bodies, Construction Trades Councils and affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, receive a copy of this resolution and be earnestly requested to take action thereon, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every honorable means at their command to prevail upon the Congress of the United States for the purpose of securing legislation to correct this evil which is undermining the construction trades crafts.

Your Committee had referred to them Resolutions Nos. 97, 98, 149, 152 and 157, all of them dealing with the activities of the Works Projects Administration in the building and construction industry, and is in full accord with their objectives. We are of the opinion, however, that a more direct approach should be made in dealing with this problem.

We must be alarmed at the fact that 80 per cent of W.P.A. employment, as reported to the Congress of the United States by the Administrator for the Works Projects Administration, has been in the building and construction field. This report is amazing when one considers that it is a report of an agency originally created and intended to be purely temporary in an emergency to provide for relief and to act as a stop-gap due to the lack of private employment.

Private industry to this time has not been able to supply employment and, as time goes on, our government through the W.P.A. is giving the building and construction industry more and more competition in an industry which under normal conditions is second only to that of agriculture in the number of men employed. Not only have these activities curtailed the opportunity of free untrammelled labor for the present, but they have borrowed on the future of the building and construction industry to the extent that normalcy is further delayed.

For the past five years we have been faced with the most serious threat of all—competition of the Government of the United States for the work upon which the building and construction contractors of the nation ordinarily would bid and upon which we as workers be employed by these contractors. The whole future of the building and construction industry is threatened if such a move should continue. We cannot impress upon you delegates too emphatically the real, far-reaching effect of such competition.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the W.P.A. be removed completely from the building and construction field and that their activities be continued on a purely temporary basis operating in localities where there is pressing need for projects of a non-construction nature and on which a maximum of common labor can be employed.

Your Committee further recommends that the American Federation of Labor, its Departments, State Federations of Labor, Central bodies, National and International Unions, and directly affiliated unions urge the membership to communicate with the President of the United States, members of the Senate and House of Representatives and appropriate sovereign state officials to use their influence to have activities of the Works Projects Administration curtailed as set forth above.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report,

Pages 69-70)

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report is a summary of the activities on the part of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to protect and to further the interests of labor in connection with national legislation pertaining to all phases of housing.

Your committee warmly commends the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor of its legislative representatives, of its Housing Committee and of the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department to safeguard the basic labor standards in all branches of housing activity authorized by Congress and to assure to all persons engaged in national defense activity adequate housing soundly constructed under fair labor conditions.

Aware of the difficulties inherent in the complex legislative situation which prevailed in the last session of Congress your Committee believes the legislative record reported by the Executive Council to be a notable achievement under adverse conditions.

We recommend that a renewed and decisive effort be made in the ensuing session of Congress to secure housing legislation recommended and sought by the American Federation of Labor and to prevent the enactment of housing legislation inimical to the best interests of organized labor and of American workers generally.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING FOR WORKERS

(Executive Council's Report,

Pages 132 to 137)

Under this caption the Executive Council, on pages 132 to 137 of its report, gives an informative summary of major developments which have taken place during the past year in connection with the low-rent housing and slum-clearance program, originated and sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, and in the administration of defense housing for the personnel of our armed forces and for workers employed in defense industries.

During the past year the low-rent housing program, administered by 500 local public housing authorities and assisted by the U. S. Housing Authority, had attained full stride in speed, efficiency, economy and sound administration. During the same year this program became the object of a violent and well-financed attack pressed by the enemies of labor and by those real estate interests which profit from the plight and poverty of slum-dwellers.

At the same time also private promoters of mass-production of cheap and flimsy pre-

fabricated housing have sought to take advantage of the national emergency to secure the financial support of the federal government for the launching of a large scale program of substandard prefabricated housing they have found economically impossible to develop without public aid. The powerful combination of these forces has placed our entire housing program and, in fact, the future of all housing construction in America in grave jeopardy.

In view of these developments your committee urges the wholehearted endorsement of the policy set forth by the Executive Council to promote the development of an integrated and sound program of defense housing which would assure the fullest possible utilization of housing facilities constructed for defense purposes to fill the need for workers' housing after the emergency is over. We, therefore, commend the view expressed by the Executive Council that it is in the public interest to keep to the lowest minimum possible the utilization of temporary prefabricated housing and other similar makeshift and flimsy dwelling facilities in all phases of defense housing.

Your Committee recommends, further, adoption of the Executive Council's proposal that the American Federation of Labor undertake a study of defense housing situation with special attention to the soundness of the various defense housing plans in the light of continued widespread unemployment among building workers and of their adaptability to the impending critical needs of economic readjustment at the end of the emergency.

Your Committee also strongly endorses the view of the Executive Council that the long range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing administered by the USHA being vital to the welfare of the American people and, therefore, indispensable to the national strength and to the defense of the United States as a democratic nation, should be continued and expanded under the existing statutory standards and on the basis of the existing administrative policies.

We recommend the endorsement of the views of the Executive Council favoring the national utilization of the facilities of the local housing authorities and of the USHA as well as of the basic standard developed by these agencies in all defense housing.

Your Committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Housing Committee be directed to do everything within their power to carry out these purposes and policies.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Laderman, Pocketbook Workers: There is just one word I think ought to be said on housing, and that is the question of the workers who are increasing their earnings, and who are made to move out of these houses. I think it is very important that we remember when we put these workers in the houses we do not want to give them the incentive to refuse a raise

in wages because they might have to move out after they get a raise.

In Chicago 652 dispossession cases were had in these public houses because the workers had had their incomes increased. We have had a number of our luggage workers who had their income increased because we organized the trade, and they were living in those houses. Now they are given dispossession notices and they are asking the Union to help them. They have families and now they have to go to court and fight so that they may remain under these wholesome surroundings.

I think some formula should be found whereby if we do show them a little sunlight and a little better living, we should not take it away from them when the Union is able to get them an increase. Something should be done that will take care of this situation. It is something that requires the attention of the Executive Council.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 160-161)

The report of the Building and Construction Trades Department to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which will be found on Pages 160 and 161 of the Executive Council Report and which was referred to the Committee on Building Trades has been carefully considered.

Your Committee commends the activities of this Department on matters of legislation, and the part taken in the national defense program, the results of which have been beneficial to building and construction workers in all parts of the country.

We note, too, the results obtained through the adoption of a plan for settling of jurisdictional disputes and can not urge too strongly the continuance of this effort to the end that there will be a willingness on the part of all trades to fully recognize jurisdictional rights of each affiliated organization, and when honest difference of opinion may arise, to immediately avail themselves of the machinery established under this plan thus bringing to an end any delays in construction due to jurisdictional disputes.

The efforts of this Department in the defense program, which has brought an increasing number of problems to the building and construction trades organizations have been commendable and have resulted in a policy being formulated by the National Defense Council, approved by the President of the United States, which fully recognizes established wages and working conditions, thus protecting all of the rights gained by building and construction trades workers through collective bargaining over a period

of many years. These efforts have also been of real service to our government in this crisis during which this Department has been confronted with the problem of providing workers on projects far removed from their places of residence and at times under other than the best living conditions.

This Department will undoubtedly be called upon to face many additional problems in the near future, but we are satisfied that with the continuance of the co-operative effort of all of its affiliates these too can be properly met.

In connection with the activities of the Department in matters of legislation, we feel we would not be doing our duty if we were not to commend the able manner in which Legislative Agent, William Hushing has co-operated with the Department. He is able, efficient and always willing to aid in every way. Then, too, the cooperation of President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been of inestimable value and with continuation of this teamwork the Building and Construction Trades Department can not but continue to be an effective branch of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Coyne: Resolution No. 176, originally referred to the Building Trades Committee has, by direction of President Green, been referred to the Committee on Law.

This concludes the Report of the Committee on Building Trades and we move the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

John P. Coyne, Chairman; George Master-ton, Secretary; William J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, William M. Welsh, John H. Lyons, James J. Ryan, Edward L. Nolan, Paul A. Givens, R. E. Roberts, John Oliver, John J. Daly, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, George Wilson, James L. McDevitt, D. E. Nickerson, C. A. Fink.

Committee on Building Trades.

Chairman Coyne moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I want to thank the members of the committee for the fine service you rendered.

PRESENTATION TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: Now, fellow delegates and visitors, we will interrupt the regular order of business for the purpose of performing a very pleasant duty. You will recall that a few days ago I appointed a committee designated as the Goodwill Committee. That committee was made up of Brother Albert Adamski, of the United Gar-

ment Workers' Union, and Brother Frank Weikel, President of the Office Workers Council. I asked you to treat them kindly and generously, and you did. As a result of the generous response you made I am able to present to our fraternal delegates this afternoon beautiful gifts supplied by this committee.

First of all, I want to present your gift to our dear friend and brother who came so far to be with us, Brother Walter Citrine. The committee was very discriminating in the selection of an appropriate remembrance for this "stream-lined" visitor. You must take those things into account when you are presenting gifts, and the committee did just that. I imagine he will puff up a bit after he receives this gift.

The committee purchased for Sir Walter Citrine a diamond pin, one that is most fitting and appropriate for our distinguished visitor. Now, Brother Citrine, I want to present this to you as the gift of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. It is an expression of their sincere appreciation of your visit to this convention and of the high esteem and regard in which you are held.

The other day when you delivered your address you touched the deepest emotions of the delegates and visitors in attendance here. You occupy today a warmer place in their hearts and in their affections than ever before. We ask you to accept this pin and with it the love, the devotion and the affection of those who present it to you. Accept it not alone for its intrinsic value, but because there goes with it a sentimental and intangible value that can never be adequately appraised. I present it to you in the name of and for the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Sir Walter Citrine: President Green and fellow delegates—I stressed in the first few words of my address to you that expression, "fellow delegates", because with a conception of democracy in the order of your convention that as far as I know is unparalleled anywhere else, you make your fraternal delegates actually delegates in the fullest sense of the term, with voting powers and with all the rights of normal delegates. That is something unique, and it entitles me to say to you, "fellow delegates".

I really don't know how to express the deep sense of gratitude I feel for this still further evidence of the kindness and consideration you mete out to me and through me to the British trade union movement. I have experienced your hospitality and your kindness on other occasions, and I am selfish enough to hope that I am the only British trade unionist who can go down on the records of your convention as having visited you twice in the course of his lifetime in an official capacity. I treasure that as a great honor and I shall always prize it.

The best thanks that anybody could have was in the warmth of your welcome after I had spoken to you. No man needed anything better than that to make him feel that

he had come among friends, and that his work was understood.

I shall treasure this diamond pin, I suppose, by carefully locking it away in my safe and attaching a label to it, because great as my responsibilities are today, I certainly do not feel inclined to make them any heavier by wearing that pin in my tie, certainly during the time I am in the United States. And so it will go into a safe with a label appropriately attached to it. Or perhaps if we can find some sort of bullet-proof glass or something like that I shall hang it up in the offices of the British Trade Union Congress. At all events I am very proud of it and I am very grateful to you for your consideration and kindness in even thinking about me.

I would, if I may take this opportunity, which I shall never get again, thank your President, Brother Green, for that most generous of contributions that has ever been paid to me in my life. We hear that appreciation is the salt of life, and really no man has even spoken about me in the broad, kindly and comradely terms which Brother Green used the other day. I shall always treasure that and cherish it in my memory. All of us have to get a sense of balance fairly early in our lives to make up our minds what we are aiming at and what we are trying to do in this life, and I hope I have sufficient balance that I shall never get a swelled head, that I may keep the common touch. I deeply appreciate what was said about me in terms which I would find it difficult to paraphrase and which I am selfish enough to say I am proud to have gone down in your records.

I would also like to thank you for the hospitality which each and every one of you with whom I have come in contact have bestowed upon me this week. I am afraid that perhaps a misconception gained currency in the convention and some idea had grown up that we were completely underfed and almost starved as a consequence of this war. It cannot be a coincidence that ever since I have been here I have been invited to at least two dinners every night, and apparently I am expected to do justice to both of them.

Once again I shall experience that treat tonight, and I may take the diamond pin with me, if you take it for granted I shall not be so absent minded as to lay it on the table for one single second.

I don't know from intimate experience what you expect from your convention, but I have been looking very carefully not merely at the mechanism of your convention with the idea of copying what I can from it for the benefit of our Trades Union Congress proceedings, but I have also observed the great measure of harmony that has come amongst you. On my way down I read as much as I could about the questions engaging your attention, and some of the resolutions, to put it mildly, were full of explosive material. But apparently you have a sort of bomb demolition squad in the form of a Resolutions Committee that succeeded in making that explosive material

rather harmless. And so when it comes back to the convention here you are able to agree without much difficulty on the principles put forward by your committee.

Of course the setting here in this hall has something to do with it. I don't know whether you have had the good fortune—most of you I am afraid, have not—to be able to sit and observe the names around this frieze here. They mean a great deal to the civilized world. You have there the name of Praxiteles, the earliest of the Greek sculptors, Rembrandt, the greatest of the Dutch painters, and last, but not by any means least, our own dear son, Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, which Hitler is trying just now to reduce to ashes. These are great names in civilization—names in literature, music, sculpture, painting, almost every branch of art that has made it possible for us, in the world, to enjoy things.

This great civic hall itself—what a miracle of architecture? Not a single post to obscure the view—a great architectural triumph, and I think something of which the city of New Orleans should be very proud. It is a magnificent hall, and I feel it cannot have been without effect upon your proceedings. This is one of the triumphs of peace, one of the constructive results of men working in harmony together, and I hope the time is not far distant when, having crushed the menace we are now facing, when we have destroyed the hydra which you very appropriately characterize as the four-headed dragon in the hall, having crushed that dictatorship we will be able to go back to the arts of peace and once again in harmony, in unity with all nations of the world, do something to promote the creative impulses and the best that is within us.

I am proud to have been with you. I shall go away with many happy memories, and with this gift of yours I shall always during the remainder of my life carry with me the deepest sense of regard, and, if I may say so, of affection for every one of you.

President Green: I suppose I should have completed the discharge of my pleasant duty so far as Sir Walter was concerned before calling upon him to make his response.

The Goodwill Committee had in mind Mrs. Citrine also, and she has not been forgotten. They want Sir Walter to receive a hearty and loving welcome when he goes back to Great Britain, and so they purchased a beautiful gift for Mrs. Citrine, and Sir Walter is commissioned by you to carry this gift back to her. That means that he must escape the mine-infested areas when he returns, he must land safely home in Great Britain, because he is commissioned to carry this beautiful present back to Mrs. Citrine. For that reason I am taking the liberty of suggesting that when he goes back home he travel on the Clipper rather than on an ocean vessel.

Here it is. It out-shines his gift. It, too, is a beautiful diamond pin. There is one sizeable diamond in the pin given to Sir Walter, but here in this pin for Mrs. Citrine are a large number of diamonds, ten or more. That is quite fitting and appropriate, because we un-

derstand our loved ones here in America, and therefore we believe that Mrs. Citrine possesses those feminine characteristics and qualities that our dear ones here possess. For that reason we know she is not going to put this in any safe or hide it away, nor is she going to hang it on any wall. She is going to wear it.

So, Sir Walter, I present this to you, I commission you in the name of these, your friends, to carry it back and present it to Mrs. Citrine, with the love and affection of the delegates here in attendance at this convention.

(Sir Walter Citrine accepted the gift and expressed appreciation in behalf of Mrs. Citrine.)

President Green: Now, the committee selected an appropriate present for our dear friend Brother Jamieson, who came all the way from Vancouver, British Columbia, to submit to you the greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We wanted him to receive a fine welcome when he goes back to Vancouver. He traveled about as many miles from Vancouver to New Orleans as did Sir Walter when he traveled from London to New Orleans. It is almost the same distance. However, he was not required to travel through the danger zones beset with mines, etc. He was able to travel across this fair country of ours and see it in all its rugged beauty. He enjoyed that.

•Brother Jamieson, I want to present to you this watch and chain selected especially for you by our Goodwill Committee. They possess artistic tastes. They know what is beautiful and appropriate.

So I present this to you in the name and in behalf of your friends who are in attendance at this convention. As I said to Sir Walter, please understand that there goes with it more than is represented in the intrinsic value of the watch and chain.

I will not make the same mistake as I did in the case of Sir Walter, and so along with your watch I present a watch set with diamonds for Mrs. Jamieson. Mr. Jamieson's has no diamonds, but this one has, so I am sure he ought to get a loving welcome when he goes home.

Fraternal Delegate Jamieson: President Green and delegates—It would seem to me that when you presented me with this beautiful medal the other day that alone was worth coming over 3,000 miles to receive. In order that the record may be correct I would like to tell you that the exact mileage from Vancouver to New Orleans is 3,263 miles. Your President said I only came 3,000 miles, so I might as well have the benefit of the additional 263 miles.

I was deeply touched when I received the badge the other day, and then to bestow on me a beautiful watch such as you have leaves me without words at my command adequate to express my sincere appreciation.

As for my wife, I know I am going to get a welcome when I go home. I regret very much that she could not come with me. She

had planned to come along, but circumstances arose which made it necessary to cancel the trip. I may say that in giving this present to Mrs. Jamieson you are not giving something to someone outside of the labor movement, because she is a splendid violinist and is a member of the American Federation of Musicians, the same organization to which I have the honor to belong.

I have an advantage there. At home she is the boss, but I am Secretary of the local Musicians' Union in Vancouver and she is a member of that Union. Consequently in matters of business or anything having to do with the Union I am the boss. So I try as often as possible to place myself in a position where I have to give her some official correspondence or something of the kind.

I want to take this opportunity, President Green and delegates, to thank you, President Green, for the splendid declaration you made after my address last Wednesday. That, too, was worth coming all the way from Vancouver to receive. I am deeply honored, I consider it a great privilege that I was the medium through which President Green felt disposed to make that declaration. I am informed that his address was extensively quoted in the daily press in Canada, and I am also informed that many of the leading papers carried editorials.

I have found out at this convention that President Green is held in the highest esteem by apparently all the people of your country, at least I can say by the great majority of the people of the United States. Now I wish to advise you that your esteem for President Green in the United States does not excel the esteem in which we hold him in the Dominion of Canada. I think my fellow workers in the Dominion would want me to say exactly what I have said with respect to his address and the esteem in which he is held.

Another reason I am particularly pleased to be here on this occasion and consider it an honor is because I have had the pleasure of appearing on the same platform as that illustrious man in the working movement of the entire world, my fellow countryman, shall I say, Sir Walter Citrine. When he spoke the other day I am sure that none of you were more impressed than I was.

I regret very much that I am not able, with the education I have, to say so nicely the same things he said about the many beautiful things you have in your city. I have had a splendid visit in New Orleans. It has been an eye-opener to me to go through the different districts and see the people at their work and observe their customs of living. I shall tell the people in Canada when I go back how much they are indebted to the American Federation of Labor and all of the delegates for the sympathy and support that they have in their terrific struggle to defend ourselves against what I said the other day were opportunists of the most violent type.

When I came across at Seattle from Vancouver I had an idea to some extent of the friendly attitude that the ordinary person

on the street in the United States had toward the British people, but I had to come across the country to find out how deeply that was rooted, and I only found out definitely and to the greatest extent after I had listened to all the speakers, every one of whom spoke with great sympathy toward our cause.

I hope the declaration that President Green made the other day, that this great labor movement in your country will not stand by and see Canada attacked will be carried out, and that the wishes of many of the other speakers, particularly as expressed by Sir Walter Citrine, that you will do your utmost in your capacity as workmen in the factories to assist Great Britain to get those things which she needs will also be carried into effect.

May I thank you again, Mr. President and delegates, for the splendid reception and for these gifts. I feel that I cannot say any more.

President Green: That is a very pleasant duty performed. We will now resume the regular order of business for a few moments, and I will call upon the Committee on Labels to submit its report.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Flore, of the Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Chairman Flore: Brother Beisel will make the report for the committee.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates: In behalf of the Committee on Union Labels I have the pleasure of submitting a unanimous report with recommendations which indicate remarkable progress on the part of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department. This report and the activities of the Union Label Trades Department merit the continued full cooperation on the part of all trade unionists and their friends with the officers of this militant subdivision of the American Federation of Labor.

Before analyzing the report of label activities, as submitted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, we believe it worthy of note that again this year, as was the case last year, no affiliated organization has found it necessary or expedient to appeal to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for help or assistance in promoting the demand for products or services which are identified by the union label, shop card or button as the product of trade unionists.

The moral of this omission is plain and is the highest type of endorsement of the militant and constructive policies so well and efficiently carried on by the officers of the Union Label Trades Department.

Today, the symbol of trade union production or services—the union label, shop card or button—is in most industries the rule rather than what in other years was the exception. This means that today there are but few trade unionists who can any longer successfully contend that he or she must make sacrifices to secure products or services which carry the union label, shop card or button.

The products which bear the union label or the services of workers which are identified by the display of the shop card or button might well be recognized as the products or services of free men in contrast with those products or services of non-trade unionists which, too often, we regret to say, are the products of economic slaves. Freedom, whether such be political or economic, is the American way.

The American flag signifies to the world that America is the home of the politically free. The product of industry or the services of workers identified by the union label, shop card or button is identified as the product or services not only of politically free Americans but also the product or services of those Americans who are free men and women.

We have carefully examined the report of the Union Label Trades Department and have listened to glowing reports of the officers and representatives of those affiliated Unions to whom the successful promotion of the union label, shop cards and buttons mean so much.

While the time of the Convention is limited, we have no hesitancy in reporting that it is our unanimous belief that at least one whole session of each Convention could be devoted, with great profit to the entire trade union movement, to a full discussion of the value of the union label, shop card and button.

One of the outstanding promotions of a union label, shop card and button consciousness was the recent Four-Star Essay Contest which resulted in educating hundreds of thousands of trade unionists as well as thousands of persons not members of the trade union movement to the value of the union label, shop card and button. We compliment the officers of the Department on this activity and suggest for their consideration that similar contests, for the time being, confined to states or smaller areas might prove equally profitable to the entire trade union movement.

We appreciate the splendid cooperation which the officers of the Union Label Trades Department have received from President William Green, Secretary George Meany and the officers and members of State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, Union Label Leagues and the Ladies' Auxiliaries. We all know the splendid cooperation which exists between the officers of the Union Label Trades Department and the editors, not only of the official journals of the affiliated National and International Unions but also the editors of the non-affiliated Railway Labor organizations and the editors of our weekly Labor press.

We commend the officers for their recent addition to their splendid union label, shop card and button publicity releases of the

"Who's Who in Unions" feature. This publicity has been helpful in many ways. It has helped the National and International Unions in introducing to the millions of American trade unionists the splendid leaders who officiate as executives of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Further, it has helped the editors of our weekly Labor press who have contributed so ably to the building of the American Federation of Labor through the sacrifices which many of them have made in spreading the gospel of free and unbridled trade unions.

The publication of the Union Label Catalogue-Directory, at present in its infancy, also serves a very constructive purpose.

We recognize the fact and compliment those especially responsible, namely, President Matthew Woll and Secretary-Treasurer I. M. Ornburn for the militant activity of the Union Label Trades Department, which has not only substantially promoted the welfare of the affiliated National and International Unions but in many cases has contributed mightily to the workers in many industries whose employees have become members of the American trade union movement.

In closing, we believe all those who have contributed to the success of the Union Label Trades Department and those who are specifically referred to in the report of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, submitted to the Convention, should be ac-

corded the thanks of the delegates to this Convention.

EDWARD FLORE, Chairman
 PETER BEISEL, Secretary
 JOSEPH OBERGFELL
 CHARLES HANSON
 ANTHONY MERLINO
 M. S. MAXWELL
 HUGH J. GLOVER
 GEORGE C. SLATER
 TONEY GALLO
 JOSEPH ADDY
 JAMES A. TAYLOR
 JOSEPH C. ORR
 E. L. WHEATLEY
 JOHN ZITTELLO
 ANASTASIA BECKER
 WM. WALLACE
 E. E. VAN HORN
 CHARLES A. SUMNER
 CHAS. ZIMMERMAN
 JOSEPH DRALEY

COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Chairman Flore moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Labels as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Thank you very much for the service rendered by the committee.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Deserte, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee recommends the substitution of the name of J. C. Bennema for William M. Welsh, representing the International Union of Operating Engineers.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

At 5:40 o'clock, p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning November 28th.

Eighth Day — Thursday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 28, 1940.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, a. m. by President Green.

President Green: The Rev. William H. Nes, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, will pronounce the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. William H. Nes, Dean of
Christ Church Cathedral)

Let us pray. Almighty God, Who has given us this good land for our heritage, we pray that we may always prove ourselves people mindful of our fellows and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land of pure learning and sound morals. Give to the President of the United States and all in authority the spirit of government and a sound mind. Bless the interests of sound and honest labor in our midst. Suffer not hirers of labor to be kept back by subversive influence, and that labor will carry on in good faith and with good will to everybody. Blind us together as one united people. In the time of prosperity fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in time of trouble let not our trust in Thee to fail. Bless particularly this convention of the American Federation of Labor and grant that all their deliberations will be guided by righteousness, and that Thy glory be promoted and a spirit of brotherly cooperation may prevail amongst all people of this land. Help us, we beseech Thee, to show forth Thy Glory among all the peoples of the world. Grant that all of us may seek Thy peace in all faith and righteousness, and that the kingdoms of this world may be kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

(Resolution Introduced by
Unanimous Consent)

President Green: The delegate of the Chicago Federation of Labor requests consent to the introduction of a resolution. It is non-controversial and deals with the radio station WCFL, Chicago. If there are no objections it will be introduced. Hearing none, the resolution will be introduced.

WCFL—"The Voice of Labor"

Resolution No. 185—By Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor", is the only Radio Broadcasting Station in

the United States owned and operated by and for organized labor; and

WHEREAS, WCFL serves the labor movement by providing time on the air; and

WHEREAS, the organized labor movement would not be able to buy this time to disseminate the objects and purposes of the American Federation of Labor to the American people were it not for the fact that labor owns and operates this station; and

WHEREAS, many of the broadcasts donated free of charge to the labor organizations which use WCFL are put on the air solely and specifically for the purpose of bringing about unity in labor and unity between management and labor, both of which factors are recognized to be vital and necessary for the national defense and welfare; and

WHEREAS, WCFL donates great amounts of valuable time each month to broadcasts bringing information, culture and entertainment to that part of the nation within its range of hearing; and

WHEREAS, the American people have taken this radio station into their homes and lives in ever-increasing numbers and the station has strikingly grown in popularity in recent years, as has been proven by countless surveys made by impartial and disinterested surveying organizations; and

WHEREAS, this only "Voice of Labor" in America—this only large station operated not for profit, in the second largest city of America, is now having its wave length threatened by persons whose only interest in operating their public-given franchise of broadcasting is that of private and personal profit; and

WHEREAS, WCFU has applied to the Federal Communications Commission for permission to double its power to 10,000 watts and thus allow it to serve an increase of over 6,000,000 people; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled does hereby reaffirm its faith and pride in WCFL, the "Voice of Labor", and does declare its belief that WCFL as the only labor station in the United States and one of the few great stations in the United States operated not for profit, be given the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliates and members, and that the American Federation of Labor believes it to be in the public interest that WCFL be granted permission to increase its power and the area which it serves, in accordance with the application which is now on file at the Federal Communications Commission, and that it be moved that this resolution be spread on the minutes of this 60th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled

at New Orleans, Louisiana, and that copies of said resolution be sent to all International affiliated unions, state federations, and city central bodies, and that copies of this resolution also be sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Chairman Fly, of the Federal Communications Commission, and that the above-mentioned labor organization be instructed to urge upon their Senators and Representatives to co-operate in the fullest of the purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.
November 26, 1940

William Green, President,
A. F. of L., New Orleans, La.

Extend hearty greetings and best wishes to officers and delegates of American Federation of Labor convention. Deeply appreciate your stand in defense of Democracy. Assure you full cooperation in fight against fifth column, industrial and political espionage and sabotage. Americans of German descent or birth will be with you and all American people in the fight for extinction of fifth column activities in this country. We welcome your efforts that United States of America give all possible aid to allies, short of war. Yours for America and Democracy.

GERMAN AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR
DEMOCRACY

DR. FRANK BOHN, Nat'l Chairman.
CONRAD WOELFEL, Nat'l Secretary.

New York, N. Y.
November 26, 1940

American Federation of Labor,
Sixtieth Convention,
New Orleans, La.

Norwegian Seamen's Association addresses best wishes to Sixtieth Convention of American Federation of Labor. As one of few remaining free trade unions emanating from countries laboring under Nazi oppressors we speak on behalf of millions of suffering brethren when we assure your convention that we view United States labor as main support for present struggle for liberty. We are confident that United States labor aware of historic mission and affirm conviction that this convention's decisions will benefit not only United States labor but labor in entire world.

INGVALD HAUGEN, President.

New York, N. Y.
November 27, 1940

60th Annual Convention of
American Federation of Labor.

Greetings best wishes success deliberations strengthen USA labor movement thereby strengthen Latin American labor movements insuring preservation democracy all Americas.

G. G. FELT.

Representatives Confederation
of Labor of Cuba.

Louisville, Ky.
November 26, 1940.

Wm. Green,
American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium,
New Orleans, La.

Fraternal greetings from the Tobacco Workers International Union. May your deliberations continue to be harmonious and successful.

R. J. PETERS, Sec'y-Treas.
Tobacco Workers International
Union.

Reno, Nevada,
November 26, 1940.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium,
New Orleans, La.

The Nevada State Federation of Labor extends greetings to the officers and delegates of the Sixtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor.

WALTER JACKSON, President,
Nevada State Federation of
Labor.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Harrison, of the Committee on Education, who will submit the report of that committee to the convention.

Chairman Harrison: The committee elected Brother Milliman as Secretary, and he will submit the report to the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Milliman, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates to the 60th Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Education at this convention were presented with two educational reports:

1. Education, containing these subsections:

Public Schools
Vocational Education
N. Y. A. Resident Work-Training
Projects
Civilian Conservation Corps
Defense Training
Committee on Education

2. Workers Education Bureau of America, containing these subsections:

Labor Institutes
State Federation, Central Bodies
and Workers Education.

(1) Regional Educational Conference.

Radio Educational Program

Research Publications

Affiliation and Support of the Bureau

These two major topics are to be found on pages 153-160 and pages 226-230 respectively of the Executive Council's Report to this convention.

In addition five convention resolutions were submitted to your committee.

Your committee would call the attention of the delegates again to the valuable and pertinent economic material which has been brought together within this portion of the report. It deserves the thoughtful study of every leader of labor whether local or national who is charged with the task of leading the hosts of labor in these critical days. We would recommend that an effort be made to make this report a subject not only of individual study but also of interpretation to members of the rank and file through regular union meetings and through the labor journals and other media of communication.

Your committee further recommends the publication again in pamphlet form of these two sections of the Council's report dealing with education, together with the addresses of President Counts of the American Federation of Teachers and the Director of the Workers Education Bureau to this Convention, so that the continuing service of labor to American educational advance be made available to teachers and students throughout the land.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Executive Council's Report.

Page 153)

More than a generation ago, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, defined Education as the "gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race with a view to realizing one's own

potentialities and to assisting in carrying forward the complex of ideas, acts and institutions which we call civilization. In other words, education in a true sense has to do not only with the individual to be educated but with the environment into which and for which he is to be educated." The genius of our American Public School system, to the founding of which American labor made no distinguished a contribution a century ago, has been its concern both with the education of the youth for citizenship in a democracy and the democratic environment in which the young citizen was to take his place. While candor compels us to assert that this original vision of our educational leaders has at times been blurred, it has remained an important part of our historic commitment to public education down through the years.

But if the vision of the leaders has been blurred in the past, the present crisis has sharpened the gaze of the responsible leaders of American education to a new sense of the importance of public education in defending democracy from without as well as within. We now realize as never before that defending democracy is as much an educational as a military task. Such education goes far beyond instructing workers in skilled trades and vocations. It means bringing unity out of the ideals of our people. Unity comes out of loyalty for the basic principles of democracy—free speech and free thought. The type of unity we in America have and want to keep comes out of love and loyalty and understanding of our basic ideals. This is a world struggle between the ideals and ideas of democracy and those of totalitarianism. The people of the United States must be on guard against any attempts from without or within to sacrifice any of these values which inhere in our democratic way of life.

Year after year the American Federation of Labor in its reports on education has rested the case for support and enrichment of public educational institutions on the highest grounds of public welfare. Its report this year is an eloquent plea, not only for equality of educational opportunity, but for the adequate support of our public educational institutions as our best public servant in the field of liberty. We are reminded as well that "liberty is not an inheritance but a fresh conquest with each generation." That conquest of liberty through education is a task laid upon our public school system; we dare not neglect it in a world where liberty is threatened and the foundations of the democracy have been threatened.

Your Committee on Education recommends to the thoughtful consideration of labor and the general public this section on education in the Executive Council's Report and would especially emphasize, that the urgent need of the hour is not for retreat, but advance in public education—not for retrenchment of a dispensable private enterprise, but the expansion of an indispensable public service. The American Federa-

tion of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that widespread public education is essential to the successful operation of democratic government and to the very existence of a free trade union movement. Simultaneous destruction or regimentation of both the public school systems and the trade union movements of the totalitarian states have proved the soundness of this educational philosophy. The attempts in certain cities of our nation to curtail educational facilities, in the name of economy, to balance additional taxes for building the national defense, is not only unfair to the children of the nation, but also dangerous to the future welfare of democratic government. The 1936 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared:

"Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively."

Local and state labor bodies are urged, therefore, to be constantly on the alert to prevent curtailment of the educational facilities of the country, shortening of school terms, or actual closing of the schools because of retrenchment programs sponsored by well organized and highly financed pressure groups. Central Labor bodies are urged to maintain active functional committees on education, carefully to study the needs of the school system, to assist in providing adequate financial support, and see that school funds are expended efficiently and effectively.

Your Committee would remind this convention that for many years it has urged upon Central Labor Bodies the election of members of organized labor to membership on Boards of Education and Boards of public libraries. The appropriateness of this objective has never seemed more clear or urgent than at this hour.

If the labor movement of America is to carry out its traditional policy of supporting the free public school system and libraries of the nation and contribute to a program of wise expansion to meet the new needs, it is absolutely essential that Labor have adequate representation on the official boards responsible for providing educational services in local communities. Adequate representation does not mean that labor should assume control of public school systems and libraries. Labor, committed to the principle that the public schools belong to all of the people insists that the organized labor movement in a community shall have representation on public boards in proportion to the important place occupied by organized workers in the community.

Your Committee would associate itself with the Executive Council in charting the course along which the expansion or reorganization of public education should take place namely "the reorganization of high school curriculum to meet the needs of

citizens in an industrial democracy, practical vocational training and discipline for the responsibilities of our democratic way."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 155)

In this section, the Executive Council refers to the repeated and innumerable difficulties that have grown out of the administration of vocational education and the Smith-Hughes Act. Educators have found it difficult to relate education and work and have set up a trend which increases the extent and scope of school control which has resulted in decreasing union effectiveness in planning and directing vocational education. Employers and unions know that schools cannot give work training and experience; it can be given only on the job. Though the cost of equipment in schools has mounted sharply, schools cannot be made into real work shops with responsibility for production. Their training inevitably remains pre-vocational.

By way of contrast the Executive Council points to apprentice training where work training on the job and supplementary education are really related, because labor and employers through representative committees maintain contacts and participate in training programs.

The Executive Council points out that the first step toward setting up such vocational educational undertakings is provision in union agreements for a joint educational committee to plan and watch over training on the job and to secure through the schools adequate opportunities for related and supplementary education.

The second step, following the analogy of apprentice training, is a national agency within the Department of Labor for the development and maintenance of uniform labor standards to be observed in all vocational educational undertakings, for the protection of the trainees and those already employed in industries as well as for the assurance of balanced educational opportunities.

The A. F. of L. Committee on Education has repeatedly proposed this course of action and has asked for the expansion of the functions of the Division on Apprentice Training within the Department of Labor to include determination and promulgation of labor standards for all training on the job and vocational training so that responsibility for the whole field might be coordinated and definitely lodged. This Federal agency should either add to its present committee on apprentice train-

ing or set up a separate but coordinated committee for this additional responsibility and should direct and coordinate the administration of this program through state departments of labor.

The third step in this program is to make mandatory the creation and maintenance of joint committees with equal representation for employers and employees at state and local levels. Directors of employment services and officials responsible for vocational education should act as consultants without vote to such committees.

As an element in making advisory committees more effective, we recommend the establishment of the practice of written recommendations to the responsible official and written explanation by that official of reasons for any non-compliance with recommendations. In any event this official should file promptly with the advisory committee all orders, interpretations and programs issued so that the committee may at all times be fully aware of progress and changes. In the program for vocational education.

Finally, this program can be made effective only by vigilant and intelligent cooperation of the organized labor movement. Every state federation and city central bodies must see to it that Labor is fully represented on a joint advisory committee and that its representatives make regular reports on work done. Unions must further provide for joint committees to function within their jurisdiction and to cooperate with the local advisory committee. The local advisory committee should coordinate its work by calling regular meetings of all serving in representative capacity in carrying out this program. Such regular meetings will serve to pool information and experience and coordinate work.

The local coordinating agency should keep in touch with a corresponding state committee and the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION — RESIDENT WORK — TRAINING PROJECT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 158)

A year ago the Executive Council in its annual report gave extended consideration to the problem of youth and the growth of youth organizations which have been set up in this country to meet some of the emergency problems of youth. The Council noted a tendency on the part of the NYA to "deal with the problems of

youth as though they were in conflict with the interests of the rest of the community." In the judgment of the Council this was unfortunate as the "distress of youth in the depression is only one part of the dire distress which befall young and old alike."

The Council on the other hand heartily commended the program of the NYA that enabled youth to remain in school and urged its continuance in connection with the Office of Education. In the same report the Council asserted in unequivocal terms its belief that the activities of the NYA concerned with vocational training "should be done by existing agencies expanded as needed and should be subject to those regulations and safeguards which society has deemed wise. It is socially and economically dangerous to provide potential resources to enable undertakings to be independent of existing agencies charged with performing that function under safeguards provided by law." The Convention Committee on Education, recorded its approval of this point in the Council's report while commending the policy of the NYA in providing work-experience for unemployed youth.

Thirteen months have elapsed since that action was taken by the Federation. In the intervening months a new appropriation of \$135,000,000 has been made by the Congress to the NYA for the new fiscal year. In the meantime the nation has embarked upon a Defense program which has not only made important changes in our procedure but promises to reduce substantially the volume of unemployment. According to representatives of the U. S. Department of Labor the Defense program should provide employment for at least one-half of the present unemployed within less than a year. The enactment of a Universal Selective Service Act has provided a new agency under which our youth from 21 to 35 years may be brought under a public authority. Within a year the peace time strength of our army will be brought up to 1,800,000. For the most part young men will compose that army. If, therefore, the reasoning of the Council a year ago is correct that the problem of youth unemployment is a part of the larger unemployment problem, then surely, the need for NYA as an emergency agency will be lessened as provision is made to reduce unemployment by one activity or agency of government.

The Council is concerned about the overlapping of NYA projects with the apprentice training program. It is concerned as well about their invasion of the defense field.

Your Committee is of the opinion that all NYA activities which are clearly invasions of the vocational educational field should be terminated. The splendid exploratory work done in the field of junior employment service should be shifted to the U. S. Employment Service.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to the committee's report: The American Federation of Labor can give no assurance that the preparation and training of youth for industrial activity by the National Youth Administration is sound and justified until the Federation of Labor is represented directly in an advisory capacity in the National Youth Administration.

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Frey: Mr. Chairman, in support of the amendment I want to call attention to the educational activities of the American Federation of Labor, and to the fact that it has a permanent Committee on Education and that that committee for several years has been disturbed over the activities of the National Youth Administration in the field of industrial training. I want to call attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has direct representation upon the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and upon the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education. Those representatives are appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

I am perhaps within my rights in saying that both of these Federal agencies having to do with training have been disturbed for some time over the apparent overlapping of the activities of NYA in the field of vocational training. This question is of the utmost importance if the Federation of Labor intends to maintain a direct voice in the field of vocational or apprenticeship training. This is a good place for a statement as to what American Federation of Labor representation has meant.

On the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and on the Advisory Committee of the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education there is joint representation of labor and of management. All of the rules and regulations are approved by labor and management before they go into effect. Those most directly interested in the training of apprentices and in vocational education have a direct voice in all of the rules and regulations.

Unfortunately, in the National Youth Administration there is no such representation of labor. This great Federation, with its obligation to take an active part in the training of youth, is without any adequate opportunity to be heard in the making of rules and regulations concerning industrial training so far as the National Youth Administration is concerned.

Let us break this down and see what it means. Rules and regulations cannot enforce themselves. There must be some individuals whose attention is given to their application and to their enforcement. On the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and the same holds true for the Bureau of Vocational Education, there is set up regional and local representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of indus-

try. So far as apprenticeship training is concerned, on every state committee there must be equal representation of labor and management. So far as industries are concerned, there must be in each industry a committee of labor and of management. So that everywhere where apprentices are being trained, labor and management has an oversight over the individual apprentice. So far as vocational education is concerned, there is the same local representation of labor and of management. Vocational education is carried on through the public school system and wherever under that system there is a vocational training school, there, in connection with the activities of that school, is a local committee composed of management and of labor.

Last June when the Federal Bureau made a survey it found there were 1,343 of those local committees having a direct oversight over what was being done, the training being given, the necessities of industries in the community on the part of organized labor and of management. In all of the enterprises of the National Youth Administration there is no oversight by either labor or by management as to what is being done.

At the present time the American Federation of Labor has no direct advisory representatives inside of NYA. I want to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the statements coming from Washington since we have gathered here, that there is in contemplation a joining of the CCC with NYA, so that that great institution which has been of such tremendous benefit to American youth may pass under the control and the direction of NYA.

There has been an unfortunate and misleading publicity as to the activities of NYA. There have been some of its representatives more concerned with sympathy for youth than with a practical consideration of what can be done in training them for employment in the industries. Only a few months ago the state director of NYA of one of our largest industrial states interviewed the Board of Education of one of the large cities, and this was immediately followed with a statement by the city Board of Education that it was to open additional schools, that 2,500 young men in the community were to be trained for industrial work, with the guarantee that after they had finished their course in the school they would be immediately given employment somewhere by the United States Government. That was unfortunate for the public school system. It was more unfortunate because it misled the parents of idle youths and it misled the youths themselves.

NYA has entered the manufacturing fields, and I wish to read from a letter sent by the Supervisor of Industrial Education of one of the largest states in our union to the Director of Industrial Education, a letter which was written since the delegates gathered in New Orleans. I will read in part from the letter.

"At present, as you know, we are co-operating with the NYA in providing instruction on a full-time basis in the fol-

lowing shops: mill and cabinet, printing, machine-shop practice, auto mechanics, general sheet metal work, cooking and baking. At present, schedules call for the enrollees to attend classes for a half day and work for NYA the balance of the day. The exact schedule in the future program has not been worked out definitely and agreed upon, but in the main the following proposal has been made:

"In a new program that is underway at the present time, it is understood that the machine shop, sheet metal and foundry shop, mill and cabinet shop, the auto mechanics' shop, and the cooking and baking shops will be used on a full-time production basis. The present shop for printing and classroom for commercial work will be eliminated. If this plan is carried out and boys are required to spend the majority of their day in the shop doing production work, it will be impossible for this department to cooperate to the extent of providing the educational program as in the past because there will not be sufficient time left during the working day for these students to receive a minimum of three hours a day of instruction, or 15 hours a week, as is required by our regulations.

"The NYA has been permitted to assist the Ordnance Department in the construction of a new type of gun rack. At present no definite number to be made by the NYA has been determined, but the NYA hopes to be able to take over the entire order that the Ordnance has received, which is 45,000 gun racks.

"These racks are being made in the machine shop and the woodworking shop at the rate of about 30 a day. In order to accomplish this, both of these shops are being run two shifts per day. When additional equipment is available, this production schedule will be stepped up to 100 per day. Two additional arc welding machines, two spot welders and one Buffalo combination shear and punch are to be purchased as soon as is possible.

"In producing these racks, the power back saw, the drill press, and welding machines in the machine shops are in constant use, which makes it impossible for them to be used by the other students at any time. The greater portion of the student's time in the classes has been turned over to the production of these racks which makes it difficult for the instructor to carry out any type of organized instruction.

"It is my suggestion that unless some other provision can be made to take care of this production work we discontinue the reimbursement of the salary of the machine shop instructor since he has become in fact a shop superintendent, rather than an instructor."

When a letter reciting these facts is sent to the Director of Industrial Education of a great state by the supervisor of industrial education, it is evident that in its efforts to be helpful to youth, the NYA has already entered the manufacturing field. I think, in

common with all of us, we have a very deep sympathy with the position of the youth of our country. They have been unable to secure employment. They are spending their days in idleness. Something must be done to help them, but that something must be an opportunity for training which will prepare them rather than exploit them in a manufacturing enterprise where, instead of receiving the wages paid to free labor, they receive what is given out by NYA.

My purpose in taking the floor—and I wish to make this clear—is not to criticize the NYA, but rather to praise it, because of the heartfelt interest it has had in the welfare of youth and in the wise expenditure of the enormous appropriations it has received. My purpose, however, is to insist as one trade unionist that in the field of industrial training we are entitled to an equal voice with any other citizen. To insist that if it is found that this American Federation of Labor should be adequately represented and have a direct voice in making rules and regulations covering apprentice training and vocational education, and to have its local committees operating to see that these local rules and regulations are observed, the time has come when we should demand as a matter of right the same adequate voice in the making of rules and regulations within the NYA which have to do with the training of youth.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I want to be very brief. I know what I am going to say is not going to change what the Government is now doing with respect to the NYA. What I have to say is being said with the hope that our labor movement throughout this country will emphasize this fact. The youth movement is merely the effect. It is not the cause. The problem which the Government should grapple with is unemployment, the wiping out of unemployment, and you are not going to have what they now term a youth movement if you wipe out unemployment. We all know the answer to unemployment. The first step is the 30-hour week, but what is more important is an activity on the part of Government to bring about a more just division of the proceeds of industry in order that the great mass of the people will have earnings so that they can buy the goods that are produced through steady employment.

The amendment offered by Delegate Frey was adopted by unanimous vote.

The report of the committee, as amended by Delegate Frey, was adopted by unanimous vote.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 158)

One of the first agencies set up by the Government to meet the needs of unemployed youth was the Civilian Conservation Corps. Directed from the start by a

trade unionist with the management and discipline under the War Department, this agency has performed a notable service in the work of conservation of our natural resources. It has helped to create in the public mind an appreciation of our vast public domain and the need for its conservation if it is to be of continuing service to the nation. The development of an educational program in the camps has been most useful and has served to provide both vocational guidance and training of many of our youth.

During the past year the qualification for admission to the Corps has been changed. Relief status is no longer a requirement. The work training program of the Camps has been kept practical with the result that the record of the placement of youth in employment has been very creditable. But what is apparent is that this agency by an avoidance of overlapping, and by focusing on the new vocation of conservation, has met a recognized need.

Your committee would repeat its commendation of this agency and welcome these changes in policy which look toward its establishment as a permanent agency for the training of youth for conservation. Your committee would express the hope that in the co-ordination of the various youth serving agencies of the government that this Civilian Conservation Corps be recognized for its record of constructive service over the past seven years.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on the following subjects:

Defense Training, Executive Council's Report, Page 158; Special Report of A. F. of L. Committee on Education (E. C. Report, Page 160).

The Special Report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education is as follows, as shown at pages 338-340, third day's proceedings:

SPECIAL REPORT

Recommendations On Defense Training

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the subject matter under the heading, "Recommendations on Defense Training", is referred to the Committee on Resolutions, along with other similar subjects for consideration and action.

The subject matter is as follows:

Because we are American citizens and value the opportunities of a democracy, we want to do our full share in this emergency against which we are prepar-

ing defense. Our most effective service lies in the field in which we have experience—the field of Labor which is just as fundamental for defense as for progress in peace. Our responsibility for service constrains us to call attention to training proposals which are a serious menace to national ability to produce.

We feel that education is the most fundamental permanent responsibility of any nation which no emergency should interrupt. We hold that our public school system is the bulwark of our democracy and that it is provided with safeguards to assure social objectives. We believe that responsibility for education of our citizens should center in this system and that the setting up of separate agencies not related to this central system tends to undermine it and to make for conflict in objectives.

During the depression relief agencies have set up educational undertakings some of which contributed constructive results, but which were not coordinated with our public school system and which are not controlled by the necessary safeguards and standards determined by labor experience. We believe this basic mistake should not be repeated in the defense program.

In addition the functions of relief agencies should be clearly differentiated from those of the defense program. The purposes of relief in many ways conflict with the necessities of defense production and planning.

Before the emergency due to business collapse had been cleared away, we were overwhelmed by the defense emergency growing out of the War of the Dictators. Expansion of industry began—not only expansion of defense industries but normal consumption industries responded to the stimulus of increased payrolls. There was an increased hiring of workers all along the line, but the increase in the defense industries made abnormal demands for skilled metal craftsmen, skilled ship builders, skilled precision workers of all kinds. It was early obvious that unless skilled workers could be provided, the whole defense program would bog down. Apprenticeship is the only known way to secure apprentices and this has been neglected during the depression. All that can be done to make up that deficiency should be gotten under way as rapidly as possible but meanwhile production is imperative.

Because the need for skilled and production workers in the defense industries in proportions greatly in excess of those required for normal needs seemed likely to become acute, Congress last summer appropriated 16 million dollars to the Office of Education for defense training. This appropriation, which did not require matching by local funds, was quickly allotted so that summer use of schools might facilitate training. The results of this program together with other proposals now under consideration presented so serious a situation that your Committee on Edu-

cation held a special meeting and after consultation with those responsible for various programs, reached the conclusions which we have embodied in a program. We hope that after consideration of our program, you will wish to submit it to the Chief Executive of the United States.

We recommend:

(1) That our whole program of education be expanded in the emergency created by the War of the Dictators so that citizens and future citizens shall have all possible opportunities for progress and for satisfaction in living. While spending freely for the defense of democracy we must make sure that its basic sources are not obstructed.

(2) That all vocational education activities of the Federal Government be coordinated through the Office of Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training to which is allocated responsibility for labor standards.

(3) That the Office of Education make compliance with the following standards mandatory for allocation of defense funds for vocational education:

(a) Committees at the State level consisting of equal representatives of organizations of employers and of statewide organizations of workers, with representatives of the administration of state employment offices and the chairman of the state apprentice training committee sitting in as consultants to advise with the State Office of Education on the development of the program and its administration.

(b) Local committees consisting of representatives of employers and organized labor, the director of the employment office and a representative of the local apprentice-training committee to advise the Superintendent of Education upon Vocational education matters.

(c) Local employment service not to refer trainees from local undertakings to vacancies outside the community. Local control is essential to maintenance of standards.

(d) Every project for defense training should set forth specifically the actual or potential need for the workers to be trained which should be filed with the Office of Education. Provisions for labor supply should be included by management in their long-time plans. Notice of needs to the employment service should allow the time necessary to locate workers under present conditions or for training them.

(e) Defense training must be to supply specific need for labor. Pre-employment "refresher" courses and supplementary training for employed workers should be provided. Work training should be as nearly as possible on the job and under work conditions. Factories and plants might be used at night time or within

out-of-production time, coordinated with day time use of schools. Related education should be available for trainees through the schools, so that skill and ability may be steadily strengthened.

(f) Committee on Apprentice Training to pass upon and safeguard all plans for dilution.

Skilled craftsmen and all-round workers are indispensable in a civilization as highly mechanized as ours. Apprenticeship is the only way to provide skilled craftsmen. One of the basic causes of our present difficulties is failure to maintain a fixed ratio of apprentice training during the depression adequate for normal needs of industry. Current rapid expansion of production provides the opportunity for industries to resume their responsibility for training their skilled workers, and we urge that unions and employers consider the possibility of making quotas for apprenticeship as large as possible. We urge the public schools to provide the necessary related education for the increased apprentice-training program.

Craftsmanship was conserved first by the guilds and now by trade unions. This historic heritage is tied up with our personal lives as well as with industrial progress and welfare. In demanding protection for it our purposes are basically protective of human welfare. When dilution takes place it should be in accord with plans conforming to the judgment of those with intimate experience in the field and with responsibility for its conservation. We recognize that the exigencies of the defense program will make necessary some dilutions of our skill standards. While we recognize this probability we assert that our equities in craft skill will require and deserve conservation.

We submit, therefore, that all proposals for solution shall be submitted to the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training for decision both upon facts submitted in justification of any proposal and upon how wisely and effectively the proposal meets proven needs. No consent to dilution should be regarded as permanent modification of apprenticeship and should be accompanied by training and educational provisions to enable the workers to advance from repetitive processes and machine operations to a rounded understanding of production and to greater efficiency and ability as a worker.

As there is danger to industry as well as to workers from over-specialization, the needs of the emergency must be related to the needs of the future. To safeguard these ends, each request for dilution must be decided on its merits so as not to precipitate a general and wasteful lowering of the whole basis of production skill. When a need is established for specific categories of workers, then a program for the best training of these workers can be worked out by those concerned—management, workers and educators. General standards and safeguards should be developed by the Federal Committee to be supplemented by the determination of local committees for specific programs. We appreciate that such emergency service

would place new and heavy demands upon the Committee on Apprentice Training and urge that the Committee be provided the funds for expansion for emergency service.

We also urge state federations to see to it that state committees on apprentice training are set up in all states to cooperate with the Federal Agency.

We consider it of paramount importance that the principles and practices of democratic living be maintained during this emergency and that whatever new procedures and developments may be deemed necessary that all shall be squared with the principles and institutions that give life value.

Respectfully,

American Federation of Labor
Conference on Education.

MATTHEW WOLL
JOHN P. FREY
THOMAS E. BURKE
IRVIN KUENZLI
E. E. MILLIMAN
GEORGE L. GOOGE
GEORGE S. COUNTS
FRANK FENTON

With the appropriation of over sixteen billions for defense purposes, we face production problems of stupendous size in which the time element is of critical importance. Defense production requires unusually high proportions of skilled and experienced craftsmen and in some cases large numbers of very special craftsmen scarcely needed at all in normal production. Precision production with such limited tolerances as munitions require, has come to us after a decade of depression in which practically no apprentices were trained. Among our ten million unemployed workers in the nation were many craftsmen who had for years not worked at their trade. Industrial changes had carried many more into production work in other industries where they had earned equities and for this and other reasons were reluctant to return. There were in all industries, specialists who could be quickly trained to more skilled work.

Obviously the agency through which defense labor must be mobilized is the U. S. Employment Service with the co-operation of unions and employers. That organization early began to compile the work experiences of all registered workers, and with the help of unions began a survey to recover craftsmen employed at other work. A constructive basic job was done and is being kept up to date. The next step in defense training has been confusion and worse, both because of the multiplicity of agencies, the lack of co-ordination and failure to agree upon labor standards and educational goals. The first defense training appropriation was set up in the summer to use schools and teachers during the summer vacation and before there was

knowledge of how many workers were needed and for what occupations. Not less than five major Federal agencies initiated programs quite uncoordinated—which were supplemented by other projects initiated by states. The labor representative on the Advisory Commission for National Defense has since set up a committee for co-ordinating defense training—as well as a separate agency for promoting training on the job.

Without going further into details of the present confusion in defense training, we wish to outline a program for guidance of all our affiliated unions who must deal with specific and local plans.

First, we wish to declare emphatically, all defense training must be on the job. Time is a fundamental element in the efficiency of our whole program. Training must take place in work surroundings and under the conditions work is to be done. There is no time for school instruction which must be unlearned on the job before the learner can properly be taught for his job. Schools should be equipped and ready to give related and supplementary instruction on the problems of work and equipping the worker to be ready for advancement in assignments and in status. Control over training on the job and related supplementary instruction in the school must be under representatives of the union and management, and should be provided for through union agreement. This committee should be responsible for the training program.

Training on the job includes apprentice training as well as training for specific operations. Apprentice training looking to all-round craftsmen requires study and experience over years. There are no short cuts even in an emergency, but apprentice training systematically carried on over the years is necessary to assure industries an adequate supply of workers for this machine age. Plans have already been initiated Federally for the expansion of the apprentice training program but we urge adequate funds for still further expansion in the coming year. We must start now to overcome scarcity of apprentices due to ten years of depression as well as to meet increased needs.

In the more than twenty years that the Smith-Hughes Act has been operative, there has been a growing tendency to take training out of the plants and to shift industry's legitimate expenses to the public schools. The result has been a growing separation of training from work, an indefiniteness of purpose and method. Tax supported schools cannot train workers for a specific employer or on production nor can they reproduce factory or shop conditions with their rapid shifts in technical procedures and machinery. We must check this trend and provide work training on the job, directed by union and management. Related and supplementary instruction given in the public schools must also be directed and advised

by joint representative committees of workers and employers. Training on the job involves matters of work, relation to production and to other employed persons and the future supply of workers and therefore belong locally under state departments of labor and cleared locally through the employment services. If our defense program should disclose any need for modification of this program, such change can most safely be determined and safeguarded by the Apprentice Training division with experience and knowledge of the whole field. There is no need for new agencies. Apprentice training machinery, nationally and locally, can readily be expanded to include all plant training.

Second. Training must be based on a program of defense production submitted by the Advisory Commission on Defense. At the present time with separate agencies given independent appropriations and launching their programs outside of established controls there is a competition in training, irritating and confusing to employers and workers that has well nigh bred revolt. Plans for training on the job should center in the U. S. Department of Labor with related training centered in the Federal Board of Education, and cleared through the U. S. Employment Service with the Defense Commission coordinating in advance estimates of needed workers. Joint advisory committees consisting of equal representation from employers and labor should function at every level. Advisory committees are not window dressing, to look well and become administrative headaches, but a necessary directing part of the administrative machinery. In our report on Vocational Education we outline the organization and work of these committees.

The same type of co-ordination should be operative at state and local levels with representative committees of employers and employees. All plans should clear through the appropriate employment agency.

Local training programs should strictly observe these principles:

Short-time training projects should be set up only when and where openings exist.

Training should be for local employment only, as any other procedure would undermine local control such as when Portland, Oregon, trained aircraft workers for Washington.

Third. We maintain that appropriation of funds should be made only for specific programs. The huge sums recently voted by Congress have proved an embarrassment to educators suddenly called to expand far in excess of their plans and are definitely demoralizing to educational and training standards. Training on the job places the training costs on industry where they belong and relieves the public from the expense of training and equipment.

Employers must become accustomed to add to their advance planning of the material side of production, advance planning of needed workers by categories and in time to permit of training.

Fourth. We must separate relief from defense training. Following the principles outlined above, defense training must be for specific openings and hence the necessity for considering relief is removed. It is important that existing relief agencies should not be permitted to perpetuate their temporary provisions and unwise principles by carrying them into defense training.

We recommend approval of the section of the Executive Council Report on Vocational Education as well as the special report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education, on Defense Training which was presented in person to the President of the United States by President Green of the Federation. The prompt action of this committee in the emergency situation deserves the commendation of this Convention. We look to the Permanent Committee on Education for guidance in defense training and in securing the establishment of agencies to carry through our vocational education and training program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR AND EDUCATION IN THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR

As this nation girds itself for total defense against all aggression, and seeks to defend America through effective aid to Great Britain there remains still another task to which Labor and Education in America should address itself. It is the task of reconstruction in Europe after the collapse of Hitlerism. Today, in one nation after the other which is brought under the dominion of the oppressor, an effort is being made to reshape education in accordance with the philosophy of the Totalitarian State. In each case the genius and history of the oppressed peoples is ignored in the effort to regiment youth into new loyalties and patterns of thought.

Today America alone among the free democracies of the world has the time and perspective to give proper thought to the problems of reconstruction after the war. The democratic nations now at war which would devote themselves to some of these problems are so deeply involved in a life-and-death struggle that they cannot give thought to these post-war problems. Yet a clearer understanding of the needs of a post-war world might greatly clarify the war-aims of the participants and further rally support of world public opinion.

One thing is evident: a new world order of some kind will arise from the ruins of the present old order in Europe and that new order will greatly influence both American ideas and institutions and be influenced by American ideas and institutions. In the formulation of our ideas on educational reconstruction, American labor can exercise a constructive influence of the first importance. In 1914 the Federation of Labor by convention action began to plan for problems of reconstruction following the First World War. Out of this concern came the International Labor Office. It is appropriate that American labor today should concern itself with the problems of educational reconstruction following the Second World War.

In planning educational reconstruction in the post-war period American labor will insist that in our own land that educational inequalities be wiped out and popular control of education assured from the elementary level to the institutions of higher learning. Labor will insist that in support, control and content American education reflect its devotion to democratic ideals and procedures.

It will also insist that more adequate provision be made for the education of our youth through a better articulation with the community agencies, and that adult education be made universal by the voluntary actions of the citizenship.

American labor in its co-operative aid to educational reconstruction of Europe will recognize at the outset our debt to Europe for educational ideas and philosophies. From such leaders as Fellenberg, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Arnold, American education in the past has been greatly enriched. On the other hand American education has in the days of its maturity made a significant contribution to European education, in the concept of the single system of instruction from the elementary school to the institutions of higher learning.

In particular American labor will urge the importance of a more organic union of manual skills with academic instructions in a reconstructed education; a more comprehensive provision for the education of youth to put an end once and for all to the gap between school leaving and job assuming; an adult educational activity which would be shared in by all. In a word, free labor in America will offer to co-operate with the forces of democratic education to insure that in the future free youth may be educated for a free society.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

The Federation through the Workers Education Bureau seeks to carry forward its adult educational activities among

wage earners and provide a service of interpretation both to labor and the public of the manifold activities of the Federation and its declared policies. The continuous service the Bureau has rendered to Labor over a period of nearly 20 years has been a work of immeasurable value. If both the rank and file as well as the leaders of labor today understand better the task which is before them in a complex technology age; if the teachers in our schools and colleges of America know better what is the cultural contribution of labor to the building of America; if the leaders of our churches know more about the religious heart of labor; if the leaders of government appreciate better today what is the contribution which labor has made and is making to improve the standards of life and living of our people; if the leaders of American industry have come to a new awareness of the potential service of labor as a co-operator in the carrying on the enterprise of industry; if indeed the public today knows better than before what are the humanistic aims and social goals of labor, it is due to the educational efforts which labor has put forth over the past twenty years to inform the leaders of education, religion, industry, government and the public. And in all this effort at increasing understanding among labor and about labor the Workers Education Bureau has played a conspicuous part. As President Green said in introducing the Director of the Bureau to this convention, "We know as never before that an educated worker is thrice armed. We know it is not a matter of physical strength or prowess, but rather strength of mind that grows with mastery of social and economic problems that is important."

Your committee on the occasion of the 60th Annual Convention congratulates both the Bureau and the Federation for the constructive service of the Bureau, and recommends that all the National and International Unions, State Federations and Central Bodies and Local Unions avail themselves of the service of this educational agency.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR INSTITUTES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 226)

It is a truism in education as in many other areas of life that the existence of facilities does not create the desire for learning, but rather the desire for knowledge creates the facilities.

The Labor Institute has grown out of the expressed desire of labor to know and understand the trends of our social and economic problems and their impact on labor. The Institute, like the trade union has

grown out of necessity; and like the trade union it has come to occupy an indispensable part in the learning process of labor. It has become as well an invaluable medium by which the experience of labor can be shared by scholars and experts in the fields of labor, industry and government. For the nature of adult learning is, that it comes out of shared experiences; indeed adult education is possible only for those who have had experiences and can share them with others.

The Labor Institute as it has expanded under the leadership of the Bureau has become a device of undoubted value and a method by which labor, has not only deepened its understanding about its own problems, but has as well aided the people to understand the nature of labor's problems. Labor cannot solve its economic and social problems in an economic vacuum; it cannot resolve its community problems apart from the rest of the community. The ultimate social solutions come as a result of the co-operative efforts of all the factions which go to make up our industrial society. Labor is one vital factor in that society. But labor needs the co-operation of other factors in industry as do the other factors need the co-operation of labor. The Labor Institute has provided an agency for such pooling of experience and a classification of policy. It should be widely expanded and widely utilized by labor in dealing with its common problems.

During the year Labor Institutes have been held in widely scattered parts of the country under varying auspices and devoted to the consideration of different problems. The topics have varied from "Labor and the World Crisis" to a careful appraisal of the "Social and Economic consequences of the shorter work week". But the central theme through all the discussions has been the new role of labor under the changing technology of both peace and war. For labor to grasp the inner significance of these changes and prepare to discharge their new duties is of the essence.

The Labor Institute program as sponsored by the Bureau falls into three general categories. The first type is the local institute set up in an industrial center like New York City or Dallas, Texas, under the sponsorship and support of such organizations as the Central Labor Councils, the Building Trades Councils, Allied Trades Councils and some local educational institutions with the co-operation of the Bureau. The second type of institute is that set up by the State Federation of Labor, in co-operation with the State University and the Bureau, which are state-wide in character and serve not only membership within the State but frequently organizations outside the State. Typical of such institutes are those which were held during the year and sponsored by the Indiana Federation of Labor at Purdue University in Lafayette, Indiana; the Nebraska Federation of Labor at the University at Lincoln, Nebraska; the Massachusetts Federation of Labor at the Retreat House of the Jesuit Order at North Andover, Massachusetts, and the New Jersey State Federation

of Labor at Rutgers University at New Brunswick, N. J. Each of these institutes had in their own way attracted representative leaders of labor to their sessions and have numbered among their discussion leaders distinguished scholars and representatives of government agencies. The possibility for expanding these state-wide institutes is very great; it would reflect on enlightened labor leadership if every one of the forty-eight State Federations of Labor could plan one such institute each year at a time and place which will best serve the needs of labor. The State universities as well as the private institutions of learning are now prepared almost without exception to serve the recognized educational needs of labor within the limits of the facilities and equipment. The initiative rests in labor under the guidance of the Workers Education Bureau.

Among these state-wide labor institutes it is appropriate to refer to the Rutgers Labor Institute which became one of the pioneer institutes of the country, sponsored by a joint committee representative of labor and the university. This institute which held its tenth annual meeting in June at Rutgers University has become the model for all the institutes and has in many respects become a national institution. To its annual meetings come both the leaders of labor and education and government, and industrial observers from without as well as within the State and from over seas as well. It was from this institute that Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor chose to make his historic reply, last June, to the moving appeals made by Ernest Bevin, veteran labor leader and now Minister of Labor of Great Britain, and Leon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the French Confederation of Labor, to the trade unionists of the United States. The pioneering work of this institute and the high standard of excellence it has maintained over the years is most deserving of the unqualified support of this convention.

The third type of institute is one in which the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor has done some constructive pioneering this past year. Two days prior to their annual convention the officers of the Federation, in co-operation with the local Educational Institutions in Pittsburgh and the Bureau, together with representatives of governmental agencies set up a two day institute or forum, to discuss some of the matters which the delegates were to consider at the annual convention. A representative group of delegates participated in the forum, which resulted in a most helpful and thorough discussion of many problems which were acted upon in the regular convention session.

Out of this experiment there has developed an extension program sponsored by the Pennsylvania State College which is already at work serving the local unions in the State in what promises to be a most constructive and necessary follow-up to the State-wide institute or forum.

The Institute sponsored by the Oregon Federation of Labor jointly with the North-

west Institute of International Relations at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, was frankly an experiment, but is one, the result of which appears to warrant repetition. Labor can profit greatly by such co-operative ventures when it does the necessary work of preparation for participation.

The Institute, sponsored by the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, with the co-operation of some of the local unions and central bodies of the State, falls into a somewhat different category, but reveals the awakened interest of State universities in the area of educational service.

There were in addition a number of local institutes which were held in connection with Summer Schools for workers in such places as Berkeley, California, in connection with the Pacific Coast Summer School for Workers, and the Wisconsin Summer School, they have added to the general volume of educational activity during the year.

Your Committee desires to once more record its conviction that these Institutes, whether local or state-wide, have brought labor and education into a most valuable co-operative relationship. To consider together problems which so surely affect not only labor but the general welfare, is not only of the greatest educational value to labor but an invaluable asset to the total educational effort of the nation. The Bureau's leadership in these institutes has, if anything, been more notable and outstanding in the year that has passed and deserves a full measure of praise and encouragement from this convention. We believe the greatest encouragement that could be given is to urge all State Federations to consider ways with which to carry forward this educational service during 1941 with the co-operation of the Bureau.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE FEDERATIONS, CENTRAL BODIES AND WORKERS EDUCATION

The State Federations which have served as the legislative arm of labor in the several states have given unmistakable evidence of interest in education in recent years. Not only have they provided the leadership for the most effective labor institutes which have been held but they have in a number of states done a most commendable job in the development of regional educational conferences to reach the local leaders and possess them with the basic knowledge about economic problems and proposed legislation. These regional conferences have performed a twofold purpose. In the first place they have provided a nucleus of informed support among the membership of labor about pending legislation, and in the second place they have developed in labor the capacity to think through the steps by which ideas or policies become translated into laws or industrial procedures.

The action of the Massachusetts and Indiana Federations in sponsoring regional conferences deserves especial commendation. Your Committee would venture the opinion that other State Federations of Labor might follow this practice with profit to the membership of labor in the several states. The Central Bodies are essentially educational bodies; they possess no jurisdiction over affiliated unions; they cannot determine the labor policies of the smallest or weakest units. But the Central Bodies can and should give their efforts to representing the mind of labor on questions which affect labor in any city in the country; they serve as the invaluable agency through which to carry forward an education of the delegates and members on labor problems. The examples of such educational activity are probably many though the knowledge of them is somewhat limited. The continued effort of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, for example, to make education a regular part of their program with the assistance of the Research Adviser of the Bureau has borne fruit in many ways. It is a procedure also which is worthy of repetition throughout the country.

From time to time your Committee has taken occasion to recommend to all central bodies of the country the creation of permanent committees on education, and their active functioning to guide the education of labor in the central bodies throughout the country. We repeat our recommendation with the added urgency that such an educational service by labor through our central bodies at this time would greatly add to the strength of labor in meeting the many changes that confront labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RADIO EDUCATION PROGRAM

The activity of the Bureau in the Radio Educational Field has been conspicuously successful. For a decade now, the Bureau has experimented with this medium of communication and has worked out new methods by which labor's story has been presented to the listening public. At a time when every household in America, on the average, possess a radio this means for the communication of ideas has become almost as important as the printed page. It is certainly a medium that labor cannot afford to neglect.

The "Americans at Work" program completed in May of this year a cycle of two years of weekly presentations over the nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The program won wide audience approval. At present it is being presented each week to millions of school children in the American School of the Air over the CBS. The Bureau is now in contact with the National Broadcasting Company on the presentation of an historical series of labor's contribution to American development, which has the approval of President Green.

Your Committee in commending the Bureau for its competent handling of the radio educational programs would recommend that this Convention join in expressing to the National Broadcasting Company its hope that its facilities be made available for an adequate presentation of labor's role in American life at a time when the message will reach the largest listening audience.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 226)

One of the activities to which the Bureau early addressed itself was the field of publication; it has continued that service without interruption. The publications of the Bureau to date have been of a uniformly high order and have served admirably the purposes for which they were designed.

Labor and Education for 1939 jointly published with the A. F. of L. and the American Federation of Teachers has been of incalculable value to teachers and to those charged with interpreting the educational policies of the Federation.

The revised copy of the pamphlets on Child Labor, the series of pamphlets on the World Crisis—by Ernest Bevin, Leon Jouhaux and Matthew Wolf and R. H. Tawney have been widely valued both in this country and abroad.

The inauguration of the series of brief histories of the trade unions has been a marked success. More than twenty-five histories have already been prepared; ten have been approved; five have already been published.

Your committee would record its appreciation of this valuable service of the Bureau; it should be extended and can be with the wider measure of support of the Bureau which will come as its work is more widely known.

The Research activities of the Bureau which have been carried on on special problems for individual unions, and in the preparation of special economic activities for the labor press has been objective and of genuine value. We recommend that this service be continued and expanded as the needs of labor are made clear.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AFFILIATION AND SUPPORT OF THE BUREAU

During the year the Bureau has added four national and international unions to its supporting membership and many State Federations, Central Bodies and Local

Unions. In some cases unions that were compelled to discontinue affiliation due to the depression have reaffiliated. In all cases such association with the work of the Bureau has come out of a careful appraisal of the work of the Bureau and its value to the movement in general and their members in particular. The four new national and international unions which have undertaken affiliation are the International Association of Machinists, the International Operating Engineers, the American Federation of Teachers and the Pattern Makers' League.

Today a majority of the National and International Unions are in affiliation. There remain a number of unions whose support would be most welcome and whose moral and financial support would greatly strengthen this arm of the Federation.

Your committee again urges that the unions not now in active affiliation associate themselves in this most important work. Nineteen years of continuous service merits recognition, if for no other reason than a record of faithful service. But here is an agency that has been of unquestioned help to our movement over the years through concrete ways as are set forth in this report. While affiliation is voluntary we can not refrain from quoting from the late President Wilson that "the willing co-operation of a free people is the strength of a democracy." It is as well the strength of a free democratic labor movement. We urge that this convention add the weight of its opinion to this urgent recommendation.

The support during the year of a grant-in-aid from the American Association for Adult Education for the Institute program is a worthy recognition by this National Agency of Adult Education of the service of the Bureau. Your committee would add its approval and appreciation to this grant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Additional Funds For U. S. Office of Education

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin W. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need that the U. S. Office of Education be manned and equipped to gather, compile, present and interpret educational data and statistics on subjects which would aid the several States in their conduct of education, and

WHEREAS, This federal government has thus far failed to appropriate sufficient funds to enable the U. S. Office of Education of itself and in cooperation with the several States to perform this service, which is vitally essential to the proper development of the conduct of education within each of the several States and Ter-

ritories by each of the several States, respectively. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled calls upon the Congress of the United States to appropriate adequate funds to enable the U. S. Office of Education to establish conduct and maintain a service of fact finding and research of itself and in co-operation with the several States to assist these States and their citizens in the conduct of education.

As the nation turns to its own inner defenses to meet the challenge to our democratic way, it is inevitable that our public educational system should be one of the most important of all of our home defenses. For that reason it would seem to be utterly folly to appropriate money for the materials of defense and not give consideration to the needs of educational defense. The inadequacy of the funds in the Office of Education for fact-finding and research has long been known. It is imperative that this inadequacy should be repaired without delay.

Your committee therefore concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Support For Teachers' Organization Defending American Education System

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The teachers of America desire to make the school serve most fully and effectively the ideals of American democracy, and

WHEREAS, Ill-considered efforts may be made to divert the resources of the school to short-sighted and anti-social purposes, and

WHEREAS, Reactionary interests may seek to curtail the educational services under a false conception of national defense, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon all state and local bodies of the Federation to cooperate with the American Federation of Teachers in the defense of the integrity of the American educational system and in support of a further extension of that system as an essential part of the program of national defense.

As stated elsewhere in this report the committee recognized the importance of extended facilities for public education during the present emergency. We believe

that adequate educational facilities are essential not only to the national defense program but also to a sound structure of democratic government after the present crisis has passed. The children in the schools today who will be faced with the tremendous responsibility of guiding the nation through the post-war economic, social and moral reconstruction, must be fully trained in the processes of American democracy. The fact that labor and education have been first to suffer under the regimentation of totalitarianism is a grave warning to the labor movement in America carefully to guard the free public school system of the nation.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the Permanent Committee on Education, state federations of labor, and local labor bodies co-operate with the American Federation of Teachers in implementing educational facilities which will not only assist in protecting American democracy through the present defense program but also provide thorough training for the nation's children who will be the citizens of tomorrow.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor: I do not think the splendid record of the American Federation of Labor with respect to public education needs reiteration. As has been said, there is no force in America that fought harder for the initiation of public schools—free public schools—than the American Federation of Labor. But I would like to remind you that education in America is still a local matter, and whatever the American Federation of Labor does for public education has to be supplemented by the state, city and central bodies. The laws which determine education in America are still made by the state legislators and the greatest support labor can get in this regard must come through our state, city and central bodies.

We are now in a great crisis in education. I am one of those willing to admit I still remember the last war, when the war was made an excuse for the attacks on labor and education. I remember when factories had signs tacked up trying to speed up work. One sign read, "Stop a minute now and a soldier will be killed." They had one sign in a corset factory that said, "Corsets will win the war."

They used those methods also to curtail education. We bumped our heads against one of the worst attacks on education during the depression, and now that we have gotten out of that, along comes a war which will give the budget balancers a chance to attack education again.

I only wish to call your attention to what they are doing for two reasons. One is to limit the democratic freedom of our teachers. I listened with particular interest to the report, for I feel that the

youth movement is largely an economic problem. Your teachers need your support for the right to teach economics in accordance with the best research that has been discovered. Attacks have been made on teachers when they tried to teach the true economic order and the true explanation of labor, and the teachers will need your help in combating those forces. And then they will be able to make a real contribution to the labor movement, if you stand by them.

I need not remind you again that the metropolitan press in America is largely opposed to labor, and while we appreciate all that labor has done for the teacher, we teachers are in a position to make a real contribution to labor by insisting on teaching the child in our classroom the truth about labor, and we will need your support in the future more than ever.

And then there is another point. Education for democracy costs money, and that is the thing we have to understand. It is very easy for the dictators to stand up 3,000 kids together and ask them how much is six times six. Some will say 36 and some will say 32, and the teacher doesn't know what each individual child said. Democracy is a way of life and we have to pursue it in our schools, and that means smaller classes with more individual attention to the students. That costs money and boards of education must be made to realize that they must provide the funds, and they will not put up the money unless they are forced to do so. They remind me a great deal of the modern husband—I have not landed a husband for myself, but I have read about them. They will say, "Darling, I wish you would dress like Mrs. So-and-So," but when it comes to putting up the money to pay for the dress, that is a different matter. We must say that we demand education for democracy and we must have the money to make it possible.

I close with an experience I have had in every totalitarian country I have visited. They tell me that we here in America have the right to express ourselves, but in their countries when they express themselves they put themselves on the spot. I remind you what democracy in education means in every totalitarian country I have visited. I have had the experience of a father saying that he lives in daily horror of having one of his own children betray him. We know what it means in America to have the right to discuss matters political, economic and social, but the children in these other countries have been told that they belong to the State and it is their duty to report anything their parents say.

Now I believe you realize when you stand for education for democracy that you are doing something for your child and yourselves as adults, and I urge you to make it your responsibility and the responsibility of your union and central body to stand like a bulwark for a con-

tinuation of education for democracy, and see that no curtailment is undertaken, and that all of our local bodies support the action of the American Federation of Labor because the power and responsibility for public education is still a local matter.

Delegate John C. Taylor, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No 19708, Toledo, Ohio: I would like to ask a question of the committee. Is there a committee which has as its purpose the study of textbooks, particularly in the social sciences and related subjects for our public schools?

President Green: We have a standing Committee on Education functioning under the authority of the American Federation of Labor that deals with education in all of its phases and that would include the consideration of textbooks.

Delegate Taylor: Would I be out of order then in making an amendment to the report that a special committee on textbooks be appointed by the Executive Council specifically for that purpose?

President Green: I am of the opinion that your purpose could be fully realized by making it definite and clear that the standing Committee on Education would be called upon to deal specifically with the subject of textbooks.

Delegate Taylor: Then may I make an amendment to the report to that effect, that the standing Committee on Education be instructed by this convention to pay particular and especial attention to textbooks used in social science and related subjects in our public schools?

It so happens I served for four years as the labor member on the Board of Education in Toledo, elected by labor, and I had the honor of serving as president for one term. During my term of office I made a special study of textbooks in the social sciences and related subjects having to do with the labor movement, its progress, objectives, ambitions and hopes, and much to my surprise, I found in textbooks of two and three hundred pages only one small chapter was devoted to labor and its aspirations. And so I made an investigation of the textbook companies to find if they could handle it, and I found, with possibly two exceptions, which the ordinary board of education failed to consider because they felt they were too radical, due to the fact that they paid too much attention to labor, there was not a single book that our children could get hold of to teach them about the labor movement and its ambitions and ideals.

Now it seems ironical, but it is true, that it seems to be an indictment of the educational system of America, that the higher a boy or girl gets in the educational system, the farther he gets away from labor. As he progresses from grammar school to high school, and from high school to the university, he becomes thoroughly im-

bued and impregnated with ideas and ideals of the capitalistic classes, and gets farther away from the labor movement until he gets into the law or one of the professions, with the result our own working classes have their children removed from our environment. That is because of a lack of the proper textbooks for the teachers to use in the early grades. I was responsible for the construction and building of two new modern trade schools in Toledo, one for boys and one for girls, and even in those trade schools we have boys and girls who are trying to make a living in industry and in the social sciences, and they are taught very little about labor and conditions which labor must face.

I believe if the American Federation of Labor had to subsidize a textbook, it would be well worth while, because other interests are subsidizing textbooks for their own purposes. Education in America is in danger of not being free much longer, and to give you an example of that we have shut down our kindergartens in Toledo, we have consolidated our classes, and we are eliminating teachers who were in charge of certain science classes. They are taking other steps to make education conform to a money scheme. Expansion is out of the question. Under the pressure of the Taxpayers' League, who are attacking public school budgets, we discover opposition to a normal increase in the service. There has been more than a normal increase in teacher loads, and we are being broken into a pattern, and that can be remedied if the American Federation of Labor takes a more active interest in the matter of education, and particularly in the textbook field, which I have referred to. I hope that the amendment passes, and that we will get prompt and effective action so we can put before the child the cause of labor, its ideals, hopes, ambitions and objectives.

The amendment was adopted, and the report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Fewkes, Teachers: I would like to call the attention of the delegates assembled here to the fact that if you are to carry out the suggestions of the last delegate speaking, it is going to be necessary to organize the teachers of the United States of America in the labor movement. Most of the boards of education in the United States of America are elected by and the membership largely consists of members of the Chambers of Commerce, Industrial management, and it is very seldom that labor has any fair representation on the Board of Education.

I would like to call your attention to what would happen if the teachers under those circumstances were to try to present labor's program, its policies and what labor has actually done for education in the United States of America. Frequently

throughout our country, when a teacher has attempted to do that, he or she has been immediately removed as a teacher, and the only way you are ever going to get labor's story and a fair hearing for labor before the school children of America is to organize the teachers under the banner of labor.

For some years past the American Federation of Teachers has been a suspect group in the body of labor. I would like to call your attention to the fact that that has been changed recently, and that those of us who are good American citizens, believing in democracy as a democracy and in the principles established by the American Federation of Labor, have won a distinct victory, and that at our last convention we elected a complete slate of officers on a platform and on a program that is unmistakably American.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if you will on returning to your different areas of these United States get busy and actively help the teachers to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, we can then have some opportunity to inject into the text books of our public schools the true story, the real picture of the American labor movement. Until that is done your efforts to get text books in the public schools will prove futile.

Last night the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers gave a little party for the permanent education committee of the American Federation of Labor, and asked the delegates from the State Federations of Labor to appear there. We asked them to tell us just what was wrong with us and what we should do. They were very frank and they told us that we had to establish in the minds of the laboring people throughout the country that we were conducting our organization as a real American Federation of Labor organization and carrying the ideals of pure Americanism forward in our own group.

Now I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that we have shown that in our last convention, and now I think it is time that you gave us your wholehearted support in our efforts to organize the teachers under the banner of the American Federation of Teachers.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Taylor, Stenographers No. 19708: I would like to take just one minute because of the remarks of the previous speaker.

President Green: The report of the committee is disposed of, and the matter is clearly out of order at the present time.

Delegate Taylor: All I wanted to do was to recite four or five things that a labor member could do on the Board.

President Green: Delegate Taylor, I am sorry, but you are clearly out of order. The Secretary of the Committee will proceed.

Reaffirming Support of Principle of Federal Aid to States For Education

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has supported the cause of federal aid to the States for education since 1917, and

WHEREAS, The need for such aid is made more urgent by the existing emergency, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled reaffirm its support of federal legislation designed to equalize educational opportunities among the States and within the States for all persons regardless of race, nationality, religion or economic condition.

For a period of more than two decades the American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of equalizing educational facilities of the several states through federal grants for education. It was largely through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the Smith-Hughes Act, providing federal aid for vocational education, was enacted by the Congress of the United States in 1917. It was largely through the influence of the American Federation of Labor that subsequent acts were passed expanding the program of vocational education provided in the Smith-Hughes Act. Recent bills before Congress to provide federal aid to general education as well as vocational education had their origin in the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor which requested that the President of the United States appoint a committee to study the problem of federal aid for vocational education. The committee appointed by the President under the chairmanship of Doctor Floyd Reeves, requested and received permission from the President to expand its activities and study the whole program of federal aid for general education as well as vocational education. The Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. assisted in drafting the resultant federal aid bill which is now before Congress. Recommendation of the 1937 A. F. of L. convention designed to protect programs of vocational education existing under the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent acts, have been incorporated in the bill. However, the American Federation of Labor did not approve certain amendments which were introduced later.

The Committee is emphatic in its declaration that control of educational programs shall be left to local communities in accordance with the fundamental principles of American democracy. Federal aid does not mean that the federal government shall dictate the type of administration and curricula in local school systems.

The Committee, therefore, reaffirms previous declarations of A. F. of L. conventions in favor of federal aid for education and recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Approving Policy of Federal Committee On Apprentice Training

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Thorough mechanical education of apprentices is essential to the development of competent mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has given full support to the program for apprentice training provided by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training is to have in its personnel equal representation of management and labor, and to carry this policy into effect on all state boards for apprenticeship, and to maintain equal representation of management and labor on all industry apprentice committees, so that both management and labor will have equal responsibility for supervision over the training of all apprentices in the industry, and

WHEREAS, Due to demands made upon industry and labor in the interest of providing for national defense, and

WHEREAS, During the past year through the efforts of State Federations of Labor a number of additional States have adopted legislative measures providing for State participation in the training of apprentices, such legislation being in substance the form which has been approved by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship meets with the high standards of public service expected of a public agency by the American Federation of Labor, and by employers who believe in a high standard of training for apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, assisted by the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. was of assistance in securing additional appropriations from Congress so that the field force of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship could be increased, and

WHEREAS, There has been the fullest cooperation by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training with the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the action taken by previous conventions approving the work being done and the policy carried out by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, and be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request State Federations of Labor, not now having satisfactory laws governing apprenticeship, to use their best efforts to secure legislation in line with the apprenticeship laws already enacted by a number of states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve of the action taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor during the year to strengthen the effectiveness of the work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

We urge that the American Federation of Labor make a major objective, the strengthening of this work in the Division of Labor Standards, with appropriations adequate for this important work and recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Establishment of Local Advisory Committees On Vocational Education

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There has existed since 1935 an Advisory Committee to the Bureau for Vocational Education upon which there is equal representation of management and labor, and

WHEREAS, This advisory committee established the policy of an Advisory Committee in every city where, under the public school system, vocational education is carried on, over 1,500 of such local Advisory Committees being in existence, and

WHEREAS, It is highly advisable if the legitimate interests of labor, of management, and of industry are to be properly advanced and protected to have such local Advisory Committees appointed where they do not exist, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the policy of equal representation in connection with every local vocational training school under the public school system, so that the voice of labor and of management may have a controlling influence in the curriculum of vocational training schools, and in the oversight of the work being carried on in such schools, so that all of the benefits which should come to labor, to industrial management, and to the public, may be established, and

no methods permitted to intrude which would adversely affect those directly interested and affected.

Representative advisory committees are indispensable to wise guidance and development of vocational education and training.

We recommend approval of this resolution as reinforcing the recommendations which we have already made to you on vocational education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Millman: This concludes the report of your Committee on Education:

GEORGE M. HARRISON, Chairman
ELMER E. MILLMAN, Secretary
CLARENCE C. SWICK
THOMAS E. BURKE
MAX ZARITSKY
L. E. SWARTZ
WILLIAM I. HORNER
KENNETH I. TAYLOR
A. REX RICCARDI
W. M. REA
B. A. MURRAY
WILLIAM COOPER
HARRY H. COOK
BENJAMIN KAPLAN
IRVIN KUENZLI
IRVAN CARY
HARRY LUNDEBERG
ROBERT BRUCK
HUGO ERNST
JAMES J. DOYLE
LILLIAN HERSTEIN
Committee on Education.

Delegate Millman moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Pratt, Federal Labor Union No. 10119: If I am not out of order I would like to make a recommendation in the case of Federal labor unions, that the Education Committee try to educate the federal labor unions to an understanding of education and the benefits they receive from attending our national conventions. We have approximately 1,000 Federal Labor Unions in the Federation of Labor, and I think we have only 75 locals represented here. I think it is time the Educational Committee started an extensive campaign to educate the Federal Labor Unions to do their part in the American Federation of Labor. By so doing I think they will be doing a great service to the American Federation of Labor and will help the organizers in organizing all the way down.

The remark was made to me the other day that the Federal Labor Unions would not go before the Resolutions Committee of this convention because they would not have any chance there.

Brothers, I want to say the Federal Labor Unions need education in the manner of attending national conventions, so they will understand their part in the American Fed-

eration of Labor. I make that as an amendment to the report of the committee.

President Green: I can assure you that the suggestion you have made will be brought to the attention of the permanent Committee on Education. I know that committee will give careful and proper consideration to the suggestion, because it is a most timely one. I think the officers and members of Federal Labor Unions would be greatly benefited if more Federal labor unions were represented in our conventions. There is great need of a more complete, a broader and a more comprehensive understanding of the American Federation of Labor and its work by the members of the federal labor unions. They can secure that information and education through attendance at our conventions, and I can assure you that it is our desire and purpose to encourage the Federal Labor Unions to be represented in our conventions.

I will personally bring your suggestion to the attention of the permanent Committee on Education.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman, may I ask for the privilege of the floor at this time?

President Green: Delegate Dubinsky.

Delegate Dubinsky: Mr. President and delegates, because of a meeting of the General Executive Board of our International Union in this city, I was not in attendance at the session yesterday. This morning I read in the convention proceedings the report made by the Committee on Resolutions on the matter of our reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

I want to utilize this privilege to say a few words. We deeply appreciate the spirit of the fine remarks made by you, Mr. President, on the matter of our return to the American Federation of Labor. We are sincerely grateful for the fine trade union hospitality extended to us by all the constructive forces in our movement.

Although we were outside of the American Federation of Labor for a period of five years, we didn't consider ourselves enemies of the American Federation of Labor, and I am also glad to state that the leadership of the American Federation of Labor did not regard us as enemies of the Federation. We maintained friendly relations with the A. F. of L. during the period of our affiliation with the C. I. O., and while we were an independent union. It is well known that we did not join the C. I. O. in order to promote dual unionism. We were opposed to dual unionism even when we joined the C. I. O., as we are opposed to dual unionism today.

We believed then, as we believe today, in the urgent need for industrial unionism for the mass production industries. And while we have witnessed certain disagreements here in questions that have come

up, and there may be disagreements in the future, nevertheless, we as well as everyone else connected with the labor movement recognize that the American Federation of Labor is the most democratic forum that prevails anywhere in America, giving free opportunity for expression and differences of opinion.

Brother Randolph spoke on this floor the other day and he received a warm reception and applause. And although his point of view did not prevail, nevertheless, he did have the opportunity to speak out and argue his case.

When we compare this with other parts of the labor movement, we witness a completely different picture. I want to say to you, Mr. President and delegates, just as you have expressed your happiness and your gratitude at our return and your regret at our having been out of the A. F. of L. for a time, we were not happy from the very first moment when we disassociated ourselves from the American Federation of Labor, and we were not at all happy during the entire time we were out, because we realized from the very beginning that there was no justification for a division in the labor movement, although we desired a more progressive and militant attitude toward organized and unorganized men and women and toward the method of organization, as well.

John L. Lewis stated that we picked "the easy way." I say it wasn't the easy way when we were suspended from the American Federation of Labor, nor was it the easy way when we decided to rejoin. I rather considered it a wise way and not an easy way, and I hope others will regard it in the same spirit.

There is one remark that John L. Lewis made on the floor of the C. I. O. that I believe was the truest statement he has yet made. He said that the C. I. O. is too weak today in order to effect peace. There was a time when the C. I. O. was stronger than it is today. When they were stronger spiritually, morally and organizationally, peace was blocked because peace was not desired, and I believe that even today, when the C. I. O. is weaker, every effort should be made toward uniting the labor movement.

Just as the gambler who, when he wins at the start continues to gamble and does not stop even when he is losing, and when he keeps on losing he wants to make up his losses, so those people refuse to recognize that they will keep on losing, that they will never regain what they have lost.

So I say that peace in the labor movement is more essential than gambling with the lives and the welfare of the American laboring people by the continuance of this unnecessary strife. As I have said before, there are and will continue to be disagreements, but on behalf of my associates and the membership of our union, I wish to express our joy and our great satisfac-

tion that ultimately, though it took us a little longer, we have rejoined the American Federation of Labor, where we belong and where we want to be. And should we have any disagreements in the future we will not hesitate to give expression to our opinions, here, in this open forum. It is our sincere hope that we will work harmoniously and co-operate with each other to the end that we will attain a united labor movement for the welfare of the workers of our nation.

I thank you.

President Green: Thank you, David. We appreciate very greatly the statements you made and the sentiments you have expressed.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Adjustment, Chairman Rickert.

Chairman Rickert: The Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment will present the report.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

PRINTING TRADES — LITHOGRAPHERS

(Executive Council Report, Page 64)

The Executive Council under caption "Printing Trades—Lithographers" reports its failure to bring about the observance of previous convention decisions on the part of the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association and an adjustment of pending difficulties between this organization and the International Photo Engravers Union and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union.

This controversy dates back many years and as the result of an understanding reached at the 1915 convention of the A. F. of L. when a Committee of 3 was agreed to for the purpose of inquiring into technical phases involved and in order to determine the jurisdictional claims of each. All parties agreed to abide by the findings and recommendations of this committee. The 1916 convention of the A. F. of L. affirmed the report and findings of this committee which defined the jurisdictional rights of each of these three international unions and recommended, as well, a method by which these jurisdictional rights might be fully observed and protected. All efforts to bring about an observance of these agreements and decisions have failed throughout these years and solely because of the refusal of the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association to observe its agreement and decisions herein noted.

In the hearing held by your Committee, it developed that the situation has become more and more aggravated each succeeding year

and that at the present a well determined course is essential if the confusion in the Printing Trades and if the jurisdictional rights as well as agreements entered into and referred to herein are to be made effective.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to carry out its original agreement, abide by previous decisions reached by the A. F. of L. and observe the jurisdictional rights, as determined by the method to which it had agreed. That, failing to give substantial evidence of its intention to do so and failing to take active steps to that end within a period of ninety (90) days after adjournment of this convention, that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to withdraw or suspend its affiliation to the American Federation of Labor and hold it in suspension until it evidences observance of agreements entered into and the decisions reached. It is further recommended that in the interim the International Photo Engravers Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to appoint a committee of three (3) of each of the respective international unions to meet in conference between themselves and with the view of composing existing differences and consummating some plan designed to observe the respective jurisdictional rights and adjust their relationship upon a friendly and cooperative basis; that these conferences proceed at the earliest possible moment and continue throughout the 90 day period previously indicated or so long as there may exist a reasonable opportunity for an amicable adjustment. It is further recommended that these organizations be directed to present a joint, or individual, report of the results of their conferences to the President of the American Federation of Labor at the expiration, or previous to the 90 day period. If upon the rendering of such report or reports, the Executive Council shall find that further efforts to compose the differences will prove futile, then the Executive Council shall give enforcement to the suspension order as herein before recommended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Riehl, President Lithographers' Union: We agree to that part of the Adjustment Committee's report which refers to further conferences, but must emphatically disagree to its reference to suspension or revocation of our charter.

The Lithographers Union has almost 100 percent control of organized labor in the offset lithographic industry. It has control of about 85 per cent of all offset production which is estimated at \$250,000,000 per year.

The order of the Federation to Transfer the lithographic offset pressmen to the Printing Pressmen's Union and the platemakers to the Photo-Engravers Union has no basis in fact, would remove from the Lithographers Union almost 80 per cent of

its membership, and leave a sterile, ineffective organization of a few thousand craftsmen. It would force into the printing unions craftsmen having no relation to that trade.

If the facts of this controversy are understood, then certainly this Federation and the unions affiliated with it, cannot wish to produce this horrible result.

Suspension or revocation of our certificate of affiliation will accomplish nothing except industrial warfare. It will remove a \$250,000,000 industry and 13,000 members from the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

We will agree to the submission of the controversy to a proper committee with instructions to secure a complete factual and statistical analysis of the labor situation in the offset industry. On the basis of such findings, undoubtedly a sane, progressive adjustment can be proposed.

Labor unity, not inter-union strife, is the goal of every labor organization.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I, too, arise to concur in the report of the committee and to give assurance the Photo Engravers' International Union will make every possible effort within the 90 days referred to to reach an amicable and satisfactory understanding if that is at all possible. The problem is rather intricate and is becoming considerably more complicated. In my hands I hold two pieces of literature that were handed out yesterday morning, and I want to use them as an illustration of the complexity of this matter. In one hand I hold a piece of offset printing and in the other a piece produced by letter press printing. We ask any one to look at this and state whether it is similar or not. I do not believe there are two delegates in this assembly who could look at these two pieces of printing and determine by which method either one of them was produced. In fact, those engaged in the work could not determine which was printed by offset and which was printed by the letter press method, unless he examined them under a magnifying glass. I mention this to show how the work involved is overlapping. I could bring hundreds of other pieces of printing which would be just as hard to discern by which method they were done. I could bring you newspapers printed by offset process and newspapers printed by the letter press process.

The same is true of magazines. A number of them are printed by the offset process and a number of them printed by letter press. Some of the same magazines carry within the covers both offset and letter press printing, and at the same time the concern is engaging in both offset and letter press printing. You can see the need to reach an understanding.

I have also in my hand here a card the size of a post card, which I call to the attention of the Committee on Adjustment. It is printed partly in offset and partly by letter press. It contains the label of the Lithographers and it contains the label of the Al-

lied Printing Trades Council. I mention this to show how closely the work of these three organizations is allied. I am sure if our men are working in the same establishment, if all of them are engaged in producing printing, there is no reason why those engaged in plate making should not be affiliated and be in one organization, and those operating presses should not be affiliated also in one organization.

I am sure that with the explanation which I have made showing that the ordinary person cannot discern between offset printing and letter press printing, and that the work is so similar that many of us are now engaged by the same concern, that some effort must and should be made to bring about understanding and carry out the wish of this organization. If that is not done, I see the day coming when the Lithographers doing offset work would take some drastic action, and all the employer could do would be to turn the offset work over to the Photo Engravers. Instead of having the full cooperation, all the employer could do would be to turn the work over to the other method and of reproduction in printing.

I am going to ask the delegates to concur in the recommendation of the committee. I feel that conferences within the next 90 days will bring about understanding. I am hopeful. I feel that the Photo Engravers will do everything possible to bring about such a solution. If not, I am sure something more will have to be done to carry out the wishes of this organization.

Delegate Bruck, Lithographers: I want to answer the statement of Delegate Volz in reference to similarity of product. That is true in many trades, but I also want to call attention of the delegates to the fact that the methods of production are entirely different. It takes a different training and an entirely different apprenticeship to become a lithographer or a photo engraver or a printing pressman.

The man working in the lithograph shop operating a lithographing offset press cannot operate a printing press in a printing shop. The man who makes the plates, the artist, the photo composing machine operator, employed in the lithograph shop, cannot do photo engraving work. The men are not interchangeable.

Delegate Volz attempted to show a little card. I want to let the delegates know that post cards are not the product exactly of the lithographing industry. We make 24-page posters like you see on billboards. We make many cards, window displays, and even metal products such as you see coming from large concerns like the American Can Company, which is all lithographed by experienced and trained lithographers. We also do decalcomania work you see on dinnerware and pottery work, which is lithographed thereon, and I could name a number of instances and answer Brother Volz in reference to similarity of product. But I wish to state in reference to the report of the Committee what we have often said in behalf of the Lithographers' International, that this

is not a jurisdictional controversy. It is a demand on the part of the Printing Pressmen's Union and Photo Engravers' Union to dissolve our entire organization and divide our membership of 18,000 between those two unions.

It is true many conferences have been held and so-called compromise propositions offered. The acceptance of such proposals would have meant the complete dissolution of the lithographers' organization which has been in existence since 1882, and received a charter from the American Federation of Labor in 1906. The Lithographers' Union has also offered compromises. The Lithographers' Union has offered to join the Allied Printing Trades Council, and in that manner give full cooperation to the other printing trades' unions, and that has been refused.

The delegates to our International Lithographers' Convention held in Atlantic City in the latter part of 1939 have definitely and unanimously voiced disapproval of dividing our union and its membership among these other organizations. They will not divide that membership of 18,000 members and its property to the printing Pressmen's Union and the Photo Engravers' Union.

To get a true picture of the facts calls for this controversy to be referred to a committee of competent authority for a complete factual analysis. We urge such action and will place our entire records before such a committee without any hesitation. The Printing Pressmen's Union should do the same, and then for the first time in 27 years a factual determination will be possible. We are agreeable to conferences, but object and protest against that portion of the committee's report which refers to the suspension of our charter, believing it to be illegal and contrary under our charter rights.

Delegate Googe, International Printing Pressmen's Union: The International Printing Pressmen's Union has been under a great handicap because of this controversy for almost 25 years. We have been constantly meeting in conference with the Lithographers and with the Photo Engravers, trying to adjust this controversy amicably, attempting to negotiate a settlement of this matter. But it has been our unfortunate experience that while the Lithographers have met with us in conference on numerous occasions, they negotiate somewhat like the anti-union employer interprets the National Labor Relations Act—all that is necessary is to talk and never attempt to arrive at any kind of an agreement for the solution of our problems.

The technical facts as far as the Printing Pressmen are concerned are that the offset printing pressmen belong under our jurisdiction, and in many of the press rooms in this country we find not only offset pressmen, but also cylinder pressmen and job presses in the same room. Numerous members of our profession are combination pressmen, operating both offset and cylinder and job printing presses.

We do not want to see any International Union's charter suspended by this Federation, but the situation has developed to the point that we either must have industrial warfare within the printing press rooms of this country, or the jurisdictional award of this American Federation of Labor must be respected by the Lithographers' International Union.

We have confidence in the Executive Council, and we hope the conference recommended in this recommendation can be held and an amicable agreement can be reached. But if the Lithographers refuse and continue to usurp the jurisdiction of the Printing Pressmen's Union, then we have confidence in this recommendation that the Executive Council will force respect for its jurisdictional awards or take definite action, and the only way this can be done is by adoption of the committee's report in its entirety, and we hope that you will do so.

Delegate Castro, Lithographers: Mr. Chairman, our membership does not want to be split up. We represent 13,000 members throughout the United States and Canada. We have control of the lithographing business and we want to keep it. Now this delegate presented a little card. Why you cannot notice the difference between a little card and tell whether it is printed or lithographed. I can show you these signs hanging around the room. They could be made in four different processes. They could be printed, lithographed, they could be written up by the sign writers, or they could be made by the silk screen process. If they were printed the Printing Pressmen claim them; if they were lithographed we would claim them; if they were made by the sign writer, the sign painter would claim them.

I was impressed by your fine speech here on the rights and protection of international and national unions, and when I see a committee come up here with the threat that if we do not do this or that we are going to have our charter revoked or we will be suspended from the American Federation of Labor, I cannot help but express myself.

We control this industry and we want to keep our identity. Now if you want to throw out 13,000 members, it is up to you men. We want to be members of the American Federation of Labor. We pay our per capita tax and we do not join any isms. We have contractual relations with our employers and we enjoy a 5-day week, a 40-hour week, time and a half overtime, and a one week's vacation with pay, and we will not join any union that does not have the same conditions we have.

Now we work on the Jersey City presses. They would not go to a Jersey City press and say you have to get rid of the Lithographers. Why? Because it would mean disruption in a chapel itself. Who is going to suffer by that? The printing pressman or the lithographer or the photo engraver? No, the employer wants to employ union labor. We cannot have any more done to us than you have already done by taking our label away from us without having any

right to say anything about it, and irrespective of whether our label is not recognized, you cannot do us any more harm even if you revoke our charter. If you suspend us we will go on, although we want to be members of the American Federation of Labor, and all we ask for is a square deal.

I went before your Adjustment Committee and we received a nice reception. Brother Volz told what he wanted and our International President went to give his statement and was asked why the three of us could not get together and bring in a recommendation. The only thing we can do is sell our members down the river, but we do not believe we would be proper officers of the International if we wanted to sell our members down the river. We cannot say here that you are going to split us because the American Federation of Labor says no. I do not think it will, and at the proper time when this question should come up, we want a square deal and harmony will prevail. But we don't want any report of the committee threatening that if we do not do this or do that we have to get out. Possibly we are bad boys. If I cared to go back to the history of this case, it would take much too long, and all we are asking for is a square deal.

We have been organized as an International Association since 1882. We enjoy a 44-hour week in Canada, where most trades have a 48-hour week, and we have an increase in wages and a very fine contractual relation with our employers regardless of what the previous speaker has said, and we intend to be lithographers and we are going to be lithographers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Riehl, Lithographers: On behalf of the Lithographers I wish to be recorded as voting "no" on the resolution.

President Green: Your vote will be recorded.

Secretary Maloney continued the report, as follows:

Proposing Withdrawal of Jurisdiction of Laundry Workers International Union Over Cleaning and Dye House Workers

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates W. S. Gross, H. E. Greenwald, M. Minadin, John Zitello, Cleaning and Dye House Workers International Association.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers International Union at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, was granted jurisdiction over the Cleaning and Dye House Workers employed in laundry plants, and

WHEREAS, Subsequently thereafter on January 21, 1937, the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers,

was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There now prevails a condition where two international organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor have jurisdiction over an identical class of workers, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers has encountered many difficulties in their organization work, due to the dual jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, It has been determined and disclosed that because of the dual jurisdiction, conflicting agreements are entered into with employers by the affiliates of the two International Unions and to the detriment of the members thereof, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor withdraw jurisdiction from the Laundry Workers International Union over any and all Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers, irrespective of their place of employment, and grant said jurisdiction to the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 50 and 51, which are as follows:

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The manufacture and erection of wooden tanks has always been considered a branch of the cooperage trade; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union has for years organized shops engaged in the manufacture of all types of wooden tanks; and

WHEREAS, In certain cities the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has by its numerical strength prevented coopers from erecting tanks in breweries and on buildings; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record to stop this infringement by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the trade rights of the Coopers' International Union.

Coopers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union of North America has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for fifty years and has always had jurisdiction over cooperating and issuing of charters to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the cooperage trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is continuing to make agreements with cooperage firms in Seattle, and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, and Toledo, Oregon; and Eureka, California, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Coopers' International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on its trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Indiana; Atlantic City, New Jersey; and Tampa, Florida without success, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to make investigation and adjustment of the complaints of the Coopers' International Union of North America.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the Coopers' International Union of North America should amalgamate, or become a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in accordance with the plan that was proposed to that organization by the Brotherhood of Carpenters some years ago.

Therefore your committee recommends that negotiations begin immediately to bring about this merger at an early date.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Doyle, Coopers: Mr. President, I am rising to oppose the action of the committee. Our organization has been affiliated with this body for 50 years. On our golden anniversary you tell us we are in the wrong organization. Our organization is small. We had a hard struggle to exist to keep our affiliation with this body. During the prohibition period we had to disband our International Union and take it into my home. When prohibition was over we succeeded in reorganizing our organization up to what we were prior to prohibition. We never can become a large organization because the industry is small, but we have organized that industry just as strongly as any international union has done.

Our organization has only about 4,400 members, comprising 64 locals, and in that there are many small locals, many members who have been working at the cooper trade and holding on to affiliation, just because they are coopers. Many of those men are connected with different industries, the brewing industry, the distilling industry, the packinghouse industry, the pottery industry and others. Where have these men got to go? They are going into these organizations.

It is said if you do 61 per cent of the work you are entitled to this work. What are we guilty of? We are guilty of wanting our trade rights. We introduced two resolutions on the tank work. Let me tell you that we erected practically every bit of wooden tanks in this country, with few exceptions. There were two or three notable exceptions—in Kansas City, where the carpenters refused us the right to erect tanks, and in Peoria. The only reason why we are not in the building trades is because we are told we are not a building trades organization. You can ask any brewery worker, owner, engineer, fireman or plumber who erects these tanks throughout the country and you will find that since the beginning we erected 98 per cent and not 61 per cent, which the Federation claims.

In the situation in the Northwest we complained about the Carpenters organizing cooperage companies. They have organized those cooperage companies and the employers are members of the Associated Cooperage Industry. The carpenters maintain that there are not any coopers in their organization. I want to read an article from a labor paper in the Northwest. The name of that paper is the American Labor Citizen, under date of May 14, 1940. In large letters it says:

"First Victory Won by Northwest Coopers in a Four-City Strike — Tacoma Local Wins Recognition in Wage Dispute"

"Tacoma, Wash. Capitulating in the battle between the highly skilled cooperage workers in their fight for fair wages and the owners of cooperage companies in four cities in the northwest, the North West Wooden Ware Company here last week granted its employees the 7½ cents per hour wage increase, thereby terminating a strike of three months.

"The first step in the drive of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union to elevate the minimum wage of cooperage workers in the four plants, Tacoma, Seattle, Portland and Toledo, this victory by Local 2629 of the Tacoma District Coopers' Council sets precedent for the other three striking plants. In as much as it demonstrates that the employers' refusal to give the coopers a scale which is higher than the average sawmill worker, is not a matter of inability to pay but rather an indication of a labor fighting attitude."

Now the Carpenters maintain that they have cooperage workers. In the majority of cooper shops in this country we have organized, and it was a struggle to organize those men. Three years ago we attempted to organize and we got licked, and our treasury was depleted. We put on a propaganda campaign, telling the labor movement about our problem and requesting them not to drink whiskey from

certain distilleries, and we received splendid support from labor unions and the Carpenters and Brewery Workers.

I want to pay special attention to the support that we got from John O'Connell, of the San Francisco Labor Council, which made one of the largest distillers sign up with our organization.

Mr. President, I think you know something about organizing the distillery workers and the efforts of the C. I. O. to stop you from organizing the distillery workers of this country. Do you know that four shops could control the output of a distiller, and that if they were organized by the C. I. O., or if our men should ever go into the C. I. O.—and God forbid—they could control the distillers?

You can ask any distillery worker if he does not get bounced, and that distiller has to shut down and they lose thousands of dollars.

Now there is nothing to be gained by amalgamation with the Brotherhood of Carpenters. These men that we have in our organization now will go in to different crafts, and I tell you frankly that they will go, regardless of whatever action this convention is going to take.

I beg of you to consider our organization. We are guilty of introducing two resolutions, and the Carpenters are annoyed by that proposition. We cannot make any impression on the splendid organization of the Carpenters. They are a big, powerful organization. If they were to get every one of our members it wouldn't amount to much, but I am sure you will destroy the movement that we have organized for our men for fifty years, and I beg of you please do not do it.

I would rather see the committee bring in a report on the resolutions, and say whether they were for adoption or not for adoption. I beg of you again, please, don't do it and don't destroy the movement that we have built up for the coopers of this country.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I can't see how President Doyle of the Coopers can object to the committee's report, for this reason. His predecessor, Andy Hughes, their International President some years ago, in order to avoid just such complaints as Brother Doyle is making, asked the Carpenters to submit a plan of amalgamation to their organization, that the convention was meeting in New York and that they would like to have that plan. Now, the Carpenters did not ask for amalgamation, but Andrew Hughes, the President of the Coopers' Union, did ask for amalgamation. That matter was placed before our General Executive Board. They drew up a plan showing how the Coopers would be protected, the benefits they would receive, and all that, and then our First General Vice-President, John T. Cosgrove and myself were sent by our Board

to appear before the convention of the Coopers' International Union. Mr. Chairman, I read that proposition from the Brotherhood of Carpenters to the Coopers and we were received in a fine way, we were treated courteously and we had a good time with them, we were good friends, we were getting somewhere, we thought, so that those disputes in the future would be avoided. Well, before we left we were told that this plan of amalgamation would have to be submitted to the membership for referendum. If that was their way of doing business we did not have any objection. From that day to this we never heard what was done with the plan that we submitted to them.

Soon after that, a couple of weeks after, two of the largest organizations made application to the Carpenters' home office in Indianapolis, Indiana, for charters, and I wrote back and told them we could not issue the charters just now, it was not fair that we should give them a charter. I told them there was a plan of amalgamation that had been submitted to their organization, to their last convention, and when that plan was disposed of and it was decided to amalgamate, then they could apply. I think we were fair in that.

Now, Mr. Chairman, Andy Hughes and ourselves in the years afterwards tried to adjust our differences as best we could, and we got along pretty well. Of course they came in contact with us and we came in contact with them in the putting up of the big tanks that go on the roofs of buildings. We got along as best we could without bringing anything to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

However, in 1935 at the Atlantic City convention Brother Doyle, the President of the Coopers' Union, submitted a resolution to that convention, a stereotyped resolution. It is the same one that has been in year after year.

Now they say they have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for 50 years. I am not denying that, that is all right, that is good. But I can tell you that the Brotherhood of Carpenters has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for 60 years. If you want ancient history I will give it to you—my predecessor, Pete McGuire, of whom you have heard, drafted the call for the first convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Pittsburgh in 1881. I only say that in passing.

This same resolution we have before us now was introduced at the Atlantic City convention in 1935 and referred to the Committee on Adjustment. The committee held hearings and it was then referred to the Executive Council to see if something could be done to hold conferences and adjust any differences that might exist. The Executive Council did that and we didn't get anywhere with the new officers of the Coopers' Union.

In the convention in Tampa in 1936 the same resolution we had in Atlantic City was introduced. It was referred to the Committee on Adjustment and the result was that it was referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make an investigation and see what could be done to bring about a settlement. The President of the American Federation of Labor tried to bring about conferences, and the Carpenters told him they didn't see any use in holding conferences. We don't know where there are any coopers anywhere in Carpenters' unions. Then the President asked the Coopers where the local unions were located, where coopers belonged to the Carpenters' Union, and there was no answer ever given.

At the convention in Denver the Executive Council reported on this same matter. That was in 1937. Here it is, and I will read it to you, because it will tell you the story. This is the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the convention held in Denver in 1937.

"Through the introduction of a resolution at the Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor the representatives of the Coopers' International Union appeared before the convention and claimed an encroachment upon the jurisdiction of that organization by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The statement was made that the Carpenters are taking into their organization men and women engaged at cooperating in the cities of Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, Portland, Oregon, and Eureka, California, and that the officers of the Coopers' organization had endeavored to adjust this encroachment on their trade with the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and Joiners of America, but without success. The resolution requested that the convention instruct the Executive Council to make an investigation and adjustment of the complaint submitted.

"The convention referred this resolution to the Executive Council. In conformity with the instructions of the Executive Council an effort was made to arrange for the holding of conferences between representatives of the two organizations. It was stated by the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America that inasmuch as they had no knowledge of any members being taken into the organization there appeared to be no necessity for holding a conference. The representatives of the Coopers' International Union were then requested to submit a specific statement of instances where coopers had been admitted to membership in local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Up to the time of the preparation of this report no statement

has been submitted by the Coopers International Union showing when and where coopers had been admitted to membership in local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

"That report was referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. It was not referred to the Committee on Adjustment at Denver, but to the Committee on Executive Council's report, and that committee submitting this report:

"At the Tampa convention in 1936 the Coopers in a resolution alleged that the Carpenters were encroaching upon their jurisdiction. The Executive Council requested the Coopers International Union to submit a specific statement of instances of such encroachment. Up to date this has not been done by the Coopers International Union. Moreover, no credentials have been submitted to this convention—that is the Denver convention—and no representative of the Coopers International Union appeared before this committee. For these reasons your committee recommends that the complaint of the Coopers International Union be dismissed."

That report of the committee was unanimously adopted. I brought to the attention of this Committee on Adjustment when I appeared before them here the other day that I always understood that when a case was up and it was dismissed, that ended the case. However, I said I would raise no objection to Brother Doyle introducing this resolution again. It is here, and the committee will have to dispose of it.

I went further than that and I said that at the convention in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1911, the great question of jurisdiction between the different Carpenters' Unions in the United States was under consideration. There was the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, the big English organization with headquarters in Manchester, England. Then there was the dispute between the Amalgamated Woodworkers and others, and all of those were before the Adjustment Committee and had been for years. James O'Connell was Chairman of that Adjustment Committee and he said, "We might as well tell this convention now that this country, as big as it is, is not big enough for two organizations of one craft." That is in substance what he said. There should be one trade, one organization and the woodworking industry on the North American continent belongs to the Carpenters.

The Amalgamated Carpenters were given until the following June 12th to come into the Brotherhood of Carpenters. It was a hard job, but we adjusted that. The woodworkers came in. The ship carpenters and joiners were out, but when they applied again they came in on account of the decision in Atlanta.

This organization of coopers was only a small organization. The Carpenters did not bother them. We said, "Let them get along as best they can." We did not even ask them to affiliate. As I have already told you, it was Brother Doyle's predecessor, Andy Hughes, who asked us for the plan of amalgamation and we gave it to them.

Now after all this has been done we have the same old resolution coming back in here to be resubmitted again to this convention. You have heard the report of the committee. The way I see it, there is only one way to adjust this trouble and that is to adopt the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Loring, Tennessee State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, this discussion of the amalgamation of the Carpenters and the Coopers is something that I, as President of the Central Labor Union in Memphis, Tennessee, have had quite a bit of experience with. Since the days of prohibition have passed and legalized liquor has come back into existence, Memphis has had two very large cooper shops. There was no organization of those workers. Neither the Carpenters or anybody else attempted to organize those workers, and my predecessor, then President of the Central Labor Union and President Doyle of the Coopers started an organization of these big cooper shops with 500 members. One of the plants gave us an exceptionally hard fight. It took about two years and two years and a half. In the meantime I became the President of the Central Labor Union and aided in the settlement of a strike and signed up that shop on a union basis.

When we were battling those two cooperage companies we got no help from the Carpenters. As a plumber, being a former workman in my craft in the breweries where large tanks have been built, I say those coopers who build those tanks are a special craft. They have nothing in common with the construction carpenter, and I think it would be doing an injustice to place these coopers in an organization where they have nothing in common with their fellow craftsmen.

I thank you.

Delegate Doyle, Coopers . . .

President Green: Does anyone else want to speak? If not, proceed, Delegate Doyle.

Delegate Doyle: Mr. President, I want to thank President Loring. Our International Union did not ask him to talk, but I knew he was a great help to us when we went down there to try to organize.

When we first tried to organize we got licked. When Mr. Loring came into the picture we had assurance that the shop had to be right, through propaganda.

I want to ask Secretary Duffy, prior to his coming to our convention we were told

and our records show that President Hutchison, Secretary Duffy, and Former Presidents Hughes and Deal of my organization—both of them are dead—agreed on a temporary proposal. That was that the tanks and the wooden standards would be erected by the Carpenters, and we were surprised and amazed at the New York convention, when Delegate Duffy and Vice-President Cosgrove appeared before our convention. Our convention was against any amalgamation, they could not see that we had anything in common. All we asked was to be left alone. Vice-President Duffy made the statement that we introduced a resolution at the Atlantic City convention. You can look that proceedings of the Executive Council over and you will find we received no communication from the President of the American Federation of Labor to name any members of our organization. We named them in the resolution and that ought to be enough, and I think I clearly demonstrated that they have agreements with cooperage concerns. They have with the firms that are manufacturing barrels.

Secretary Duffy cites the Atlanta, Georgia, convention in 1911, 29 years ago. That was a jurisdictional dispute between two Carpenters' organizations in this country. Look over the records and you won't find one word pertaining to coopers.

I want to say in all fairness that the Carpenters' Union will not gain anything by disrupting the Coopers, and I ask you please, don't do it, because you are going to destroy all the work these men have accomplished in organizing—maybe two or three thousand men and the Carpenters may get a thousand if they don't go to the C. I. O. God forbid they will ever do that.

President Green: Delegate Doyle, I gain the impression from your remarks that you misunderstand the report of the committee. The committee does not recommend that your organization be dissolved and that the membership be transferred to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It recommends that you and your associates confer with the representatives of the Carpenters and see whether you can settle your differences through amalgamation or otherwise. It is a matter of recommending conferences.

Delegate Doyle: I thank you for your interpretation, Mr. Chairman. There is one thing I did overlook in my remarks, and if I can pass those remarks on to the convention I would like to do it.

I went to your office and asked the proper procedure, and you asked me to see President Hutchison. We tried to see President Hutchison. There was no conference in Atlantic City. Then we requested a conference and it was arranged with President Hutchison in Indianapolis. When we got there, unfortunately President Hutchison was called out. The first Vice-President of the Carpenters' Union was in the city and we met him and tried to explain to him the con-

ditions in the Northwest. Later on we had a conference with President Hutcheson, and in that conference over the tank and the coöperage situation President Hutcheson stated that we could have the brewery tanks, but we couldn't have the tanks on buildings, and we could have the coopers, but we never got them.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the Committee continued the report as follows:

Wall Paper Craftsmen vs. Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Rudolph Heini, United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America.

WHEREAS, The employees in the Clopay Corporation Mill, in Cincinnati, working on the production of and printing of wall paper rightly belong in the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These same employees print window shades and other printed papers using the same machines, and applying the arts of their crafts, in the same and identical manner in which they apply them in printing wall paper, and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, because of the identical characteristics of crafts and equipment used in the production and printing of wall paper, window shades and other like printed papers, feel that not only the manufacture of wall paper, but also these kindred industries, come under the jurisdiction of said International Union, and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America International Union has endeavored, for approximately a year, to arrive at a settlement of this matter, by direct conferences and contacts with the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, the other International involved, and

WHEREAS, At the most recent conference of representatives of the respective Internationals, Vice President S. A. Stephens, spokesman for the International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, quoted his International as disputing the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America's claim of jurisdiction over these employees, engaged in these kindred industries, in the Clopay Corporation, and

WHEREAS, Because of the unwillingness and refusal of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to release said employees and have them transferred

to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, where they rightfully belong, and whose jurisdiction the latter International claims, Be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at its earliest session, take the proper consideration and action, to bring about an amicable settlement of this jurisdictional dispute, so that these employees will be transferred to the International to which they rightly belong.

Your committee recommends that a conference of representatives of both organizations involved in this controversy be called by President Green within a period of 90 days, said conference to be held in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this matter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Rudolph Heini, United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America: I want to take a few minutes to explain briefly our dispute with the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union.

The Clopay Corporation makes printed paper window shades, printed paper garment bags, printed cellophane and printed wall paper. All of these things are printed in wall paper printing machines. The same materials are used in printing all of these papers, the same type of copper engraved print rollers are used in each instance and the same skill is required in each operation.

The American Federation of Labor issued a charter to our International union giving it jurisdiction over all workers and craftsmen engaged in the manufacture of wall paper and kindred industries. We contend that the printed papers mentioned are kindred to wall paper and properly come under the jurisdiction of the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America.

We do not believe that the charter of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers gives them any jurisdiction over any of the printing trades.

We have a national standard form of contract for the wall paper manufacturing industry under which at least 90 per cent of the wall paper mills in the United States are operating. Clopay Corporation pays approximately 35 per cent lower wages to its printing machine operators and about 15 per cent less to the unskilled workers engaged in production on these machines. This constitutes unfair competition to the employers operating under our standard contract and we feel it is wrong to allow any A. F. of L. union to engage in such practices to the detriment of the Union which has fought and struggled for years to improve wages and working conditions for its members.

We hope that when President Green calls the meeting of representatives of our respective organizations, that the Pulp and Sulphite Workers will make a sincere effort to settle this dispute, so that it will not be

necessary to bring it back to the 1941 convention.

Delegate Sullivan, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: When we met the Adjustment Committee it was understood that the recommendation of the committee would be to get it to the convention and we would carry out the report of the committee. The delegate of the wallpaper crafts is covering wallpaper and "kindred industries" in his statement. Kindred industries not only cover wallpaper and window shades, but many other things concerned. We have agreed to meet upon a call from President Green to discuss this matter, and that is the way we are going to carry it out. We are not going to surrender jurisdiction over "kindred trades," but we will turn over wallpaper workers to the wallpaper crafts.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

By motion passed in the convention on the seventh day, the sermon of The Most Reverend Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, delivered on the occasion of the Special Mass for the delegates and visitors at St. Louis Cathedral on Sunday, November 24th, is made a part of this record.

Sermon by Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans at the St. Louis Cathedral, November 24, 1940

"Come to Me, all you that labor, and are burdened and I will refresh you." (Matt. 11-28)

There is in the City of Geneva in Switzerland a building which holds a place of honor and affection in the minds and hearts of all who are sincerely interested in the welfare of working men and working women, regardless of their nationality, race or creed. This building is known as the International Labor Office, erected after the first World War for the accommodation of the International Labor Organization, established under the treaty provisions that followed that great international cataclysm.

At the head of the great stairs of this international bureau there is a significant fresco, which might well serve as the eternal inspiration for all deliberations that affect the welfare of the working classes. This fresco is a work of art, conceived and executed by Maurice Denis, one of the great modern masters of painting. In the center of the picture we find clearly outlined the figure of Christ depicted as a youth at the age of about eighteen or twenty, strong, handsome with radiant countenance and kindly expression. He is addressing a large and promiscuous multitude of men and women, prominent among whom we find St. Joseph, the foster father of Jesus, standing at his carpenter's bench with his hands resting in repose upon his knees, as he listens to the words that fall from the lips

of his foster son. At a little more to the background and at the extreme right of the picture we find the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, pausing at her knitting as she looks admiringly into the countenance of her divine offspring. Thronging around the figure of Christ there is a mixed group of workers, farmers, mill hands, office helpers, water carriers and others, men and women, young and old, some in the costume commonly worn in the days of Christ, others in modern attire, all listening attentively to the Saviour.

The artist left us no indication regarding the words that in his conception might serve as a text for his picture. But certainly it would imply no stretch of the imagination to surmise, that the young Saviour was addressing his audience in words similar to the following: "Come to Me, all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you." Your presence here this morning as officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor must have been inspired by the thought that underlies this text. You have come to the City of New Orleans to do a great work in the course of your Convention deliberations and acts, a work upon which depend the welfare and the happiness not only of the millions of men and women that constitute your immediate membership, but also of those other millions that make up their families and dependents. Indeed the entire nation, inasmuch as its welfare is intimately wrapped up with the welfare of its working classes, looks with keen interest if not anxiety to this important annual assembly. As Godfearing men and women, conscious of your tremendous responsibility, you have taken to heart the words which the psalmist uttered of old "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it." (Ps. 127-1). You have come into the house of God to listen again to the voice of Christ speaking through His Church. As Archbishop of this venerable St. of New Orleans I take delight in extending to all of you a most cordial welcome and in assuring you that my wishes for the success of your deliberations are fortified by my most fervent and earnest prayers. May the memories of your meeting in New Orleans, especially of your presence in our Cathedral, ever linger with you as an abiding source of joy and satisfaction.

The Voice of Christ in the Church

Physically the span of Christ's life on earth was compressed into the short period of thirty-three years, nevertheless we have the guarantee of His abiding presence among the children of men until the end of time. This continued presence He effected through the establishment of His Church, an institution against which the very gates of hell shall not prevail. It is through the medium of His Church that Christ comes down to us a living reality, speaking to us, preaching to us and constantly teaching us the ways of truth and righteousness. It is through the medium of His Church that Christ

exercises the ministry of justice, mercy and charity, and promulgates without fear or compromise the principles under which men's lives must be regulated.

We read in the life of Christ that the multitude flocked from city and countryside to hear Him, and departing exclaimed: "Never hath man spoken like this man"—fearless, brave, penetrating, persuasive, yet uniformly kind, loving and merciful. Others that crowded in upon the Master experienced the power that emanated from Him, so that even the touch of the hem of His garment brought healing to their weary bodies and strength to their troubled souls.

Never have men had greater need than today of the presence and influence of Christ. Workers in particular have reason to rally round the Saviour of the world to pour out to Him the anxieties of their souls and to seek from Him the light and guidance, the courage and strength, the consolation and the peace for which they crave and of which, more than ever in the experience of the world, they have dire need. In Christ they will find a fellow workman. Who like them endured the limitations of poverty, earned His bread in the sweat of His brow at the carpenters' bench, knew what it was to have no shelter over His head and only the soil of mother earth to rest His weary body.

How intimately Christ understood the lot of the toiler we can understand from his beautiful parables. The task of the husbandman as he sowed his seed, cultivated his vines, pruned his trees and harvested his crop was to Christ a genuine reality. He knew too the disappointment of gathering in the tares with the wheat. The rugged life of the shepherd with its toil, its courage, its sorrows and its affection for the flock was to the Master a favorite subject for contemplation and the basis for many impressive instructions. How well He knew the problem of the builder of cities and of the organizer of defensive work we can gather from the parables in which He says: "When a strong man armed keepeth his court, those things are in peace which he possesseth. But if a stronger than he come upon him and overcome him he will take away all his armour wherein he trusted, and will distribute his spoils" (Luke 11-21,22). Indeed we may take a lesson from this bit of divine wisdom in facing the conditions that prevail today throughout the world.

The employer of labor, the steward placed in charge of the master's estate, the servant entrusted with the profitable investment of his master's funds are familiar parable figures which demonstrate Christ's knowledge of the problems of business and employment.

In approaching Christ the worker will find a character that is understanding and always deeply sympathetic. This understanding and sympathy have become definitely associated with the Church in discharging her ministry as the representative of Christ.

What Has the Church to Offer

Well may you ask: what has the Church to offer to those who come to her in answer to the invitation of Christ: "Come to Me, all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you"? In the first place the Church offers to the worker her spiritual aid and comfort. There are indeed those who today look with contempt upon the spiritual needs of humanity. According to the atheistic creed of communism religion is a soporific, a fraud and a sham. Denying God and the spiritual nature of man's soul, this atheistic philosophy sees nothing in life but a period of drudgery, punctuated here and there by physical and material satisfactions, without hope or prospect of any compensation beyond the grave for suffering, sorrow and disappointment that constitute so much of the average human existence.

Unfortunately there are not wanting zealots who promote this philosophy of despair among the working classes. They deprive men of the faith that softens earthly sufferings and hardships and rob them of the hope that ultimately divine justice will make right the cruel toll which selfishness and greed so often take out of human lives.

What men need is the answer that Christ gave to the tempter, who asked Him to turn stones into bread: "Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4,4). Not the least—perhaps the greatest—trouble with humanity today is its alienation from the spiritual life and incentives, its constant tendency downwards towards the earth, its loss of the vision upwards towards and beyond the stars, where man's true home and ultimate destiny lie in the everlasting companionship of His Creator. So much attention is concentrated upon the body, its physical needs and comforts, that the soul is virtually starved. There is too much self-reliance and not enough dependence upon God, Whose living providence rules the earth; too much self-determination and not sufficient effort to aspire to the higher and nobler ideals which the Creator has set for the creature, upon which He has stamped His own image and likeness; too much forgetting that Christ has taught us to look to the Heavenly Father for our daily bread and to look to Christ Himself for that other Bread, described by Him as "the living Bread which came down from Heaven".

Truly no greater injustice can be done to those who must earn their bread in the sweat of their brows than to deprive them of their one consolation, their faith in God and the spiritual comforts that religion offers. No greater cruelty can men inflict upon themselves than deliberately to forsake the faith of their forefathers and accept as a substitute the cold, hard, hopeless and helpless philosophy which atheistic communism forces upon the consciences of its victims. No greater anguish can come into the minds and hearts of human beings than to be harassed and torn by doubt, skepticism and uncertainty over the existence

of God and the reality of the spiritual forces which religion offers. What men need in their troubles and trials is love, comfort, encouragement and strength; these come not from the votaries of radicalism but from the Divine Heart of him Who has said: "Come to Me, all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you".

The Church and the Moral Law

Humanity has in large measure not only forgotten and abandoned God, it also disregards and spurns His holy law, the natural law which God has graven in the heart of man and the revealed law which God has compressed into the Ten Commandments. What wonder then that human laws, human contracts and human agreements should so frequently receive little recognition and respect: Above all have the laws of justice and charity fallen into discard at least in their practical implications. There is indeed much prattle and lip service about justice and human rights, much editorializing about the merits of the virtue of charity, much learned discussion about equality, fraternity and democracy. In the practical relations between individuals and groups of men, not to speak of the relations between nations, there is all too little consideration given to these virtues which lie at the very roots of human life and responsibility. Your struggle for rights that are inherent in the very nature of man is made hard precisely because men have become calloused in their opposition to fundamental laws and principles of justice. Sometime your own blindness and the selfish view which you take to these same laws and principles frustrate your endeavors to attain reasonable rights. Frequently, too, your affiliates destroy confidence and check genuine progress by unwise and irresponsible leadership and failure to live up to agreements presumably entered into in good faith.

The Church as Christ's representative is here to teach God's holy law, command for it becoming respect and make it obligatory at least in the forum of conscience. Hers is the duty to remind all men without exception that principles of justice and righteousness are sacred, to urge them to respectful obedience and by her admonitions to remind men in every walk of life, that violations of God's holy law cry for retribution in the very courts of heaven.

The Church and Social Justice

The role of the Church as a teacher of social justice, the friend of the poor, the advocate of the toiler and the defender of the oppressed is by no means new or modern. Down through the centuries she has always considered these functions as a sacred trust committed to her by her divine Founder. Over the face of the earth her fidelity to this trust is attested by institutions and associations innumerable, in which human beings find refuge, safety and healing.

When after the middle of last century it became apparent that new industrial conditions demanded new applications of the principles of justice and charity, the Church was among the first to sense the need and endeavor to find a solution. Your Federation was organized 60 years ago, in 1880. Even in that early period of labor organization do we find a Cardinal Mermillod of Switzerland, a Cardinal Kopp and a Bishop Ketteler of Germany, a Cardinal Manning of England and a Cardinal Gibbons of our own United States of America among the outstanding protagonists of the rights of labor, struggling for a proper adjustment of the relationship between the worker and his employer.

Nearly fifty years ago, in 1891, Pope Leo XIII issued his famous encyclical, "Rerum Novarum", which immediately took its place as the Magna Carta of the working classes. The labor conferences that were held in Fribourg, Switzerland in 1889; in Berlin in 1890; in Bienne in 1893; in Basle in 1900; and in Berne in 1906, which were the forerunners of the International Labor Organization, that was formed after the World War, were all deeply influenced by Catholic thought and Catholic leadership.

Pope Leo XIII's encyclical is especially important because of its declaration of fundamental christian principles. The Church insisted upon the right of labor as well as of employers to organize, stressed the vital importance of wage standards that permit workers to provide for themselves and their families reasonable comforts and security, urged proper provision for periods of sickness, unemployment and advanced age, when the advocacy of these ideas was almost branded as radicalism. What Pope Leo XIII did in "Rerum Novarum", Pope Pius XI of happy memory reiterated and brought thoroughly up to date in his famous encyclical entitled "Quadragesimo Anno" published in 1931 in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of Leo's declaration. These fundamental principles were adapted by the hierarchy of the United States of America to American conditions in their "Program of Social Reconstruction" published in pamphlet form in 1919. In this latter document you will find the foreshadowing of all the aspirations of your organization, as well as the efforts of the present federal administration, through various acts of legislation to give security to the working classes in our country. The family living wage, fair hours, the right of collective bargaining, social insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness and disability, minimum wage laws, the opportunity of labor to share in management, ownership and profits, the supremacy of the right to a living wage over interest on investment, are only some of the claims which the Catholic Bishops make in behalf of a proper adjustment of the problems that affect the lives of the majority of our American people.

What the Bishops of two decades ago did in their "Program of Social Reconstruction", the hierarchy of today emphasized in a document published only a few months ago

under the title of "The Church and Social Order." In this document great emphasis is laid on the importance of education carried to the workers on the principles and policies which the Catholic Church urges for the proper establishment of justice and peace in the social and economic life of the nation.

It is hardly necessary to cite these facts to convince the audience assembled here today of the intelligent and sympathetic attitude of the Catholic Church towards the laboring classes. However, reference to them is important if not necessary to refute the charges that are sometimes made by the enemies of religion and of truth to the effect, that the Catholic Church is not sincerely interested in the solution of the problems that arise out of our industrial, commercial and social relationships. The Church is interested, deeply so, and never fails to express her sound doctrine of sincere convictions whenever a proper opportunity presents itself; but unfortunately selfishness, greed and hardheadedness too often frustrate her efforts and not infrequently refuse to give her a fair hearing. Labor never will have a better friend and a more sincere advocate than the Church.

Labor's Opportunity

According to your statistical records your Federation today enjoys unprecedented prosperity and success. Your membership has reached a peak never before equalled, in spite of the fact that there have been splits and defections from your ranks; more successfully than ever are you winning the confidence of employers and of the American public at large; the steady conservative conduct of the great mass of your membership has gained for you the respect and good will of practically all your fellow citizens; your patriotic attitude, especially during the international crisis through which we are passing, gives evidence of the solid loyalty which has at all times characterized the general rank and file of our American citizens. Thus

you have, indeed, much reason to thank Almighty God these days for the blessings that you have enjoyed and for the successes that you have achieved.

But remember, my dear friends, that there rests upon you a tremendous responsibility. If my calculations are correct, the labor organizations of this country have succeeded in enrolling probably less than twenty percent of the workers of America. That vast army of toilers still outside the pale of your influence and strength has the same need for organization and the progressive attainment of their human rights as yourselves. To champion their cause must be for you a solemn duty, the sacredness of which is the more urgent because of the prestige that you now enjoy. Through your intelligent, constructive and yet conservative leadership it should be possible to bring about in these United States of America a reign of social justice unprecedented in the history of the world. To achieve such a reign of justice without recourse to radicalism, without the sacrifice of the dignity of the human individual, without violence and terrorism, without the aid of blatant apostles of irreligion, without storming the battlements of constitutional government and well-ordered democracy must be our aim and mission. It is a challenge that will demand the highest intelligence, most serious and self-sacrificing effort on the part of your leaders, and, above all, the element of unity and harmony between all the groups whose purposes and aims in the last analysis are kindred. That you may respond nobly and generously to this challenge and achieve success must be the burden of your prayers and mine. It is a blessing that can only come from the Heart of Him, Who has given to toil its noblest dignity when He Himself, the Son of God, deigned to become the foster Son and apprentice of a carpenter and thus to merit the right to call out to all humanity "Come to Me, all you that labor, and are burdened and I will refresh you."

At 12:50 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day — Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p. m., by President Green.

President Green: We have with us several representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor. We are happy indeed to have them with us in this convention. We expected them to be here last week, but they were not able to come at that time. They just arrived in this city a day or two ago. I wanted to present them to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, and I deem it quite proper and fitting that they be presented to you this afternoon.

I am happy to explain that the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor have maintained very friendly and fraternal relationships during all the years. We have been associated in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Brother Morones and two others from his country are here with us and they will attend the meeting of the Executive Council of the Pan-American Federation of Labor while in this city, so they are here serving a double purpose, first, for the purpose of meeting with us, and, second, for the purpose of attending a meeting of the Executive Council of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Morones, who comes here as a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, has with him Brothers Cervantes Torres and Brother Venesias Cutzill. They are here as representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor for the purpose of meeting with us and later attending a meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Brother Morones will deliver an address. Brother Torres and Brother Cutzill will simply be presented so you will know them.

MR. LUIS N. MORONES**Fraternal Delegate, Mexican Federation of Labor**

(The following address of Mr. Morones was interpreted by Mr. Robert Haberman.)

Brother President, brother delegates, I come here together with two brothers to represent the Mexican Federation of Labor and to carry out two missions. We were sent to attend this great convention of the organized workers of the United States. I come here to bring you greetings and our most fervent hopes for the success of this great congress of the working people of the United States, and wishing success, not only for the workers of the United States, but also success and the realization of the hopes and ideals of the workers south of the Rio Grande and the workers of the rest of this continent. I bring these greetings

and these hopes for your success on the part of the Mexican Federation of Labor which I belong to, and also extend greetings to the heroic brothers who are fighting in Europe to maintain the principles of liberty and the principles of democracy.

During the convention held in Cincinnati, which I had the honor to attend as representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor, I promised at the time that should the day come when the workers of the United States might take steps to fight or to take measures to help our brothers in Europe who are fighting, not only for the gains which your organized movement has obtained, but for civilization itself—I promised then that we would walk hand in hand with the American Federation of Labor towards fighting for the preservation of liberty of the workers in the democratic part of Europe.

I am here today in the name of the Mexican Federation of Labor to walk with you in anything you do towards the preservation of liberty and the preservation of democracy. We cannot remain indifferent to all these destructive forces which are directed, not only against our brothers in some of the democracies of Europe, but which are also pointed towards the people of Latin America.

In a spirit of generosity many, many words of encouragement, many words of stimulus have been expressed by the various labor movements. To me the time of talking is passed, today we must act, because no matter how beautiful the words, no matter how generous the expressions, action is what is needed today if we are to preserve all that the organized labor movement of the world stands for. You are doing something. Organized labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor is doing something. You are doing such an amazing work that the rest of the organizations throughout the Latin American countries are stimulated by the example you are setting.

But if your action is to be truly effective, the people of the Latin American countries who have not as yet heard the message of the American Federation of Labor, who have not heard the message of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, in their struggle for justice and liberty, it is necessary that the Pan-American Federation of Labor come to life to inspire the organized labor movement throughout the Latin American countries, so that, parallel with governmental action, the people of these countries also take a part in the defense of liberty and democracy, just as you do, just as the Mexican Federation of Labor does. It is necessary that we reach the other peoples of the Latin American countries.

We must be very frank, we must tell things as they are. It happens that in many of these Latin-American countries, in spite of this great and noble work which has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor, there is a lot of suspicion, there is a lot of doubt, there is a lot of fear. We must adopt some sort of definite program to remove these doubts and fears, to remove all suspicion. We must get the people of all these countries to work as one, to work together in these critical days when we are all engaged in matters of defense.

To remove these fears and these doubts from the minds and hearts of the Latin American people we need such great spirits as those of Samuel Gompers, John Murray, Santiago Iglesias, your President, and many others, if we are to continue to retain their confidence. We worked together for 20 years until we brought about this great understanding, not only between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, but between the people of the two countries. But in the present day, in the tragic times through which we are going now, action is demanded, united action of all the people of all the countries of this continent.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor for the past few years has been inactive. It is very important that it come to life again, and it is very important that it work intensively so that we will make up for lost time.

A short time ago the representatives of the people of this country and the representatives of people of the Latin-American countries met to discuss measures, to consider how to defend liberty, democracy and justice on this continent. But the workers of the Latin-American countries do demand the right to participate in all that their governments do, and the only way they can participate, the only way they can unite and the only way they can act is through the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It should be easy enough for you to see the situation today and realize that the only action that can save these Latin-American countries, which today are being overrun with agents and representatives of totalitarian countries that take advantage of the fears of aggression, against which we are meeting today to fight, is to unite in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The only authorized voice that could get to the hearts and the minds of the people of the Latin-American countries and to remove their fears and make it impossible for the agents of the totalitarian governments to plant their poison seeds, are the voices of the American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor. These are the voices of authority, these are the voices to which the people of the Latin-American countries will pay attention.

It is true that in this country there is a Government that really and truly represents the people. I am sorry to say that in some of the Latin-American countries that is not the situation. There are people who today would try to take advantage of the conflagration that is raging in Europe to deceive the people of their country. Many times in the past when the sovereignty of Mexico was affected I had to come to the United States to make my protest. If that were the case today I would consider it the best place from which to again protest, but I have the fullest faith, the fullest confidence that your Government is truly and sincerely and honestly and frankly trying to unite the countries below the Rio Grande for the purpose of fighting against a common enemy, an enemy that is trying to destroy democracy.

You have a responsibility, and that responsibility is this: That you must get some organization going again to start work throughout the Latin-American countries so that the high ideals which move the American Federation of Labor can be carried to these governments south of the Rio Grande, so that they can work hand in hand with their governments, and especially with the Government of the United States.

I shall try to be as brief as possible, owing to the late hour. My other mission is to try to present to you the situation that prevails today in Mexico. The CROM has gone through a very difficult period during the last five years. The CROM is the Mexican Federation of Labor, the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, the only independent labor movement in Mexico, and just because it is independent it has suffered incredible persecution on the part of the government. These difficulties of the CROM, these persecutions which the Mexican Federation of Labor have gone through are due to the fact that we have always refused to be forced to join the official government labor unions. We have fought against them because we contend the government has no right to form labor organizations and force us to join them.

The headquarters of the CROM—and this is a sample of the persecutions we have to go through—are searched at various times by the police, the last time only last Monday. A few months ago I happened to be in Washington in conference with President Green, and at that time my home was searched and my family abused. Many of the members have been assassinated. At the time I knew my family was being molested and my home was being searched. I dropped my conference with Mr. Green and went back to Mexico, not to defend my family, not to defend myself, but to defend the rights of labor in Mexico.

A law has been passed recently in Mexico turning all the unions and syndicates into political clubs, putting them at the mercy of politicians and thus perverting the real mission of labor unions. This is the first step, probably, to a dictatorship, which is

easy to establish in a country like Mexico where the President has always been the government and the only power in the country. A new law is being put through now providing that only one labor union will be permitted to exist in Mexico. Any labor union that does not join that labor union will lose all its legal rights, will lose all its properties and be forced to go out of existence.

If those things happen in Mexico, you can just imagine what happens in the other Latin-American countries. It has been my duty to present to you the real situation in Mexico. I don't care what happens to me and my comrades across the border, but I come to you because I have always counted on your generous help and cooperation. Now more than ever it is necessary for you to take definite action. If the policy of the good neighbor is not to be a mere rhetorical phrase, it is up to the American Federation of Labor with its authoritative voice to come to the defense of all those principles for which we have been fighting for so many years.

I go back to Mexico carrying in my heart the assurance of the solidarity which has united the working people of Mexico and the working people of the United States. I am sorry Sir Walter Citrine is not here. There are no official relations between the government of England and the government of Mexico, but the spiritual relation of brotherliness flows as ever between the people of Mexico and the people of England. The bond has never been broken. All we can do for them will be done in spite of the fact that our governments have no official relations. I thank you.

President Green: I thank Brother Morones for the address he has delivered to you this afternoon, and I express to him and his colleagues my deep appreciation of his visit with us here this afternoon.

Now it seems to me most fitting and appropriate to present to you just so you can see him and say "How do you do," the old patriarch of the American Federation of Labor. He has been here and in attendance at our convention, quietly, modestly and unassumingly moving among us, but it seems to me we could not leave this convention without presenting to you the Secretary Emeritus of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Frank Morrison.

MR. FRANK MORRISON

Mr. President, officers and delegates to this Sixtieth Annual Convention—I want to say to you that I am very happy to be in attendance at this splendid convention. We have struck a new era, a new point from which the American Federation of Labor will travel rapidly forward.

It might not be amiss if I take two or three minutes to say a few things that are in my mind which I think will be helpful to the delegates present, particularly the

younger delegates. We hear people say that the American Federation of Labor is not traveling fast enough; that they are not organizing as rapidly as they should, that they are not securing the conditions for their membership that is possible. I want to say that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliate organizations have been traveling rapidly: they have accomplished wonderful things in the last 43 or 44 years.

I recollect that when I had the honor to come in as Secretary we had 256,000 members; very little money was in the treasury of the Internationals. What work was accomplished was simply by the efforts—voluntary efforts in many cases, of organizers and even of officers.

I want to call attention to one thing to show how rapidly the Internationals travel as to hours and wages. In 1897 the Typographical Union declared in favor of a shorter work day from a six-day week with nine hours on Saturday. Yes, that was in 1897 and they secured a 9-hour day and put it in operation. Nine years after that they put into operation an 8-hour day and collected from their membership of about 37,000 members, four million dollars to put it into effect. Twelve and one-half years after that they put into effect a 44-hour week, and they collected \$17,000,000.00 to do that work. And then in 1929 when this great debacle occurred in New York the Typographical Union of which I am a member, No. 16 in Chicago, entered into a contract with the employers for a 40-hour week and a contract for five years with an increase of \$3.00 a week at that period. In the period from 1896 to 1929 the Printers reduced their hours nineteen, from 59 to 40, and increased their wages from \$18.00 to \$57.00.

I want to submit that that is making progress and in doing that the Printers had the advantage of the slogan of the American Federation of Labor—reducing the hours, and increasing the pay. I call attention to that because what the Printers got the building trades and other organizations secured at the same time.

Just one other thought. You know we had limited child labor in that period. There was hardly a law on any statute book in any state at that time, but through the insistence of the trade union movement we have laws on the statute books of all states. In addition to that they have laws now that if a child loses its father or natural protector, the state will see that it receives the advantage of an education.

Then we have a proposition in regard to dual organizations. You are all familiar with dual organizations and what it means. Every International is opposed to it; the American Federation of Labor is opposed to it; but we should learn by example. Let me carry you back to 1895 when the Knights of Labor, a dual organization that existed for quite a period, caused much turmoil among the trade unions. That organization is dead. It has passed away. It is a memory at the present time.

Following that was what Eugene V. Debs organized. That was an organization where he attempted to force the amalgamation of the engineers, the firemen, the conductors and the trainmen into one organization. There was a strike which failed and those four organizations refused to amalgamate. They refused to be forced into amalgamation and they have carried on their business until today in connection with the other railroads, securing the scale of wages recognized by the Government.

Following that comes the Western Federation of Labor sponsored by the Western Federation of Miners whose name was changed to American Labor Union, and I heard Eugene V. Debs say to them that they should change their name and proceed to the East where hundreds of thousands of workers were organized and ready to follow the banner of international socialism.

Then we had the I. W. W. First we heard of it coming from one of the coasts. A man carried it over from Paris where they practiced cynicism. The I. W. W. with which you are all familiar divided into two organizations and then into three and that organization passed out of existence and is today a memory.

Then we had the One Big Union coming out of Winnipeg causing considerable trouble for ten or twelve years, and that died and is now a memory, and now my friends we have the C. I. O. in spite of the fact that all of these other organizations are only memories. We have men who felt that their ability was such that they could overcome the natural trend and have organized the C. I. O.

My friends, I stand here before you and I am glad to say that I have passed my 81st year.

(Applause)

I feel that I can be helpful in many ways. But I am going to live to see the day, bar some accident that might happen to anyone, when the C. I. O. will be laid side by side with these six other organizations, and I will live to see the day when the C. I. O. is a dream and a memory.

Thank you.

(Applause)

President Green: The Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment earnestly beseeches me to complete his report, which is of a very short order. The Chair has not looked at his watch for a little while, and he does not know the hour.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENTS (Continued)

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers reported as follows:

Metal Polishers vs. Jewelry Workers

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, On May 10, 1922 an agreement was entered into between the Jewelry Workers International Union and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union at a conference called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This agreement was signed by the International President and two Vice Presidents representing the Metal Polishers and the International President and two Vice Presidents representing the Jewelry Workers, also by Secretary Frank Morrison representing the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This agreement provided that all Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers who were then members of the Jewelry Workers could remain as members providing they desired to do so but in the future all Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers should become members only of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers International Union, and

WHEREAS, The Jewelry Workers International Union has violated this agreement, particularly so in the city of Toronto, Ontario Canada, where they openly advocated the acceptance of metal polishers and now have in their organization members who come within the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union. This has also occurred in many other places, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Jewelry Workers International Union be ordered by the American Federation of Labor to live to that agreement, failing to do so they shall stand suspended from this American Federation of Labor.

A copy of the agreement referred to in this resolution was placed in the hands of your committee, consequently we recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference within 90 days of the officers of Metal Polishers International Union and Jewelry Workers for the purpose of bringing about a settlement of this dispute.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Metal Polishers vs. Machinists and Electrical Workers

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has granted jurisdiction of various crafts and trades to various National and international Unions and their affiliated local unions, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists and their affiliated local unions, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and their affiliated local unions have violated, and are violating the jurisdiction of local unions affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters; the Sheet Metal Workers International Association; the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; the Automobile, Carriage, Car and Equipment Painters Union and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, in having among their membership, and claiming to represent some 1500 workers of the City of Chicago at the present time, and

WHEREAS, Such violations of jurisdiction constitutes a menace to the well-being of the aforementioned aggrieved Unions, and causes ill-will and dissension in the Local Metal Trades Council, and

WHEREAS, Such violations of jurisdiction retards the organizational efforts of the aforementioned aggrieved unions, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary to abolish infringement of jurisdiction of the heretofore mentioned National and international Unions and place in such organizations all present enrolled members of the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who labor at crafts or trades not under the jurisdiction of these two International Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That adequate measures will be taken so that there will be no future infringement of jurisdiction in the enrollment of members by the International Association of Machinists or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The Metal Polishers International Union requested permission to withdraw this resolution.

Your committee recommends the request be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Protest of Operating Engineers Against Encroachment of Jurisdiction in Motion Picture Industry

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Motion Picture Industry has become one of the major industries of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It employs members of all crafts or trades which, as national or international unions, are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Within the Motion Picture Industry has been manifested a strong tendency toward an industrial form of organization which tendency has proved definitely detrimental to the interests of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, It has been earnestly attempted to cause the International Union of Operating Engineers to be recognized as the organization in which those employees of the Motion Picture Industry, coming within its jurisdiction as defined by the American Federation of Labor, should be members, and

WHEREAS, That attempt has in large measure been defeated by the tendency above mentioned, and

WHEREAS, There are now members of other national or international unions who are employees of the Motion Picture Industry and who by jurisdictional rights, as defined by the American Federation of Labor, should be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary to check encroachment by other national or international unions in the Motion Picture Industry upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention direct the immediate release by national or international unions of those of their members in the Motion Picture Industry, who come within the defined jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, to that organization.

Your committee recommends that the President of the Federation call a conference of the interested organizations within 90 days in an effort to bring about an agreement.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Machinists vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Harvey W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, W. F. Robinson, John D. Lengel, A. M. Jurrus, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, There exists an agreement entered into October 25, 1928 by and between the Amalgamated Association of

Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the International Association of Machinists, which reads as follows:

"It is hereby agreed between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America will release at the expiration of their present Agreements all claims to men working strictly at machinists' work, or men who are devoting a majority of their time to machinists' work of the various Street and Electric Railways of America where the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America makes contracts and in the future, the Amalgamated Association will not insert or cover in any manner in their agreements, the wages and working conditions of machinists, and at the next meeting of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, which will be held in February of 1929, the General Executive Board, at this meeting, will send out a circular letter to all local divisions of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, informing the membership of this agreement reached with the International Association of Machinists, and will advise in compliance with this agreement that all members who are working at machinists' work, for Street and Electric Railway Companies, that they become members of the International Association of Machinists.

"It is understood and agreed that men working in barns, stations, garages and at all other classes of work, *except as herein provided*, including men doing temporary repair work, are still eligible and will remain members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

"In any locality where a dispute may arise over the provisions of this agreement which cannot be adjusted by the local representatives of the two organizations, there shall be sent by the International Presidents of the two organizations, a man from each of the International Organizations to bring about a satisfactory understanding and if they cannot agree then the two representatives shall lay all the facts in connection with this dispute before the President of the American Federation of Labor and both organizations agree to abide by his decision"; and

WHEREAS, For a number of years the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America had the above-mentioned agreement printed in a booklet containing its Grand Lodge Constitution for announcing its policy to its general membership, and

WHEREAS, The A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. has, at least during the past eight years, shown a total disregard for this agreement and has enrolled, as members of its union, machinists, auto mechanics and machinist helpers, and in further violation of the above-mentioned agreement has embodied wage rates and working rules for machinists, auto mechanics and machinist helpers in contracts with its employers and in many instances the said wage rates are considerably less than the wage rates the International Association of Machinists established for similar work with other employers in the same community, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Council, during a session held May 15, 1939, made the following declaration:

"The Executive Council grants jurisdiction over inter-urban and long distance passenger bus operators to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

"Workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations or garages, come under the jurisdiction of the International Unions already granted to them by the American Federation of Labor."

The second paragraph of this declaration announces in clear, understandable language that the Amalgamated has no jurisdiction in the departments indicated, and

WHEREAS, Letters of protest have been addressed to the General Office of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A., conferences were held with its officers, (President William Green arranged one of these conferences and participated therein), but with all these efforts, the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. has refused to abide by the provisions of the agreement above mentioned, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America be, and is hereby, instructed to discontinue trespassing upon the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and is further instructed to cooperate for adherence to the provisions of the agreement entered into October 25, 1928 by and between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists, attested by President Green, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent and purpose of this Resolution.

Your committee begs to report that both parties to this resolution reached an agreement to the effect that they have agreed to endeavor to adjust their grievances as provided for in the original agreement dated October 25, 1928.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Metal Trades Department vs. Glass Bottle Blowers Association

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association is a union representing workers skilled in the making of glass bottles, and

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers Association is attempting to extend its jurisdiction to cover workers engaged in the making and repairing of plant machinery and equipment, and

WHEREAS, The work involved in the making and repairing of plant machinery and equipment properly comes under the jurisdiction of unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor protests the action of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association for trespassing upon the work jurisdiction of unions of International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor make early arrangements for a conference between the International Unions of the Metal Trades Department affected and the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor attend this conference and use their friendly influence to the end that the questions of jurisdiction involved may be adjusted.

Your committee recommends that the President of the Federation be directed to call a conference of interested organizations involved, and endeavor to bring about an amicable adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Operating Engineers vs. State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, William M. Welsh and Anton J. Imbahn, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was granted rights by charter by the American Federation of Labor to organize employees of State, County and Municipal Governments, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has attempted to organize all such employees without regard to the chartered rights of other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, By the pursuit of that policy, employees have been included in the membership of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees who should, under rights fixed by charter, be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, The pursuit of that policy has tended to weaken and break down local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, President Zander of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees did on date of May 26, 1938 distribute to the local unions, comprising that organization, a release or circular in which were clearly defined the limits of the charter rights of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees with respect to those employees who come within the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, The intent of President Zander, as therein set forth, has never been followed out by member local unions of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to release all those of its members who by charter rights should be members of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

After a conference of the parties to this resolution your committee wishes to report that they have reached an agreement as to the procedure to take up, dispose of, and adjust all complaints.

And we recommend approval.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Requesting Conference Between Officers of Building Trades Department and State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 172—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor directed the executive officers of the Department to prepare a suitable resolution calling to the attention of the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the encroachment of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of various trades affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was defined when the charter for that organization was granted, providing that there be no infringement upon any now existing chartered A. F. of L. affiliate, and

WHEREAS, Subordinate local unions of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have persistently continued to invade and encroach upon the jurisdiction of various trades affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department after correspondence, conferences and hearings before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is requested to call a conference between the officers of the American State, County and Municipal Employees and the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the affiliated National and International Unions of the Department, in an endeavor to work out a solution of the problem of invasion practiced by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, such conference to be held during the sessions of the first meeting of the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1941.

Your committee concurs in the resolve of this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Maloney: That concludes the report of the Adjustment Committee, which is signed by all members of the committee:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary
ROY HORN
JOHN F. McNAMARA
J. B. ETCHISON
CHARLES L. BAGLEY
OTHMER MISCHIO
T. L. JONES
E. J. BROCK
FRANK BREWSTER
E. J. BROWN
D. J. MAHONEY
GEO. P. DELANEY
W. F. ROBINSON
GEORGE W. LAWSON
GUS VAN HECK
ARTHUR WALLACE
HARRY NACEY
JOSEPH J. DELANEY
Z. D. NICHOLS

Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: Now we will proceed to the regular order of business. By action of this convention the election of officers was set for a special order of business this afternoon. We will now proceed to that business. The Chair will call Vice-President Bugniazet to the platform.

Vice-President Bugniazet in the Chair.

Chairman Bugniazet: Nominations for President of the American Federation of Labor are now in order.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: A few days ago when the Committee on Law was making its report I was very much interested in listening to the talks made by several delegates, especially when they began to tell of the duties of the President of the American Federation of Labor. I want to tell you that the position of the President of the American Federation of Labor, with all its responsibilities and obligations, is becoming more and more exacting every day. The innumerable duties he is called upon to perform, the people he has to meet, the questions he has to answer, the decisions he has to make, the advice he has to give, the conferences he has to attend, the meetings he has to address, the journeys he has to make—all this is almost more than one man can accomplish. And yet we expect all of that and more from him.

In the past we have been blessed with great leaders. We hope we can say that of the future. If I can have my way we will. I have been intimately associated with Samuel Gompers in his day and in his time. I have been intimately associated with William Green for more than a quarter of a century. Both men have done their work willingly, faithfully and well. They reached the pinnacle of fame in the American labor movement, irrespective of the rantings and ravings of their enemies. We all have our enemies and false friends.

I am reminded that:

"The heights by great men reached and kept were not attained by sudden flight, But they while their companions slept were toiling upward in the night."

At the present time we need such men. Our country needs such men. Our country needs the services of the American Federation of Labor and will need such services right along. Our local unions, city central and state bodies need the services and the stabilizing influences of the American Federation of Labor. And who is better to give that than the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, whom we choose every year at these annual conventions. On their shoulders rest enormous responsibilities.

In the past two conventions I nominated a man for President of the American Federation of Labor, and I am glad to say he was unanimously elected on each occasion. I considered him then and I consider him now a man of experience, well qualified to fill the office of President of this great Federation. I worked with him as a co-officer of the American Federation of Labor for over a quarter of a century, so I should know whereof I speak.

I want to tell you he is a fine fellow, well versed in the labor movement, a splendid type of trade unionist. He is a deep thinker, a great debater, an able speaker, a fluent writer, an outstanding leader in the labor movement, and above and beyond all, a great American.

It is therefore with profound pleasure I again nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

(The delegates rose and applauded for some little time.)

Delegate Duffy: (Continuing) In the years gone by I heard the President of the United Mine Workers of America nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor. He praised him and lauded him to the skies. I want to submit to you some of the things John L. Lewis said about William Green. These are taken from the printed proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and I do this for the reason that news came through the Associated Press from Atlantic City to this city—and I suppose it has gone all over the country—that John L. Lewis said it would be a waste of time to raise the hopes of the millions of people in this country and make it appear that there is any possibility of peace. The delegates from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said that what they wanted was to explore the possibilities for peace, and if we can get peace we want it. Lewis replied, "that those who had left the C. I. O. ranks to go into the American Federation of Labor have taken the easiest way. If there is anybody else who wants to take the easy way out, let them take it." Then he derided Bill Green and members of the Executive Council whom he referred to as autocrats and bureaucrats. He said: "I have been an explorer for a long time. Do you want me to explore Bill Green's mind? I have done a lot of exploring into Bill's mind and I give you my word, there is nothing there."

I didn't think that a man of John Lewis's standing would use such language. He also referred to other members of the Executive Council and said they were in the same class with Bill Green. Among those he referred to was William L. Hutcheson, of the Carpenters. Now I know Bill Hutcheson of the Carpenters, and if you say Bill Hutcheson hasn't a mind of his own you are making a great mistake. Then he re-

fers to Thomas Rickert of the United Garment Workers and to Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers. Evidently Matty hasn't a mind of his own. He winds up by saying, "The United Mine Workers of America do not propose now or in the future to return to the American Federation of Labor."

When I read that I could not help but think back to the days when I heard John Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor. I want to compare his statements now with the statements he made in conventions that I will refer to. Bill Green became President of the American Federation of Labor in December, 1924, when Samuel Gompers died. He was selected by the Executive Council, and I was a member of the Council at that time. He was selected to fill the unexpired term of Samuel Gompers, and he did fill it until the next convention.

The next convention was held in Atlantic City, N. J. in 1925, and at that time John Lewis said in nominating Bill Green. "I know that he, William Green, is great and wise in counsel, because it has been given to me under occasions of great responsibility to sit with him in counsel and to listen to his words of wisdom. It has been given to me to stand shoulder to shoulder with him in the fevered heat of industrial conflict, when I could rest secure that by my side stood a valiant man—valiant to the degree that he saw fit with us all to defend and proclaim the rights of labor and the rights of his oppressed fellowmen."

At the following convention in Detroit in 1926 he again nominated Bill Green. Why shouldn't he? He was the President of the United Mine Workers of America and Bill Green was a member of that organization and was formerly its International Secretary-Treasurer. At the Detroit convention he said:

"I esteem it to be the greatest honor which can come to the organization I represent to present for election to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, the name of that great American and great trade unionist, William Green."

At the convention held in the city of New Orleans in 1928 he again nominated him and said on that occasion:

"For President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term I present a trade unionist of distinguished record and a great American, William Green."

That is concise and clear. All those expressions suit me. Then at the fiftieth annual convention in Boston in 1930 he said:

"In season and out of season his voice"—meaning President William Green—"his voice, his strength, his talents, have never been wasted a moment in this great organized onward fight of labor, and today he stands recognized not alone in this country

of ours, but throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world as a great champion and defender of humanity and a defender of those principles of liberty upon which our Republic and our trade union movement are founded."

Then in Cincinnati eight years ago he again nominated William Green and in doing so said: "It is entirely fitting that we should select one of whom we have knowledge as to his deeds, as to his capacity, as to the services he has rendered in the days that have gone by. It becomes now my proud privilege to present to this convention the name of such a man, a man whose name has become a household word in the homes of the representatives of labor, and a man whose name is recognized as standing for loyalty, fitness, and capacity in the councils of the nation and in the councils of the civilized world."

We come to the next convention in Washington, D. C. in 1933. This is what he said in nominating William Green:

"I am mighty happy every year that I have the opportunity to attend the convention on election day to place in nomination the name of a man for President of the American Federation of Labor. Suffice it to say that in this convention at this time, faced with the problems which we know are before us, it is fitting indeed that organized labor again, by its vote in this convention, demonstrate to the world at large that labor has faith in its leaders and labor has again elected to the proud office of President of the American Federation of Labor that great champion of human rights, that great proponent of the ideals of labor, and that great defender of human liberty—William Green."

In those days William Green must have had brains. I have only two more quotations and then I will be through, but I want to leave them with you. At the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention in San Francisco in 1934, President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America again took the floor and nominated William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor, and in doing so he said:

"The present President of the American Federation of Labor has endeared himself to the organized labor movement by his unselfish devotion to its cause. Organized labor need not apologize for any of his acts, whether they be of commission or omission. William Green is recognized here in our homeland as being a great American as well as being a great leader of labor. He is definitely a defender of human rights and he is a champion of democracy. I am proud upon this occasion, at the conclusion of this momentous and memorable convention, which has decided so wisely with reference to the policies of labor, to present for your consideration as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term the name of William Green."

The next statement I will read to you is a gem. I want you to study it carefully, I want you to take it back home and broadcast it far and wide over the country. You know what happened in Atlantic City in 1935. You know the split that occurred there just after that convention. Well, at that convention John L. Lewis again took the floor to nominate William Green, and this is what he said:—and this statement of his I call a gem. Take it with you, don't forget it, broadcast it.

"The American Federation of Labor is the greatest organization of labor that has ever existed on the Western Hemisphere and is the most efficient organization of labor that men in modern times have ever formed in any country. The task of maintaining order in such a great army of workers, the task of administering the affairs of that organization, carrying on its business activities and maintaining proper relationships between its coordinated activities is a monumental task fit for a giant's hands. And so today there comes before us the task of again selecting a President of the American Federation of Labor, and as we look about us among the stalwart captains of this organization from its ranks here and there throughout the country, there looms no man more eminently qualified, more tried and true, in whom we have confidence in the man and in whom we have confidence as regards his statesmanship than the present incumbent of the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, who for so long has served the workers of this country in all of its pride of accomplishment and in every sincerity of purpose."

And after saying that the American Federation of Labor is the greatest organization of labor that has ever existed on the Western Hemisphere, a month later he, with others, left us.

I just can't understand. I cannot reconcile one statement with the other. I know that John L. Lewis has no use whatever now for William Green, not even a kind word. What a difference now and in the years gone by. In the years gone by John L. Lewis nominated William Green, a son of the United Mine Workers of America, for President of the American Federation of Labor. He was proud of it and I was proud of it. He must have been either insincere in his statements, or else he must have been playing dramatically to the galleries. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

To us it makes no difference now. Bill Green is ours. We know him. We want him to be President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year. I feel we are going to elect him to that position.

I say, good luck to you, Bill Green, old chum, as one pal to another.

Chairman Bugniet: You have heard the nomination of William Green. Are there further nominations?

Delegate Zaritsky, Hatters: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I enjoyed im-

mensely the fine nomination speech delivered by Brother Duffy. I enjoyed more the second speech delivered by proxy by John L. Lewis, and I wish to second the second speech.

I had the good fortune, or shall I say misfortune to be at the birth of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which sometime later changed its mind and its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. At the time of the organization of the C. I. O. it was the hope and expectation of those who participated in its formation that out of that committee would come greater, more intensive organization of the hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers within and under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. Those of us who were there, and I amongst them, have not attained that hope.

Well do I remember the solemn plea made to us by the President of the American Federation of Labor and the words of caution and warning reminding us that this was not the way of enhancing the fortunes of the American labor movement; that out of such a committee formation would grow up a rebel, dual opposition to the great American Federation of Labor. Little did some of us know at the time that the self-proclaimed leader of that committee—the committee, I emphasize—had in his mind a vision greater than the organization itself and the organizing of the unorganized workers. And so we found to our distress that it was his ambition to destroy the old and well-established trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor. It was not his desire to enhance the fortunes of the American Federation of Labor, but it was his ambition to destroy the old, and on the ashes of the old to build something unknown, something new, holding forth to us the vision of a great labor movement that existed perhaps only in the mind of that self-proclaimed leader. We have all since found that bushy brows, the mane of a lion and the roar of a lion are not the ingredients to make up a healthy labor structure. And so in my humble way I for one took the easy way out, the straight way out, and said adios to the "great Fuehrer" and came where I belonged, and where I belong now. And so the comedy is coming to an end. The star performer has stepped down from the stage.

Since we are on the subject of nominations I would, with perhaps the unanimous consent of the delegates at this convention present offer in nomination the renowned self-crowned champion for election as President Emeritus of the 52,000,000 "shrunken bellies." I would say to John L. Lewis that I, too, had occasion to explore the mind of William Green, and I have found nothing there but constant thought and concern for the needs, for the welfare, for the aspirations of the millions of underprivileged and

oppressed. I have had occasion to explore his heart, and I have found that heart always beating in unison with the needs and aspirations of all who are oppressed and underprivileged.

When this civilized world faces the darkest hour of its history, this is no time for lip service or for Shakespearian dramatics. What we need today is action, action by men who are convinced of what they are to do, men of stern mind, men of conviction, men of heart, men of action, and it is my great privilege and pleasure to second the nomination of that man who possesses all these human qualities, a man who has proven that he is one whose heart goes out to the men and women of labor and all others who need succor and help. I am privileged to second the nomination of William Green for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Bugnizet: Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees: I move the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the re-election of President Green.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Bugnizet: By your action you have elected William Green President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. President Green, I desire to turn the gavel over to you.

President Green in the chair.

President Green: I again accept your call to service, and I pledge to you in this great hall this afternoon the best I have in strength of body and mind. I can give no more than I have and all of it, whatever it may be, shall be given to you and in service to the American Federation of Labor.

Years of service as President of the American Federation of Labor serve to increase my deep sense of responsibility. I suffer under no illusions when at each annual convention of the American Federation of Labor I have been called to lead and serve you. I know it means service of the highest order. I know it means the giving of all I have during twelve months of the year. It is not the easy way of life. But who can resist the appeal made by such a noble body of men and women, as well as those they represent?

I listened as you did with very deep interest to the nominating address made by my old pal and comrade, Brother Frank Duffy, and I wondered who had uttered the words he was reading. It seemed to me there must be some voice from the grave speaking through him, because these words did not correspond

with the language we heard a few days ago. But I prefer to think of the days gone by rather than the present; the days that were filled with pleasant memories—memories that come back to me now, of old days when these words you have listened to were uttered.

I am indeed proud to lead and serve a great organized labor movement such as the American Federation of Labor. It is a great honor. My distinguished predecessor said on one occasion when comparison was made between the presidency of the American Federation of Labor and the presidency of the United States of America, "I," said he, "am President of the American Federation of Labor." The significance I give to that utterance was this, that he was conscious of the fact of a great honor that was conferred upon him as well as the great responsibility that was his when he was elected to serve as President of the American Federation of Labor. And so I am deeply conscious of that fact, and I repeat, I re-emphasize, I declare and re-declare, that truly the American Federation of Labor is the greatest labor organization ever established upon the American continent, yea, even throughout the world.

This is a great historic convention, one of which we may be exceedingly proud. It is representative of the largest membership of the American Federation of Labor, the largest ever reached. This convention is offered as an answer to those who have challenged the existence of our movement, who have declared they were going to destroy it. It is a live, vital, aggressive force in American life. I look into the coming year with hope, the highest hope and expectations. I am neither a defeatist nor a fatalist. I believe there exists in the hearts and minds of labor, the men who work in the mines, the mills and the factories, those who are drafted into the service of the United States, a deep consuming desire for peace and unity within the labor movement. And I do not believe that their hopes can be disappointed nor their desires set aside. And so, apprised of that state of mind, and understanding it as I believe I do, I will with all charity devote my service and my efforts toward bringing about peace in the labor movement during the coming year.

I say to you that I regard public opinion as the most vital force in American life, and I believe the time will come ere long when no man can stand up and defy public opinion in America.

In addition, I shall give all I have to carry on the organization of labor among the unorganized, to develop here in America an administrative policy for the American Federation of Labor that invites and secures the support of public opinion. I shall do all that I can in the service of my country's mobilization, the material and moral strengthening of labor in the support of the Government's preparedness program. I shall appeal to the heart and soul and consciousness of the Amer-

ican people to stand by the Government in the execution of our defense program so that no marauder will ever set foot on American soil.

And in addition to that, as we enter the new year of 1941, I want to sound a new note of victory—victory for democracy in all of the world, victory for righteousness and the triumph of justice—victory for the American Federation of Labor.

Now we shall complete the work of this convention within a very short time. We have been privileged to come to this city of the Southland and here in a happy environment drink from the fountain of inspiration, for who is it that will not feel the influence of inspiration because of being permitted to participate in this historic convention? And after our work is completed and we turn our faces homeward, we shall return there with a sturdy step and a renewed determination that in the conflict with those within our movement and those without, we will make sure of eternal triumph for the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this great honor you have again conferred upon me, and I renew in your solemn presence my pledge of devotion and loyalty and the best of service I can give to this great movement you represent. I sincerely thank you.

President Green: Nominations for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor are in order.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I have another duty to perform. This time I will not make an extended speech. I can if you want me to, but we have to get through with our business. Last year I nominated a man for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor whom I felt would fill the office satisfactorily. I am satisfied he has done so. I nominate the President of the organization of which I am General Secretary-Treasurer and he is the General President. I so nominate him now. He is one of the delegates to this convention. None of you have seen him. Several of you have asked if Bill wasn't coming. He is one of the delegates and hoped to get here for a few days. At the present time he is in Lakeland, Florida, preparing for the twenty-fourth convention of our Brotherhood of Carpenters. He has four advance committees working with him. You can realize why it is that Brother Hutcheson is not here. I did think he would be here for a day or two if it was possible, but it was impossible. He has made good and it is with a great deal of pleasure I nominate William L. Hutcheson for First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

President Green: William Hutcheson has been nominated for First Vice-President. Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Sands, Carpenters, Chicago: I am happy to take this opportunity to second the nomination of my good friend William L. Hutcheson for the high office of First Vice-President of the American Federation of La-

bor. It has been my privilege to know him for something like 27 or 28 years, more intimately during the last 25 years, during which time I have often had occasion to correspond with him and to meet with him. I think I know him as intimately as anyone in this room. I have found him to be a most trustworthy person, a man whose word is as good as his bond at any time. He is firm but always considerate, and he ranks as high in my estimation as any man in the labor movement.

I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of William L. Hutcheson for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McSorley, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers: I move you that the rules be suspended and nominations close and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of William L. Hutcheson as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your action and decision, I officially declare William L. Hutcheson elected First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Nominations are in order for Second Vice-President.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: After listening to the splendid addresses in the last half hour or so I find myself rather at a loss to properly present to you the virtues possessed by the Second Vice-President of this Federation. He was elected shortly after President Green, many years ago, to the Executive Council. He served as an adviser to the late Samuel Gompers, and also President Green since his election to the position of chief executive of this organization. He has played a prominent part in the progress of the Federation. As I look out here today my mind reviews very briefly the history of the parlous times during the last five years. And, like yourself, I never had any doubt about his serving the welfare and success of this labor movement under the presidency of William Green. Delegate Duffy said awhile ago that we have always selected splendid men as officers during the last 60 years and he hoped we would do so in the future.

There is only one logical, sound way to judge the future, and that is by the light of past experience, and as for me, I have no doubt concerning the future welfare and success of this organization and the type of men that will be selected as its leaders. The Second Vice-President has served this Federation long and faithfully. He has been a friend of this organization during the days that were rough and has always been loyal, not only as

a member of this Federation, but as an officer as well. I know something of the fine mind he has been blessed with, his great ability and his fine character, and I say to you men and women of this great convention that if you knew Tom Rickert like his own people and his many friends throughout the labor movement, you will know he has a heart that beats in unison with his fellowmen.

It therefore gives me great pleasure and I feel it an honor to be privileged to present to you for the office of Second Vice-President the name of the distinguished President of the United Garment Workers of America, Mr. Thomas A. Rickert.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: I am very happy to be here to have the honor of seconding the nomination of our International President for the office of Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother Rickert.

President Green: Delegate McCurdy moves that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Thomas A. Rickert as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Thomas A. Rickert as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision I officially declare Thomas A. Rickert elected as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: It is my privilege and a great pleasure to place in nomination for Third Vice-President a man who has been active for many years on the Executive Council of this Federation, a man who by his earnest endeavor and his activity has come to be regarded almost as an institution in the great American labor movement, a man who has so endeared himself to all of the workers, but especially to those of the trade union movement, that he needs no lengthy introduction and no great eulogy. His record does that for him, and I take great pleasure in nominating for Third Vice-President Mr. Matthew Woll.

President Green: Brother Matthew Woll has been nominated for Third Vice-President. Are there further nominations?

Delegate Madsen, Painters and Decorators: Mr. President, I move that the rules be suspended, that the nominations be closed and the Secretary-Treasurer instructed by this convention to cast one unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision, I declare Brother Matthew Woll elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Petrillo, Musicians: The man I am about to nominate needs no introduction to this convention. He is highly respected by every musician in the United States and Canada. I am sure that he is highly respected by every labor leader who has ever come in contact with him. He has served as an International President of the American Federation of Musicians for 40 years with great honors. It is my privilege and my honor to nominate for the Fourth Vice-Presidency of this Federation Joseph N. Weber.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Fourth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber for Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision, and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Joseph N. Weber elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Brown, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have a word and my remarks will not be long. The man I am about to nominate is a man whose actions speak louder than words, a man who has represented us in an official capacity for over 27 years, a man we trust to take care of all our money. Therefore, I want to place in nomination Brother G. M. Bugniazet as Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

Delegate Walter, Boilermakers: I move that nominations be closed and the Secretary-Treasurer instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother Bugniazet.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with your instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote

of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother G. M. Bugniazet elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Millman, Maintenance of Way Employees: Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to place in nomination for the office of Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term a young man who is well and most favorably known to every delegate present. He needs no eulogies from me. He has rendered distinctive service to this Federation as well as to his own organization, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and to the vast army of railway employees in this country. He is of brilliant mind and attainment. It is a pleasure and an honor for me to place in nomination for Sixth Vice-President Mr. George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: I consider it a real pleasure to second the nomination of George Harrison for Sixth Vice-President. Brother Harrison has demonstrated beyond any question of doubt his ability to fill this office, and he needs no words of mine or of any other delegate, however eloquently they might be offered. I therefore wish to offer a motion that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for George M. Harrison as Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with your instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison for Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George M. Harrison elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman, I desire at this time to place in nomination Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Warehousemen, for the office of Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Robinson, Machinists: In behalf of the organization I have the honor to represent, I desire to second the nomination of Brother Daniel J. Tobin for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Gillespie, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the

unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: I rise for the purpose of nominating for the position of Eighth Vice-President Harry C. Bates, President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

Delegate Maloney, Engineers: I rise at this time, Mr. President, to second the nomination of Brother Harry C. Bates for Eighth Vice-President. I consider it an honor and a privilege and I know from Brother Bates' past experience that he will be one of the greatest leaders the American Federation of Labor has had in the next few years if he continues along the same lines as he has been going for the last two years.

Delegate McCarthy, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers: I rise to make a motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Harry C. Bates for Eighth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: And in accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates for Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate William J. Gorman, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I am happy to present for nomination for the office of Ninth Vice-President the name of Edward J. Gainer, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: I desire to second the nomination of Edward J. Gainer for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I move you, sir, that after you shall have officially declared nominations closed, then the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Edward J. Gainer for Ninth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainer for Ninth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother Edward J. Gainer elected Ninth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Kehoe Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I deem it an honor and a privilege to nominate for Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, an old stalwart in the labor movement, a man who grew up under the tutelage of Samuel Gompers, who learned his way about in the labor movement under our old friend and departed brother, Samuel Gompers. I therefore place in nomination for Tenth Vice-President William D. Mahon, President of the Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes of America.

Delegate Mischo, Street Railway Employees: I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of William D. Mahon as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, the Chair declares nominations closed.

Delegate Murray, Street Railway Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother W. D. Mahon.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon for Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare William D. Mahon elected Tenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I would like at this time to place in nomination the name of Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Trembley, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I am pleased to second the motion, and if I am in order I move to declare the nominations closed and authorize the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention in favor of Felix H. Knight.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight for Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare Brother Felix H. Knight elected Eleventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate Murtha, N. Y., Stage Employees: I desire to present the name of the president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, George E. Browne, for the office of Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate Green, Stage Employees: I second the nomination of George E. Browne and I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

Delegate Zimmerman, Ladies' Garment Workers: I wish to state that the International Ladies' Garment Workers delegates wish to be recorded as abstaining from voting at this time.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If there are no further nominations the Chair officially declares nominations closed. The delegate moves that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the election of Brother George E. Browne as Twelfth Vice-President.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne as Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare Brother George E. Browne elected Twelfth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for Thirteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to place in nomination for the office of Thirteenth Vice-President the present incumbent, Edward Flore, our International President.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: In order to make it legal and binding I move that the rules be suspended and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the

election of Edward Flore as Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair officially declares nominations closed, and Delegate Ernst moves the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother Edward Flore as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote of the convention.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore for Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Edward Flore elected Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations are in order for Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Alfias, Machinists: Mr. President and delegates, it affords me much pleasure to place before this convention for its approval the name of a candidate for the office of Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. My candidate has had a wide experience in the labor movement, and a successful one. He started out years ago as a business agent of our association, and here recently by a substantial vote of our Association was elected its International President. I have listened with much gratification to the excellent qualities possessed by the thirteen Vice-Presidents who up to this moment have been elected, and I modestly claim for my candidate that he possesses a large proportion of these valuable qualities, and if the Executive Council is going to be composed of men of this caliber our Federation will have at its disposal a vast amount of knowledge and ability to handle its affairs. I claim that that vast amount of knowledge and ability will be augmented by the election of my candidate. I take great pleasure, therefore, in presenting the name of Harvey W. Brown, President of the International Association of Machinists, as candidate for Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Schoenberg, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers: Mr. President, although at the present time I am in an official capacity for the Cement Workers, I have worked shoulder to shoulder and side by side with Harvey W. Brown for about 30 years. I have seen him in action as business agent of his organization while I was business agent of the same organization. I have served with him as a delegate in this convention many years ago, and I have served with him as General Organizer and Grand Lodge representative of the same organization. I cannot think of any one else who could have taken the place of a Jim O'Connell or an Arthur W. Wharton

as well in the councils of the American Federation of Labor as Harvey W. Brown, and I move you, Mr. President, that the Secretary of this Federation of Labor be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Harvey W. Brown as Fourteenth Vice-President.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, the Chair declares nominations officially closed.

Delegate Schoenberg moved that Secretary-Treasurer Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the election of Brother Harvey W. Brown as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harvey W. Brown as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother Harvey W. Brown elected Fourteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Reagan, Barbers: I realize that nomination speeches that are brief are in order. However, I am going to ask you to bear with me for just a moment. I am proud and pleased to have the opportunity and privilege of nominating a man for the office of Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. This man needs no introduction to the delegates of this body. Neither does he need any introduction to the trade union movement of America, because he has served in the labor movement in various capacities for many years. He has been a guiding hand in our organization for the past five years. When he was drafted to fill the office of General President and General Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Barbers International Union of America, our organization was on the verge of bankruptcy and extinction—an organization that was chartered by the American Federation of Labor 52 years ago. And now, under the leadership of Brother William C. Birthright, our organization is back on its feet again, having regained many thousands of members, and the financial standing of the organization is fine.

Now, Mr. Chairman and delegates, this is the time when we should be careful in selecting officers to guide the destinies of the American labor movement, because of the trouble and strife and unrest of the world. Therefore, I take great pride and pleasure in nominating Brother William C. Birthright to succeed himself as Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, because he is a true trade unionist and 100 per cent American.

President Green: Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I rise to second the nomination of William C. Birthright, and I hope I may be excused for breaking into these proceedings the second time today. However, I desire to compliment the Executive Council. If I may be permitted, upon the selection of this new member, Bill Birthright. He will bring to the Council a splendid mind, a business mind, an active mind and an aggressive trade unionist's mind. I am sure that he will serve with credit to himself and to his own organization and to the Federation.

I move you, sir, that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the vote of this convention for William C. Birthright for Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Are there any further nominations? If not, the Chair declares the nominations officially closed, and Delegate Maloney moves that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Birthright.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Birthright as Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother William C. Birthright elected Fifteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Masterton, Plumbers: Mr. Chairman, a little more than a year ago in the city of Cincinnati, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, we were all surprised and shocked, shall I say, by the resignation of Brother Frank Morrison as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. The delegates to that convention were confronted with a tremendous responsibility, the responsibility of trying to find a proper successor to Brother Morrison for that position.

The name of a member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States was presented to that convention as the man who could properly do that job. This man was known to a great many of us. We knew of his ability and something of his capacity, and we had no hesitation in asking the delegates to that convention to elect him on our recommendation. That was a little over a year ago. Those of us who at that time made that recommendation have changed our minds. We do not ask you to elect

that man at this time on our recommendation. We propose that you shall elect that man at this time on his record—the record that he has made since that time as your Secretary-Treasurer. It is with a great deal of pleasure and a high honor that I present to this convention the name of George Meany for re-election as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lyons, New York State Federation: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the 60th Annual Convention, I cherish this opportunity to second the nomination of my predecessor. I am going to be brief. In the State Capitol of the Empire State of New York for the period served by my predecessor, there has been left a monument of trade legislation on the statutes of our state. It is needless for me to say that one year ago 1,400,000 trade unionists affiliated with our state organization regretted the going of my predecessor as secretary of our great labor movement, but we rejoiced with the state of New York because of the courageous leadership of this man and what he has given you in the short time he has served you as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. The efficiency of his department speaks well for his leadership. So, Mr. Chairman, the trade union movement of the State of New York wishes to thank the labor statesmen of America for the selection of our great President of the New York Federation of Labor as your Secretary-Treasurer. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I ask you to cast the unanimous ballot of this 60th Annual Convention for the re-election of that great leader, George Meany, for Secretary-Treasurer.

President Green: The Chair declares nominations for Secretary-Treasurer closed. All those in favor of the motion offered by Delegate Lyons signify by saying aye—contrary nay. The motion is carried and so ordered.

President Green: In accordance with instruction, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Baer, Firefighters: Mr. President, I rise at this time for a point of personal privilege to reply to Secretary Morrison's remarks at the convention this morning.

President Green: Would you wait until we dispose of the business?

Delegate Baer: Do you mean the selection of a convention city?

President Green: Yes.

Delegate Baer: I think this is a timely statement and it will only take a few minutes.

President Green: Well, go ahead.

Delegate Baer: Time plays tricks on many of us, and I think it has played many tricks on Secretary Morrison. He has been our able adviser for 22 years in connection with the American Federation of Labor, and I am sorry that some one in the convention did not see fit to reply to his able remarks this morning.

I was instructed at our last convention in the event Mr. Morrison did speak before this convention to reply to his remarks, but in the confusion of things I made a mess of it and overlooked doing so. And so, at this time, I wish to repeat to you the expression of our convention as to your venerable old young man, the Secretary Emeritus of the Federation of Labor.

When God in His infinite wisdom created man He did His best to create a model that was as near as possible like unto Himself, and as time passed, humanity did its best to find a closer fulfillment to God's desire and selection, and up to this time the nearest has been one of labor's distinguished leaders in the person of Frank Morrison. We of the International Association of Firefighters hope God will spare him at least until such time as his desire expressed in this convention will have been accomplished.

President Green: The Chair will now recognize Secretary-Treasurer Meany.

Convention City 1941

Secretary Meany: Mr. President, we have received approximately 170 communications extending invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1941 convention in one of eight cities named in these invitations. There is one from the city of Memphis, two from St. Louis, three from Providence, four from Atlantic City, New Jersey, seven from Boston, eleven from San Francisco, fourteen from Toronto, Canada, and 127 from Seattle. These invitations come to us from city, state officials, chambers of commerce, state federations of labor, central labor councils, convention bureaus, hotels, and every other type of organization. I desire to ask the convention at this time, in order to conserve time of this convention, if I can secure the consent of those present, through the Chair, to put these in the record, showing the title of the organization extending invitation and listing them under the city to which we are invited in 1941. I think this would be a sensible way to dispose of these communications, because if we have to read them it would take considerable time.

President Green: You have heard the suggestion offered by Secretary-Treasurer Meany. Are there any objections? If there are no objections, the request will be granted and the procedure suggested by Mr. Meany will be followed. Hearing no objections, it is so ordered.

The communications referred to are listed below:

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, Calif.

Hon. Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of San Francisco.

San Francisco Labor Council, John A. O'Connell, Secretary.

California State Conference, William R. Roberts, Secretary-Treasurer.

Structural Iron Workers, No. 377, M. Fenton, San Francisco, Calif.

Ornamental Iron Workers, No. 472, Fred L. O'Hara, Bus. Rep., San Francisco, Calif.

Bricklayers, Stone Masons & Mosale Terazzo Mechanics Local Union No. 7, San Francisco, Calif.

Musicians Union, Local No. 6, Elmer M. Hubbard, President, San Francisco, Calif.

Dan E. London, St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.

William B. Brown, The Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.

George D. Smith, Gen. Mgr., Mark Hopkins & Fairmont Hotels, San Francisco, Calif.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Hon. Mitchell F. Hepburn, Premier of Ontario (Telegram).

Hon. Mitchell F. Hepburn, Premier of Ontario (Letter).

Hon. R. C. Day, Mayor of Toronto (Telegram).

Hon. R. C. Day, Mayor of Toronto (Letter).

Toronto District Labor Council, J. W. Buckley, Secretary.

F. D. Tolchard, Gen'l Manager, Toronto Board of Trade (Telegram).

F. D. Tolchard, Gen'l Manager, Toronto Board of Trade (Letter).

Toronto Hotel Assn. Inc., C. J. Kelly, Pres., Toronto, Canada.

Associated Printers Limited, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Canadian Pacific Hotels, J. Johnson, Mgr., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

The Toronto Convention and Tourist Association, Inc., Toronto, Ont., Canada (2 letters and a telegram).

Rameses Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., W. N. Shaw, Recorder, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of American Federation of Labor at Providence, R. I.

J. Howard McGrath, Governor-elect, Providence, R. I.

Dennis J. Roberts, Mayor-elect, Providence, R. I.

Rhode Island Building Trades Council, Paul De Falco, Providence, R. I.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of American Federation of Labor at Memphis, Tenn.

Hon. Walter Chandler, Mayor of Memphis, Tenn.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Boston, Mass.

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, Governor of Massachusetts.

Hon. Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor of the City of Boston, Mass.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Kenneth I. Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer.

Central Labor Union of Boston and Vicinity, John J. Kearney, Pres. and Harry P. Grages, Secretary-Treasurer.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Louis, Mo.

St. Louis Local Joint Executive Board of Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, St. Louis, Mo.

Walters Union, Local No. 20, St. Louis, Mo.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City, N. J.

Hon. A. Harry Moore, Governor, State of New Jersey.

Hon. Thomas D. Taggart, Mayor, Atlantic City, N. J.

Resolution from New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

Resolution from Atlantic County Central Labor Union, Atlantic City, N. J.

Invitations to Hold 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in the City of Seattle

Hon. Arthur B. Langlie, Mayor, City of Seattle.

Hon. David Gammell, Mayor, Olympia, Washington.

Hon. William J. Millard, State Supreme Court, Olympia.

John E. Carroll, President Seattle City Council.

Board of County Commissioners King County, Washington, Seattle.

Smith M. Wilson, President of Seattle Commission.

W. H. Martin, Vice-President Washington State Federation of Labor.

Ida Peterson, Vice-President First District Washington State Federation of Labor, Bellingham, Washington.

John Jacobs, Vice-President Fifth District Washington State Federation of Labor, Tacoma, Washington.

Archie Carmichael, President: H. G. Walter, Secretary Everett, Washington Central Labor Council.

Albert Leslie, Secretary Central Labor Council of Spokane and Vicinity.

E. J. Brown, Secretary Wenatchee, Washington Central Labor Council.

W. W. Westover, Secretary Olympia, Washington Central Council.

Percy R. Bengough, Vancouver, New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council.

Grays Harbor County Central Labor Union, Aberdeen, Washington.

H. S. McIlvagh, Secretary Tacoma Central Labor Council.

C. W. Doyle, Secretary Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity.

A. J. Newton, Secretary Tacoma Building and Construction Trades Council.

Chas. V. McCoy, Vice-President Third District Washington State Federation of Labor, Yakima, Washington.

H. A. O'Reilly, President Teamsters Local 524, Yakima, Washington.

A. J. Laframboise, Ironworkers Local 114, Tacoma, Washington.

Margaret Leishman, Secretary Culinary Local 400, Spokane, Washington.

Paul Lucht, Business Manager Local 71, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers, Tacoma.

Wallace Morrisette, Business Manager Local 76, Electrical Workers, Tacoma.

J. E. Brinker, Representative Masters, Mates and Pilots Local 90, Seattle.

Chas. Meredith, Secretary Bakers Local 9, Seattle.

Herbert Walter, Secretary, Building Trades Council, Everett, Washington.

Victor Lofquist, Business Agent, Olympia Building Trades and Construction Council, Olympia, Washington.

Ted Jensen, Secretary, Bremerton Building and Construction Trades, Bremerton, Washington.

J. McGuffie, Secretary, Vancouver, New Westminster and District Building Trades Council, Vancouver, B. C.

H. W. Swartz, Secretary, Bremerton Metal Trades Council, Bremerton, Washington.

Emmett Higgins, Secretary, Yakima Central Labor Council, Yakima, Washington.

T. A. Thronson, Secretary, Pacific Coast District I. L. A., Tacoma, Washington.

Kenneth Davis, Executive Secretary, Oregon, Washington Council Lumber & Sawmill Workers, Seattle, Washington.

Puget Sound District Council Lumber & Sawmill Workers Union, Seattle, Washington.

William Bonallo, Secretary, Teamsters Union No. 699, Aberdeen, Washington.

Olivia Moore, Secretary, Culinary Alliance No. 567, Olympia, Washington.

Jessie M. Esalhorst, Secretary-treasurer, Beauticians Union Local No. 195A, Seattle, Washington.

W. L. Lamberton, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Dept. Store Office Employees, Local No. 22243, Seattle, Washington.

L. J. Gardiner, Secretary-treasurer Retail Food and Drug Clerks Local No. 1105, Seattle, Washington.

C. W. Williams, Secretary, Teamsters Local No. 601, Vancouver, Washington.

Lloyd Gregor, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local No. 251, Bellingham, Washington.

Ship Scalers Union, Seattle, Washington.

Kathleen Parker, Recording Secretary, Culinary Beverage Workers, Bellingham, Washington.

Herman Koeppen, Chas. Mentrin, President, Packing House Union Local No. 186, Seattle, Washington.

Cliffon Pelgum, Recording Secretary, Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union No. 2519, Seattle, Washington.

A. J. Ruhl, Secretary, Teamsters Union No. 690, Spokane, Washington.

A. J. Fraiser, Secretary, Bakers Union No. 74, Spokane, Washington.

A. J. Ruhl, Secretary, Warehousemen Union No. 334, Spokane, Washington.

O. J. Falkenberg, Secretary, Local No. 6, B. S. E. I. U., Seattle, Washington.

E. D. Quinn, Secretary-treasurer, Garage Employees Local No. 461, Tacoma, Washington.

A. F. O'Neill, Secretary, Boilermakers Union No. 104, Seattle, Washington.

W. L. Lamberton, General Organizer, Retail Department Store Employees Local Union No. 1207, Seattle, Washington.

H. H. McIntyre, Auto Mechanics Local No. 289, Seattle, Washington.

Grover Tracy, Financial Secretary, Cooks and Assistants Union No. 33, Seattle, Washington.

A. H. O'Brien, Secretary-Treasurer, Local No. 1404, Retail Clerks, Seattle, Washington.

L. H. Paque, Representative Flour & Cereal Union No. 19169 of the National Council of Grain Processors, Seattle, Washington.

A. H. O'Brien, Secretary-Treasurer, Local No. 1421, Retail Clerks, Seattle, Washington.

A. H. O'Brien, Secretary-treasurer, Local No. 299, Retail Clerks, Seattle, Washington.

Hilda O'Connor, Secretary, Laundry Workers Union Local No. 24, Seattle, Washington.

Ed Coester, Agent, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Seattle, Washington.

Teamsters Local No. 148 Wenatchee, Washington.

Eric Ratcliff, Secretary-Treasurer, Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees, Seattle, Washington.

Ernest Davies, President, Teamsters Union Local No. 174, Seattle, Washington.

I. A. Sandvigen, Business Agent, Machinists Local No. 79, Seattle, Washington.

B. I. Bowen, Secretary, Produce Drivers, Salesmen and Helpers Local No. 195, Seattle, Washington.

W. L. Glazier, Secretary-Treasurer, Warehousemen Union No. 117, Seattle, Washington.

B. I. Bowen, Secretary-treasurer, Taxicab Drivers, Seattle, Washington.

James P. Doran, Secretary, Newspaper Drivers No. 763, Seattle, Washington.

J. D. McEwen, Secretary, Bakery Salesmen Local No. 27, Seattle, Washington.

Stewart Setchfield, President, International Hod Carriers Building & Common Laborers Local No. 486, Olympia, Washington.

Machinists Lodge No. 1374, Vancouver, Washington.

J. B. Jackson, Secretary, Oyster Workers No. 20310, Lula Wild, Secretary, Fruit Cannery Workers Union No. 20228, Olympia, Washington.

Harry Satterlee, Secretary, Teamsters and Chauffeurs Union No. 313, Tacoma, Washington.

George P. Firth, Secretary, Office Workers Union No. 10360, Tacoma, Washington.

Astor L. Hilden, President, Olympia Building Service Employees No. 100, Olympia, Washington.

Cecil B. Dunlap, Secretary Retail Clerks Local No. 309, Olympia, Washington.

Arthur Longhurst, Business Agent, Butchers and Meat Cutters Local No. 151, Everett, Washington.

W. W. Westover, Secretary, Teamsters Local No. 378, Olympia, Washington.

J. R. Abbott, President, Painters Local No. 339, Everett, Washington.

Ed. W. Schultz, Business Representative, Auto Mechanics Local No. 1224, Everett, Washington.

James Ballew, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local No. 38, Everett, Washington.

Archie Carmichael, Business Agent, Building Service Employees Local Union No. 120, Everett, Washington.

W. C. Robinson, Secretary, Retail Clerks Local No. 448, Everett, Washington.

Zetta Faulstich, Secretary, Laundry Workers Local No. 34, Everett, Washington.

F. Warren Charlot, Secretary, Local No. 2580 Shingle Weavers, Everett, Washington.

R. Van Dyke, Business Representative, Plumbers and Steam Fitters Local No. 265, Everett, Washington.

Retail Clerks Local No. 631, Wenatchee, Washington.

Con Christoferson, Secretary, Max Barnett, Business Representative, Building, Construction and Hod Carriers Union No. 292, Everett, Washington.

Martin Hughes, Business Representative, Carpenters Local Union No. 562, Everett, Washington.

William Bangs, Secretary, Bricklayers and Masons Local No. 10, Everett, Washington.

O. R. McLain, President, Local No. 76, American Federation of Musicians, Seattle, Washington.

Jerry Goodrich, Secretary-Treasurer, The Culinary Workers and Bartenders Local No. 451, Everett, Washington.

E. J. Brown, Secretary, Carpenters Local Union No. 2205, Wenatchee, Washington.

A. S. Thompson, Secretary, Joint Council of Department Store Employees, Seattle, Washington.

Birt Showler, Teamsters Joint Council No. 36, Vancouver, B. C.

Engineers Local No. 606, Tacoma, Washington.

Cecil B. Dunlap, Retail Clerks, No. 629, Aberdeen, Washington.

W. G. Riddell, Representative, Roofers Local 54, Seattle, Washington.

Merrill Hyde, Secretary, Glass Bottle Blowers Branch 87, Seattle, Washington.

Sam S. Demoss, Secretary Ice Wagon Drivers Local 566, Seattle.

J. R. Onstott, Secretary, Laundry Drivers Local 566, Seattle.

Sam S. Demoss, Secretary, Retail Drivers 353, Seattle.

R. C. Brown, Secretary, Masters, Mates and Pilots Local 6, Seattle.

Gerald D. Wells, President, Local 493, American Federation of Musicians, Seattle.

J. J. Rohan, Secretary-Treasurer, Automobile Drivers and Demonstrators Local 882, Seattle.

Bret Fowler, Manager, Bakers of Washington, Inc., Seattle.

Gordon Lindsay, Secretary-Treasurer, Garage Employees Local 44, Seattle.

N. M. MacLeod, Secretary Local 239, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Seattle.

F. W. Monrean, Secretary, Seattle Building Trades Council.

H. E. Wheeler, Secretary, Teamsters Local 672, Bremerton, Washington.

R. E. Arthur, Secretary, Seattle Municipal Employees Local 457.

J. L. Elder, Financial Secretary, Division 557, Seattle Street Car Men's Union.

L. H. Kersop, President, Seattle Branch 79, National Association of Letter Carriers.

Don Edwards, Financial Secretary, Machinists Welders Local 1351, Seattle.

Jack McCloskey, Secretary, Shingle Weavers Local 2576, Hoquiam, Washington.

Allied Printing Trades Council, Seattle. John Boettiger, Publisher Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

John H. Jessup, Publisher Bremerton News Searchlight.

J. B. Wilcox, Editor The Labor Journal.

Frank W. Hull, President Seattle Hotel Association.

Elmer Johnston, President Vancouver Tourist Association.

Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

Robert A. Schroeder, Secretary Manager, Bremerton Chamber of Commerce.

Olympia Chamber of Commerce.

Spokane Chamber of Commerce.

David Levine, Robert H. Harlin, Seattle.

Delegate Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates, last year we gave notice at that time that we intended to invite you to come to our state in 1941. We are now here to extend that invitation. We have had the American Federation of Labor in the state of Washington once in 60 years. That time was 1913, 27 years ago. Every city on the Pacific Coast that is capable of handling a convention of this size has had the convention since that time, and some of them twice. We invite you this time to come to our state, and to a city where the building trades have had a 6-hour day and a 5-day week for over six years, and many of our organizations have brought about that short hour day, too; a city where the movement knows how to cooperate and where every organization in our industries works together and brings about a condition for the entire industry. We are asking you to come to a city, located in a State, where 6 per cent of all the water power of the United States is located and where it is being developed. We ask you to come out and look at the greatest project in the world—not in this country—in the world, where 10,500,000 cubic yards of concrete have been placed in the Coulee Dam and where we signed a contract three years ago whereby every organization on that dam has been organized under the American Federation of Labor. Even in Mason City, owned by the com-

pany, culinary and other work in Mason City has been organized.

We are asking you to come and see the scenic beauty of the state of Washington, and one of the most famous scenically beautiful cities in the United States. We believe it is our duty, and a pleasant duty, after having only once entertained the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to act as your hosts in the city of Seattle. We invite you to come and we will guarantee to you that we shall entertain the delegates and give you a real entertainment and try and show you the wonders of the northwest state.

President Green: The city of Seattle is nominated.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and delegates, in rising today to place in nomination a city for the entertainment of the delegates to the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor, I can but repeat the invitation that I extended in 1934, and those of you that were in attendance at the convention know that San Francisco is a city that knows how. We fulfilled every promise that was made at the Washington convention in taking care, not alone of physical welfare and entertainment, but the spiritual welfare of the delegates to that convention. All of the good ladies that were there know that the promises that I made to them at Washington were fulfilled, and everybody left that city with a good taste in their mouth, and they have been talking about it ever since. It is only that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stopped us from entertaining the delegates at that particular time to the fullest that some of the delegates were disappointed in our not being allowed to go ahead and give them all that we had, and that is what we are going to do when you come again.

My good friend, Jim Taylor, from the webfoot state of Washington, told you they had had the convention only once in 60 years. Whoever is awarded the convention, I hope they get it, and not get the hook as we did two years ago. The delegates assembled at Houston voted to go to San Francisco, and the delegates did not have an opportunity to reverse that decision, but someone else did it for them, and they put us in a joint in Cincinnati where Jesse James, in his darkest day, would not have done to us what they did. He had a horse; those birds didn't have anything.

So I am inviting you to San Francisco, the City of St. Francis, the gateway to the Orient and Hawaii. Those of you with a little time on your hands can enjoy yourselves on the sands at Walkiki where you can view the shredded skirts and everything else.

Mr. Chairman, Brother Jim mentioned the Coulee Dam, the great engineering project. We have two great projects, two of the greatest in the world, the perfection of engineering ability built 100 per cent

by union labor, and when the delegates to your convention come to San Francisco, you need have no fear of having union service in every particular from the taxicab to the hotel bellboy. You will not be going up alleys and narrow streets to avoid your business agent, wanting to know why you are patronizing a non-union joint. It is all union in San Francisco, and no one knows that better than the culinary workers represented at this convention.

If there is anything in the union movement, it is keeping of the faith. That faith was breached two years ago when that convention was taken away from us and moved to Cincinnati, and our people do not feel very good about it, and they have instructed me to come here and again ask you to come to San Francisco and make good to us on the promise made us two years ago. We invite you to a city where you will all be happy, to a city that has a harbor that is large enough to accommodate all of the fleets of the world, and you will not have to pass a civil service examination to get yourself a drink, either. There are no dispensaries in San Francisco and no permits to be issued.

Come to us and you will have the time of your life. Not only does San Francisco invite you but the whole state of California invites you. The State Federation of Labor with 350,000 members, and the San Francisco Labor Council, which is the direct representative of the American Federation of Labor in that city with 75,000 members, want you and those of you who were there know the kind of treatment you will get when you come back.

So, I say, come to San Francisco!

Delegate Loring, Tennessee State Federation of Labor: When coming down here as a delegate to your convention I was asked by the Memphis Trades and Labor Council to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold their next convention in Memphis in 1941.

The Mayor of Memphis has extended to the American Federation of Labor an invitation to you through me, that he would be very happy if you would hold your next convention in Memphis. The Chamber of Commerce has also extended an invitation.

Possibly we do not have any big dams in Memphis, for we are just an ordinary people and living in an ordinary city, but I say that there are no better people in the world than in Memphis. We have the spirit of cooperation. Possibly we do not have the large engineering projects but Memphis enjoys possibly something of the things that other cities in the world do not have.

The Chamber of Commerce and the Memphis Trades and Labor Council have a most cordial relationship. We cooperate. They give us aid and assistance whenever they can.

People in the dual organization wanted to have a convention in Memphis. They were not welcome, although we were tolerant, and when they came—they did have their convention there—we gave them the privilege to speak. We kept up the name of Memphis, the place of good abode. I repeat they were not welcome but we permitted them to come and were courteous to them.

I intended when we came here to place the name of Memphis before you for selection, but I understand the sentiment of the delegates here is to go West next year. You are welcome to hold your convention in our city at any time and we will be mighty happy to have you at any time you care to come. I am not asking the convention to vote on Memphis this year.

Delegate Neil Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor: As President of the California State Federation of Labor I wish to repeat the invitation to come to San Francisco given you by Delegate O'Connell. I do not have to repeat any statements of Delegate O'Connell. I think they were quite conclusive. He told you the city is thoroughly organized and prepared to receive a convention many times larger than this convention.

I believe we have some first class hotels comparable with any city in this country, with sufficient accommodations, with convention halls, and I am sure you have in your files mentioned by Secretary Meany invitations from the Governor, the Mayor of San Francisco, plus various other organizations in the Bay area. I again repeat and hope that you will accept the invitation of Delegate O'Connell and make good the loss we sustained last year when you went to Cincinnati instead of coming to San Francisco.

Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Body: I rise to second the nomination of San Francisco for the 1941 convention, and in addition to what has been said I would like to add a practical suggestion or rather call attention to a few practical situations that the delegates will find when they go to San Francisco. First, it is the one convention city in the United States that does not cost all of your money for taxi fare to get from the hotels to the convention hall. You can find hotels in walking distance of any place and all of the hotels in San Francisco are unionized.

Much has been said in nominating cities of the surrounding territory, the beautiful scenery and the accomplishments by man. Something has been said about the scenic beauty of Washington, the bridges you can cross. You can come to San Francisco and we will show you bridges made by union labor that do not blow down.

You do not need to be afraid to send your folks across those bridges because they are good ones, and Mr. Chairman, I am just told by my friends from Washington that that particular bridge I referred to was

made by union labor, of which we are proud.

San Francisco offers much more, Mr. Chairman, than physical entertainment, and of importance to the American Federation of Labor. I think the fight of the C. I. O. and Communism is centered in the State of California and I think it would be well to come there and invade the stronghold of Secretary Perkins' "bad boy Bridges."

Now they told you a lot about the scenic beauty of other sections of the country. There are all kinds of things of interest surrounding San Francisco so that you may bring your family and they may go there while you are at the convention. San Francisco can offer more to the delegate with an ordinary expense account than any city I know of, and in fairness to them and because of what was taken away from them two years ago you should go there in 1941.

Delegate McDonough, Operative Plasterers: Mr. Chairman, as a real native son, I wish to subscribe to what has been said by Brothers O'Connell, Haggerty and Buzzell, and I wish to say to the delegates that San Francisco is the only city in the United States air conditioned by nature. I would be glad to see this convention meet there in 1941.

Delegate Kearney, Massachusetts Central Body, Boston: I intend to offer a happy medium to stop this trouble on the West Coast, and to say that we do not need to go to see any dams in Seattle or structural wonders in San Francisco. If that is all these contenders have, they offer very poor excuses for our holding our convention in their cities.

I wish to call attention that for four years we postponed our October convention to meet in November after the election to avoid politics, believe it or not. Some of us do not pay any attention to it, but others are very much interested in politics. How things change! Let me say, Mr. President, that I am very glad that the democratic attitude exists in this organization, where we still take both sides.

Now, we have heard today about hospitality. Hospitality is written sometimes by Chambers of Commerce to tell about their cities. There is only one city in this nation that is hospitable, and hospitable by the grace of God—the Irish heart of the city of Boston, that no Chamber of Commerce can write. It is already written there, and you who were there in 1930 have still fond memories. And then again I hear also the beautiful esthetic descriptions of these cities, the beautiful scenery and the wonderful parks that you must visit. Ah, these are only young cities, while our, 300 years of age, is written in the tablets of history of this great nation. Not only are we hospitable, but as Sir Walter Citrine said on yesterday, those great names of art, science, music, literature, all are contained in the city of Boston—the hub of the universe. So, Mr. President, we have been told that they do not need any influence in Seattle, because they know how.

They do not need us to tell them anything in San Francisco, because they are 100 per cent union, so what good will we do in going to either San Francisco or Seattle?

Now, Mr. President, there is influence in this convention. It has a great influence that can spread its value, so wherever we carry this great machinery, this great parliament of labor, it is bound to reflect its influences upon the people in that area. Then why not bring it up into old New England states, where we need you to spread the gospel of your influence to help make our labor movement grow?

There are no KKK's in Boston. The only KKK which we have are the Kelleys' the Kellehers and the Kanes, and we want you to come and tread the old cobblestones of our city where the white man and the black man died upon the front of our old State House, where the first shot was fired that was heard around the world and reverberated through the Thirteen Colonies and came back and proclaimed that those in Boston must fight. And, oh, how things have changed! When you stand upon the parapets of Dorchester House and hear General Washington tell the British to leave our city. Oh, how things have changed! I have invited Sir Walter Citrine to come to Boston to speak to the Irish hearts of that city, and he will get a splendid welcome. How things have changed!

I remember two years ago when the old Irish tavern keeper put a sign behind his bar, "No war talk in this saloon—to hell with England." Oh, we have changed so much in recent years! But it is an old traditional city and what a magnificent place it will be for this body of laboring people with a united movement to meet for their convention, and rededicate ourselves in that old city to the perpetuation of our institution that first was commenced there. Oh, I can hear some one say, "By God, that fellow made a good speech, but it is in the bag."

I still have faith in democracy and I do not think it is in the bag, and when I said that I would nominate Boston, one delegate for whom I had a great deal of regard said, "You cannot get that convention unless you have Tobin and Hutcheson and two or three others to support you." I deny that. That might be true, although I have discovered that there is a little politics played here, and maybe I am ignorant of how to play politics. But I will stand equal to the old gentleman from Seattle with one vote, and that old Galway man from San Francisco with one vote, for I still have my vote. And with all the state federations that promised me their votes, I felt Boston would win, and then when they handed me the roll call I became suddenly weak.

Now, like Seattle, we withdrew our nomination last year. Seattle did not withdraw because they were doing you any favor. Boston withdrew, too, because, as I read some of the history of the Federation, I discovered that both Seattle and Boston were in the same climatic condition, and it looked like it was cold for both cities in November, and I decided New Orleans was warmer, and

so did you. So, Seattle was no different than Boston in withdrawing.

Now, when O'Connell came here, I did not think he was interested in bringing the convention to San Francisco, because he did not decide to write you a letter until he got to the Jung Hotel here in New Orleans, and he wrote you a letter on the stationery of the Jung Hotel. So I have reason to believe that possibly he made up his mind after he came here. However, let me say that the delegate from Memphis said his Mayor wants you to come. Well, he may be a good Mayor, but our Mayor is a union man. The Mayor of Boston is the son of a carpenter who was one of the early organizers of the Carpenters' Union, and for almost 48 years paid his dues into the Carpenters' Union.

Our Police Commissioner is a union man. His father was for many years head of the City and State Employees' Union. So if there is any cooperative philosophy in invitations from Mayors, I hope it should change the minds of the Carpenters' delegates if they have not made up their minds already. So we ask you to come to Boston, not because the Chamber of Commerce wants it, because we know that most organizations want you to come and spend your money and fill our hotels. We would like you to come to spread your influence throughout the New England states. There is a fertile field for organization in our section, and your great influence can be of much help to us. As long as three months ago our State Federation of Labor decided to extend you this invitation to come to Boston, and as I said, tread these old cobblestones of historical recollections. Come and breathe the atmosphere of the old pioneers of this nation; come and give us hope and inspiration and keep the great heart of Irish hospitality constantly pulsating, and do not let us die out.

Delegate Covert, Toronto, Canada: I rise at this time to place in nomination the City of Toronto for your convention in 1941. The delegate from Boston practically struck the keynote I would be using myself. We ask this convention to come to Toronto for the influence you will spread. I don't think I need take up a great deal of your time to impress upon you just how much Canada does need you.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Toronto has instructed me to use every endeavor possible to bring the convention to Toronto. I have in this request the backing of 65,000 organized workers. We are not thoroughly organized, neither is the Province. We need your influence to assist us against the dual organization. We need you to assist us against the struggle we are making for the freedom of mankind. We Canadians are in a fight for our existence, in a fight for that of the mother country, England. Every man, every woman, every child is in the fight. Canada has a national income of four and one-half billion dollars a year. A billion and a half of that income is now being spent on war. You have invitations from the Mayor and the administration of the City of Toronto, from the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario,

Mitchell Hepburn, who is a great friend of the members of the American Federation of Labor. He has fought the C. I. O. from its very inception and upheld the principles which the American Federation of Labor stands for in Toronto and in the Province of Ontario.

I am not going to take part in the politics of this convention that have been mentioned. If you who have the voting power in your possession, in your wisdom feel the time is not opportune for you to come in 1941, then I take it upon myself with those I represent to assure you that we will want you in 1942.

I will quote a few words from the Minister of the Foreign Exchange Board:

"I need not emphasize here the need of the United States dollar with which to buy war material in the United States other than to repeat that it is a matter of national importance. With that end in view it is definitely a war effort. From the experience of the past year we feel we shall have to double our effort to accumulate United States dollars to meet the needs of war times."

We are not ashamed to ask your support in these trying times. As the Governor of Louisiana, at the opening of this convention, said, it is an uphill struggle. We know it is. We know we are having a struggle, and God knows where we will come out, but I will say for the Canadian people that we will struggle on until we reach the top, and when the struggle is over we will see the sun rise over the mountains and valleys of the earth, peopled with people who are free to work and play according to the principles this organization stands for. If you will send the convention either in 1941 or 1942 to Toronto, we will feel the symbolism we have heard so often in this convention—you are behind us with everything in your power.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I will not attempt to compete with my dear friend Kearney from Boston in Ontario, nor will I attempt to compete with him so far as the city I am in favor of, San Francisco, is concerned, nor so far as history, culture or cobble stones are concerned, because we have no cobble stones in San Francisco. Our streets are paved, paved with union material by union men.

I just want to say briefly, fellow delegates, that the question of aiding localities by bringing conventions of the American Federation of Labor here, there and yon has two sides. It has a positive value and a negative value. The positive value of the bringing of the American Federation of Labor conventions to communities is to comply with the dictum of the American Federation of Labor to reward your friends. We have heard that said so often, bring the convention to our city and you will help us organize. We have done that innumerable times, yet alas, when the convention was over we could not see that the convention had brought any considerable impetus in the organization work of the city.

We, too, in San Francisco are confronted with our bosses from time to time when we want to renew our contracts, and we are told, "Why don't you give us the convention once in awhile and bring a few hundred thousands of dollars, spend them in a city that is 100 per cent fair to your people?"

If you come to San Francisco you will be rewarding those who have dealt with us 100 per cent, not only in the last year but the year before and for many years. Whenever we approach them with demands for increases in wages, they tell us as I mentioned before that they would gladly advance our wages, providing they can see where the slogan of the A. F. of L. to reward your friends holds good in the selection of the city in which to hold the convention.

Now, fellow delegates, you have been told that San Francisco is 100 per cent union. As a resident of that city for 36 years I can verify that, and you have been there before, you can verify it yourself. I ask you not to be swayed by history, poetry and many other things, but look the thing square in the face. Reward your friends. Give the people who are giving your people a decent living under union conditions a chance to reap some of the reward that is so justly earned and to which they are entitled. Bring the convention in 1941 to San Francisco.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: I rise to second the nomination of a city in Canada in which to hold the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor, because of the fact that I am not speaking on the question of dollars and cents. In an address made by President Green to this convention a few days ago he made the remark that in case Hitler and his aides took Canada the United States would defend Canada, and I am sure that the entire nation welcomed this statement of President Green.

I believe the American Federation of Labor will have a real welcome in Canada in 1941. I want you to realize that even today we have some relations right now, and I refer to this joint defense board which exists today between the United States and Canada.

Therefore, I believe that the entire nation is looking forward to the A. F. of L. coming there next year. The Trades and Labor Congress is inviting you to come. I believe the workers in Canada are looking forward to the A. F. of L. convention being held there in 1941.

Therefore, I second the nomination of the city of Toronto.

Delegate McGuern, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I rise to second the nomination for the city of Seattle. I don't want to criticize any other city that has been nominated for the 1941 convention. In the State Federation convention held in Washington this year the State Federation of Labor went on record instructing our President to come to this convention and to invite the 1941 convention to the city of Seattle.

Listening to Secretary Meany on the number of telegrams, I believe he stated there

were 127 telegrams from Seattle. That can't all be from the Chamber of Commerce. I want to inform the delegates as far as the hotels and restaurants, department stores, or any place that you want to find any article is concerned, you will be supplied by union clerks. We are 100 per cent union in Seattle and vicinity, and if you move over to Tacoma, 32 miles away, you will find the same conditions prevailing. The same is true of Portland. We are now working on the retail clerks there.

As far as the scenery in Seattle is concerned it is natural. I happen to have been born in the city of San Francisco and I moved to Seattle about forty years ago. We have without any doubt the finest labor movement there is in the United States, barring none. We invite you there, not because of what we want you to buy or what you are going to spend. We want to show you something, and we are asking you to come to Seattle for your 1941 convention.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I desire to place in nomination for the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor a city that will provide a happy medium and avoid the necessity of open warfare on the Pacific Coast between San Francisco and Seattle. I cannot compete in this one-lung brigade that has placed the various cities in nomination, in offering all of the advantages of some of the cities that have been mentioned. We haven't any galloping bridges in Detroit, nor have we any Harry Bridges in Detroit, and we cannot provide any rocking-cradle emotions for the speakers on the floor of the convention, such as we were treated to on the floor in San Francisco the last time we met there. Neither can we provide the enveloping fog in the wee hours of the afternoon to see the delegates home, when they may have a little difficulty after enjoying the spirits of the City of the Golden West.

But we do have advantages. Detroit is the industrial city of the world. It is one of the best organized cities in America today. I recall when we were in the city of Atlantic City, Detroit was mentioned for the 1925 convention, and our dear departed friend from the Switchmen's Union, Brother Connors said, "For God's sake, don't go to Detroit. I just received word that the Mayor of that city had his nose frozen and his ears frost bitten." And when you came to Detroit you will recall the delegates sat in the warm atmosphere of our fair city in their shirt sleeves, and we presented Brother Connors with a seal-skin cap to keep his ears warm while he was in that city. He said, "I hope the convention comes back again, so I will get a fur coat."

If it is desirable that the delegates have an opportunity to fraternize and meet with our Canadian brothers, by all means come to Detroit, because I think we have half of Canada living in the city of Detroit. They make good citizens and good trade unionists. You will enjoy the hospitality of Detroit, and if you want to help Canada win the war by spending your money, come to Detroit and

visit Canada for a nickel ferry across our river.

Something has been said of the advantage of taking this convention to a locality where it is needed. I think it was my friend, Brother Kearney, of Boston. We are not as old as the city of Boston. We are on a little higher plane from a cultural standpoint. We have better educational institutions. We have more Irish and a bigger Corktown district than all of Boston put together. And we have some cobblestone streets still leading down to the river front. But the city of Detroit has been heralded by some as the center of the C. I. O. territory because of their organization in one of our industries. I wish you men would bring your convention to Detroit so that you could learn firsthand the accomplishments of the A. F. of L. forces in that city, where we now have upwards of 200 local unions in the Central body and where the membership exceeds by far that of any Central body that has invited you to their city here today.

Likewise you can see for yourselves, so that you can tell your members back home just what the accomplishments of the C. I. O. are outside of one industry. You will know at firsthand that the dual unionism and competition that we have in our city in the building trades industry means that those who have accepted the invitation of our good friends, now have the privilege of working for \$9.00 a day in the skilled trades of the building industry, under the C. I. O. They have a union of bakers and bakery drivers in one of our large bakeries, and those who are employed in that bakery are working for from 30 to 60 cents per hour less than the wage scale of the American Federation of Labor in that same city. You will be able to see firsthand that outside of one baking industry they have made practically no progress in organizing, because the A. F. of L. unions in Detroit have been able and have given a service to the wage workers of that city that keeps them out of the field of the other trades.

Detroit was one of the first cities in America to afford an opportunity to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union to sit down with the operators of the national hotel chains in this country, and it was one of the first cities in America where that International Union achieved full recognition. If you come to Detroit you will not only stay in first class hotels, but in strictly union hotels, operating under closed-shop agreements with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union.

So, Mr. Chairman, I offer as a happy compromise to those of you who love beautiful scenery in a city of wide streets and the kind of hospitality that Detroit can and does give its visitors, and an opportunity to see Canada free from the hazards of falling bridges and dense fogs, come to the city of Detroit, where life is worthwhile.

Delegate Clark, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union: Secretary Meany reported earlier

to the convention that several invitations had been received to hold the convention in the city of St. Louis. While I certainly cannot yield to any of the cities that have been nominated and admit that they have even nearly as good accommodations as we have in the city of St. Louis, I want at this time to announce to the delegates that the city is not in the race.

Delegate Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I am sure that everyone would like to go to most any city that has been placed in nomination. I think that wherever we go we will be received cordially and we will leave with a unanimous vote of thanks. The only thing I am disappointed about is the inherent modesty of my colleague, Senator Kearney, from Boston. If he were to have come here and done justice to the city of Boston, he would have been still speaking on this floor, for he would have told you that last year we took an afternoon off to watch games in the World Series at the ball park. He would have told you that next year when you come to Boston, you will see the Red Sox playing against the National League champions. He would also have told you that there is no city in nomination here that can furnish the clam bakes that Boston will have ready for you when you come to our city, and he would also have told you that on this convention floor there are seated more prominent labor leaders from that great city of Boston than from any other city in the Union. He would have also asked that all those loyal sons of Boston stand in their boots and play that little game of politics, so that we will see you in October of 1941 in Boston.

Delegate Beauregard, Providence, Rhode Island, Central Federated Union: I have been instructed by the organized labor movement in the State of Rhode Island to place in nomination the city of Providence. I think you have already been told all you want to hear about the breweries and the race tracks and everything, and we have all that to tell you, too, but I don't think I want to tell you now.

Delegate Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: Mr. President, I rise simply to call for the question on the matter before the house.

President Green: The Secretary will announce the names of the cities nominated for the next year's convention.

Secretary Meany: The cities nominated are Seattle, Washington; San Francisco, California; Boston, Massachusetts; Toronto, Canada; Detroit, Michigan, and Providence, Rhode Island.

President Green: We will vote on them in the order named. First, we will try by a show of hands and see how we proceed. All in favor of the city of Seattle, the first one named, will hold up their right hands.

While the vote was being counted Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, said:

In the whole history of this Federation, where are there two or more cities nominated,

as far as I can remember there has always been a roll call. I don't think you can decide this by a yea or nay vote or by a show of hands, and I ask for a roll call on this important question.

President Green: The roll call can be ordered only when a sufficient number of delegates demand the roll call. I think it is 10 per cent of the delegates present. I am not sure but that we may be able to decide it without the roll call.

Delegate Tobin: I don't think you can. Most of the delegates have left the hall.

President Green: Are there a sufficient number who want the roll call? Please hold up your rights hands.

The Secretary announced that more than 10 per cent of the delegates demand a roll call. Therefore, it is so ordered and we will proceed with the roll call. As the roll is called the delegates will vote for the city they desire for the 1941 convention.

Vice-President Rickert: Before calling the roll, may I ask this question? Is it the intention of the presiding officer to adjourn this convention upon the conclusion of the roll call for this evening?

President Green: The convention will automatically adjourn, because we are now past the hour of adjournment and the motion was that the rules be suspended and we stay in session until this question is settled.

Vice-President Rickert: All right. I just wanted to advise the delegates that they would not need to sit around here expecting the convention to continue.

President Green: There are several committees to report and it would be inhuman to ask you to stay in session any longer. I think we can finish by noon tomorrow.

ROLL CALL VOTE ON CONVENTION CITY

Secretary Meany proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

SEATTLE — Mullaney, Sickles, Myrup, Schmidt, Beisel, McGuern, Birthright, Merlino, Reagan (P.), Crane, Robinson (J. B.), Horn, Kramer, Franklin, (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter, Schmitt (J. P.), Nacey, Haggerty, Prewitt, Becker, Bates, Campbell (J.), Moran, O'Donnell (Thos.), Nolan, Dale, Morrin, Lyons (J. P.), Gayton, Murray (B. A.), Strickland (C. F.), McFetridge, Van Heck, Cooper (Wm.), Fletcher, Smedberg, Grady (E.), Knight, Tremblay, Barney, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (Wm. L.), Hutcheson (M. A.), Duffy (Frank), Hanson (C.), Sand, Weyler, Nichols, Roberts (R. E.), Schoenberg, Gallo, Strunk, Van Horn (R. E.), Harrison (G.), Ziegler, Levron, Foster, Desepthe, Coulter, Brown (E.

J.), Bugniazet, Paulsen, Manning (D. A.), Milne, Barker (G. X.), Schreiber, Maloney (W. E.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Bennema, Imhahn, Fay, Delaney (J. J.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Rickert, Adamski, McCurdy, Slater (G. C.), Brooks (W. R.), Maloney (J.), Campbell (W. W.), Clutter, Wallace (Wm.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Delegation (1153 votes), McSorley, Hagen, Matthews (W.), Donovan (Wm. J.), Thomas (W. G.), Byers, Peterson (L. M.), Gainer, Gorman (W. J.), Finnian, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Ryan (J. F.), Owens (J. R.), Dwyer (M. J.), Brown (H. W.), Alfiaz, Burrows (D. M.), Robinson (W. F.), Lengel, Jurruas, Millman, Towle, Jones (T. L.), Farnan, Clay, McCarthy (Wm.), Conway (J. J.), Scully (J. J.), Byron (R.), Moriarty (J. T.), Close, Ryan (J. J.), Weber, Petrillo, Bagley, Riccardi, Steeper, Canavan (Edw.), Masterton, Burke (T. E.), Meany, Rau, Quirk, Duffy (J. M.), McGilivray, Wheatley, Allison (D.), Draley, Berry, Orr, Googe, Sahuque, Dunwoody, Browne (G. E.), Krouse, Green (T. J.), Brock (E. J.), Murtha, Zander, Noxon, McCann (J. F.), Chapman (G. W.), Sumner (C. A.), Givens, Cullen (P. J.), Counts, Kuenzli, Fewkes, Borchardt, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Wilson (Geo.), O'Rourke (J.), Brewster (F. W.), Lester, Valente, Coyne (J. P.), Ornburn, Brownlow (J. A.), Morgan (J.), Locher, McElhinny, Marcante, Lyons (T. J.), Donnelly (T. J.), Martinez, Acreman, Taylor (J. A.), Nagorsne, Domico, Parks, Herstein, Getrus, Martel, Cushing, Nettles, O'Neill (H. S.), McMahon (B. R.), Cameron (J. W.), Friedrich, Schad, Quinn, Sullivan (J. F.), Hurley, Cobb, Zima, Anderson (G.), Mungovan, O'Reilly (C.), Coleman (F. J.), Dixon (Wm.), representing 25,629 votes.

SAN FRANCISCO—Gillmore, Cary (Irvan), Aldred, Dowell (W. E.), Kiebler, Obergfell, Kugler, Hauser, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), George (L. E.), Horner (W. I.), O'Connor (J. F.), Murphy (M. J.), Quarles, Dubinsky, Zimmerman, Bialis, Stulberg, Gelo, Kaplan, Matyas, Cook (H. H.), Burns (J. B.), Heffner, Zaritsky, Glover, Herahkowitz, Rose (A.), Mendelowitz, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Hove, Etchison, D'Andrea, Odum, Hotel and Restaurant Delegation (867 votes), Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Jimeron, McCoy (J. P.), Maxwell, Malone (John), Stevenson (H.), Delaney (G. P.), Bossi, Myles (James), Lindelof, Swick, Oliver (John), Madsen, Meehan (J. P.), Wallace (Arthur), Collier (M. J.), Donlin, McDonough (M. J.), Rooney, Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, Bengel, Mischo, Ren, Coughlin (J. P.), Jones (George W.), Gavlak, Lundenberg, Stephens (C. J.), Biggs, Buckley (L. J.), Sumner (Chas. A.), Smith (W. Warren), Quinn (James H.), Day (Paula), Blodgett, Buzzell, O'Connell (John A.), O'Gorman (M. A.), Goodwin (E. A.), representing 8,333 votes.

BOSTON—Mara (E. J.), Doyle (J. J.), MacDonald (J. C.), Comfort, Allen (T.), Huggins, Addy, Lambton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Killen, Meinz, Gardner (V. O.), Mahoney (D. J.), Powers (F. B.), Tay-

lor (K. I.), Kearney (J. J.) Peterson (H.), representing 1,483 votes.

TORONTO—Baer (F. W.), Richardson (G. J.), Petris, Driscoll (Jos.), representing 893 votes.

PROVIDENCE—Fallon (Wm. J.), Reisdorf, Buffington, representing 47 votes.

DETROIT—no votes.

NOT VOTING—Behncke, Abernathy, Whitehead, Gross (W. S.), Greenwald, Minaden, Zitello, Wallace (C. D.), Rosemund, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton (J.), Shanley, England, Durian, Foley, Meade, Quinn (B. G.), Bishop (I. W.), Riehl, Bruck, Castro, Ozanic, Lynch (G. Q.), Rehlb, Laderman, Britton, Kelsay, Randolph (A. F.), Webster (M. P.), Bennett (J. F.), Strickland (H. W.), Harvey (C. M.), Warfel, Winter, Lewis (Jos.), Cashen, Lundergan, Hoffmann (S. B.), Rota, Heini, Frey, Jewell, Hare, Hocott, Egan (J. J.), Hoyt (W.), Soderstrom, Mullen (C. H.), Brown (J. J.), Williams (E. H.), Frost, Lawson (G. W.), Graham (J. D.), Brewer (R. M.), Barry (J. L.), Wright (O. G.), Fink, Hathaway, Nickerson, McDevitt, Grist, Loring, Rossano, Cairns, Pearce (R. N.), Finch, Burr, Gresty, Johnson (D. L.), Herrmann (L. M.), Cobb (E.), Bourg, Beaudion, Park (J. W.), Touchette, Burger (W. B.), Ruddick, Johnson (Chester), Cuthbert (T. R.), Augustino, Hurst, Gooch, Lenehan, Bulard, Beck (G. E.), Inge, La Tour, Fix, Swink, Soutter, Olson, Nischwitz, Van Fossan, Costas, Bailey (A. L.), Downie (T. R.), Lindberg, Doll, Cauley, Labit, McBride (A. S.), Fritz, Ahmore, Byars, Brough (R. L.), Grosser, O'Brien, Farrell (C.), Baird, Mayo, Reid (John), Graham (F. T.), Taylor (M. S.), LeBow, Crist, Brown (R. F.), Fritz, Jr., Baker (A. P.), Merchant (I. L.), Cagle, Smith

(Earl), Koutnik, Dekoning, Baer (J. G.), Moore (O. C.), Draper, Neary, Patt, Lord (Sam), Burch (F.), Howe (H. E.), Beauregard, Powers (J.), Bower (A. P.), DeYoung, Krug, Welsh (W. S.), Clark (J. P.), Kenyon, Lloyd (T. J.), Taylor (Rebecca), Sutherland, Mason (A.), Shryock, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Verink, McKenna (G. E.), Sullivan (W. E.), Froehlich, Covert, Hodges (O. A.), Edwards (J. A.), Mulcahey, Harper (J. A.), Houghton (J. T.), Stewart (R.), Krohn, Devine, Higgins, Morley, Rubin, Williams (A.), Bishop (A.), Lang (F.), Waugh, Angus, Hollander, Smith (E. L.), Gleich, Sullivan (M. J.), Auttersen, Keller (C.), Weston, King (G.), Pratt (M.), Younker (W. A.), James (O. S.), Pierce (A. M.), Holloway, Turner (A.), Sams, Haggerty (C. J.), Midgett, Hassell, Barnes (G.), Simpson (L.), Adams (H. E.), Archer, Green (Wm.), McCall (J. W.), Tunnage, Orr (J. L.), Federman, Gallagher (P. J.), Kane (G. J.), Friedman (H.), Wills (C. F.), Barrett, (J. F.), Patton (F. W.), Boone, Groner, Roberts (M. E.), McNally, (F.), Levering, Culpepper, Hanly (D.), Toman, McGhee (C.), Bregante, Verble, McGhee (A. J.), O'Neill (J.), Cilento, Saltzman, Hood (W.), Beck (H.), Taylor (J. C.), Collins (R. D.), Lufrano, Grossman (J. M.), Barnes (J.), DiGuardo, Nagel (E. C.), Pross (B. F.), Citrine, Jamieson (E. A.), representing 2,317 votes.

President Green: The city of Seattle, having received a majority of the votes of the delegates of the convention, is declared the city for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1941.

The convention will stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

At 7:15 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30, a. m., Friday, November 29, 1940.

Ninth Day — Friday Morning Session

New Orleans, Louisiana,
November 29, 1940.

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The invocation this morning will be given by the Rev. Glenn L. Sneed, Pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Glenn L. Sneed, Pastor,
Westminster Presbyterian
Church)

Our Father, Thou who are the creator and preserver of the heavens and the earth, the source of all wisdom, light, and truth, we thank Thee for all the wise provisions that Thou hast made for all the children of men.

We remember with gratitude that Jesus said "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." Grant to help us to be worthy co-workers with God. As Thou didst work with a noble purpose and kindly interest in the children of men, help us always to work with a worthy purpose and friendly interest in man.

To this end we invoke Thy blessing upon this convention. May all who own and all who use the tools of production work with the purpose of serving the needs of man.

As we contend for our rights, may we also show a willingness to bear our responsibilities.

In these troublous days of war and in the day of peace may all men of good will find a way to work together for the good of all men everywhere.

May the American Federation of Labor join hands and hearts with all the constructive builders of the world in the making of a better world.

Forgive our sins and help us to be strong in the power of the Master Workman of the race, Jesus Christ, the Carpenter, Thy Son, and our Savior and Lord. We ask in His name, Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for a report on resolutions presented by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Secretary Meany presented the following report:

The Executive Council, having considered resolutions presented to it by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, submits the following as a record of its disposition of such resolutions and as is required by constitutional provision.

Warehouse Employees Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Maryland, proposing representation of Federal Labor Unions on convention committees. This is referred to the President for consideration.

Warehouse Employees Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Maryland. Proposal to amend constitution in regard to resolutions submitted by Federal Unions. No valid or justified reason has been presented to alter or change the present practice and the proposal is, therefore, disapproved.

Warehouse Employees Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Maryland. Proposing granting of international charter to Warehouse Employees. Jurisdiction of this type of work has been granted to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. Therefore, this resolution is disapproved.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Proposing amendment to Social Security Act to reduce age qualification. Referred to the Social Security Committee.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Federal Labor Union No. 18546, Kenosha, Wisconsin, have presented resolutions proposing discontinuance of one cent assessment. The convention has already acted on this subject.

Railroad Station Porters Union No. 22351, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20409, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees Union No. 17658, Portsmouth, Virginia.

Union Terminal Brotherhood of Baggage and Mail Handlers Union No. 21019, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20277, Savannah, Georgia.

Southeastern Express Employees Union No. 20184, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Southern Railway Freight Handlers Union No. 20232, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Southern Railway Freight Handlers Union No. 20258, Richmond, Virginia.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20338, Wilmington, Delaware.

Station Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitors Union No. 20290, Kansas City, Missouri.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20023, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Freight Handlers Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20405, Chicago, Illinois.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees Union No. 20237, Richmond, Virginia.

Express Employees Union No. 18064, Chicago, Illinois.

Baggagemen's Union No. 20337, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kansas.

L. & N. Freight Handlers Union No. 22092, Louisville, Kentucky.

Norfolk and Western Freight Handlers Union No. 21750, Roanoke, Virginia.

L. & N. Freight Handlers Union No. 21808, Birmingham, Alabama.

Freight Handlers Union No. 20331, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Resolutions received from the above local unions deal with protests against transferring of local union members to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The Executive Council has considered these several protests and finds no justified reason for them and, therefore, these protests have been disallowed.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 20793 vs. Retail Clerks, Los Angeles, California. Referred to the President.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 20798 vs. Railway Clerks, Los Angeles, California. Referred to the President.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, California, protests against attitude of officials of Twenty-First Regional District of National Labor Relations Board. Referred to the President.

Office Employees Union No. 20732, Chicago, Illinois, relating to the American Federation of Office Employees International Council. Referred to the President.

Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, opposing poll tax. The convention having acted on this subject, no further action required.

With regard to resolutions presented by railroad station porters' unions, freight handlers, and others, Delegate Randolph, Sleeping-Car Porters, said:

Mr. Chairman, is it possible for the freight handlers to make some comment

on these particular resolutions at this time? We have about 25 of the freight handlers here, President Green.

President Green: After the report is submitted we will be glad to afford them an opportunity to make comment, although you know that the constitution provides that resolutions of this kind go to the Executive Council for definite action. I will be very glad to hear from them as soon as the report is submitted.

Under the rules of the convention this report becomes automatically adopted. However, the Chair will recognize Delegate McGhee, Railroad Station Porters.

Delegate McGhee, Railroad Station Porters No. 22351: Mr. Chairman, we find that the Executive Council has decided that the group of men designated as railroad station porters has no good reason for making protest to this body in regard to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks assuming jurisdiction over them. Now we feel just the opposite in this situation, because we believe that the method under which the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have taken us over is unjustifiable. Ever since I have come to this convention the idea has been drilled into my head that we found here democracy in action, and certainly if the facts are considered in the case relative to these porters being taken over into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, it seems to me to be highly reasonable to assume that the statement relative to democracy is not being practiced here.

In the first place, I think we ought to consider the factors involved in this case before the action of this committee is accepted by this body. Several years ago, in 1934, after the amendment of the Railway Labor Act that gave railway employees the right to organize without interference from the employer, the Red Caps began to organize themselves. At that particular time nobody saw fit to take up the cause of these men. As a result of that fact these men were thrown to themselves, and they have been organizing men over the various systems of the country. After they were organized we found we were faced with the fact that the carriers or the companies did not respect the certification of the Railway Labor Board, holding that inasmuch as the railroads made the claim that this type or class of workers were not considered employees, we did not come within the benefits of the Railway Labor Act.

This was a most critical time. Nobody saw fit to take up our case, and even though we had just right to complain of grievances, nobody at that time from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks appeared to take our case before the proper tribunal and get for us the rights that we believed we were entitled to under the law.

As a result of that fact some Red Caps in Philadelphia organized and we were successful to the extent that we succeeded in carrying our case to the National Mediation Board with sufficient strength to get consideration. But when the carriers made their statement in opposition they told us we were a small weak group of men, that it was necessary for us to petition the Interstate Commerce Commission to so reinterpret the order as to classify us as employees. We still didn't have any assistance from this organization which is now claiming jurisdiction over us. We had to hire lawyers out of tips and money that we could get together, money that was indeed blood money, and finally we won this case before the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

Where were the Clerks at the time we were going through all this difficulty, taking these nickels and dimes that you people gave us and carrying our case before the National Mediation Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission? They were not to be found. So finally, after it did appear that our case was going to be successful, Mr. Backus who is the research head of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, made some feeble attempt so that his name would be a part of the record and so that they could publish in their periodical that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks had actually come in and saved these men, which was not true, according to the facts in the case.

After that happened and we won the status of employees, the Wages and Hours Board went into operation. We were supposed to have received 25 cents an hour. What were we faced with there? We found that the railroads said, under some rule of the Department of Internal Revenue, that if our tips were taken into account those tips might be construed as wages. As a result of that attitude taken by the carriers throughout the country the railroads compelled these men to make a report each day on how much tips they got, and as a result they said the tips we had received since we had been accounting for these tips showed that we had been paid, and again we had the responsibility of carrying our case to the various boards, and we spent thousands of dollars and we won.

After we had put up sweat and blood in that situation then the order of the Clerks came that they should assume jurisdiction over us, and for what? Certainly it had not done the work that would warrant such a situation. I don't mind going into an organization that is going to give us a square deal. We don't mind the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks taking jurisdiction over us if they are going to give us the benefits that come under their constitution, but it appears to me from the conferences I have had here with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks nobody seems to understand the constitution or

its provisions by the President. That is strange to me.

What do I mean by that? In the first place, we were told before we came to this convention that when jurisdiction was attempted to be exercised we should turn in our Federal charter, that after all it was for our best economic and industrial interests for us to go into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. If they had had jurisdiction over us all these many years and they didn't see fit when we were in the midst of a fight to come to our assistance, why was it to our economic advantage for the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks now to assume jurisdiction?

I know one thing, however, that since it does appear that we are now going to get a salary, after we have fought the thing from A to Z, some arrangement is made whereby we are going to be permitted to pay dues. No group of men with any sense or any man who wants to be fair would attempt to relegate a man into some kind of an auxiliary merely to pay dues, to fatten the coffers of an organization that has done very little for them. It seems to me that this convention ought not to approve of this type of action proposed by the Executive Council. It seems to me the recommendation of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is hardly fair.

I have been told that the head of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was a brilliant man. I admit that, more so since the conference I had with him, because I have never seen a man who could explain a situation more smoothly than he has explained this situation to me. We come under the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and only white male and female persons can become a part of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. I know that I am not white, and therefore it seems to me to be utterly impossible, without an amendment to their constitution, for me to become a bona fide member of the Clerks, and there has been no provision made by their convention to change their constitution in so far as eligibility to membership is concerned.

I know, however, that they have a constitution or some rule in the book of privileges under which Negroes are going to come. Now it seems to me if this convention is going to stick to the declaration that it has gone on record for these Federal charters, which we hold, if they mean what they say and if the oath which we were supposed to take and which the other men who are delegates to this convention have taken means anything, it seems to me we ought to be saved from this proposition which is going to be forced upon us by this convention, because we have tried time and time again to remedy this thing in a decent way, in so far as the jurisdiction of the Clerks is concerned.

All we are asking for is reasonable, we are not asking for anything unreasonable.

What we are asking for is fair and square, and it seems to me it ought to be granted.

What are we asking? In the first place we said this. In the memorandum which we made the other day, if the statement of Mr. Harrison is true that we will be given full rights in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with privilege to elect delegates and to be seated in their convention with full rights and privileges, we have no objection to that. It seems to me if that is true there would be no need of a different set of books, there would be no need of a different constitution if we are full-fledged members with full rights and privileges. He explained it, but still I don't understand it.

The next thing in the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, there is a provision made for a convention fund. Now it seems to me if we go to a convention and enjoy the privileges of that convention, that same fund would be placed at our disposal, but there is no provision for that. And in explanation of that Mr. Harrison said it was so highly improbable that we would ever appear before a convention that they thought it would be better to leave that particular thing out. How in the world can a group of men who never have an opportunity to appear and speak ever be represented?

For that reason we are asking this body to consider the action that has been taken by the committee and give us some degree of justice here, give us the right to experiment on this thing. Here is what we did. We made this offer. We said that we would be willing to go into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and try to work out this proposition, which nobody seemed to know anything about but Mr. Harrison, providing he would permit us to keep our Federal charter and also pay the dues that go to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and at the same time pay the dues that go to the American Federation of Labor. Why did we do that? Because we were highly skeptical that those things would operate as smoothly as he told us. The fundamental claim which he makes as to the reason why it is necessary for him to take us over is that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks had been representing these men and the Grand Lodge had been receiving no dues from them, and as a result of this representation he thought it was highly justifiable for these men to join this auxiliary, so that they could pay upon the representation which they had been receiving.

Let us analyze that problem just a little bit. In the first place, if you follow that line of reasoning though it appears that the blame is being put on us for not paying taxes or dues in the Grand Lodge of the Clerks. But when the thing is looked at in its proper light we find that we are not permitted to pay dues in there because we are barred. Why would you make me pay for something for which I

am not responsible? If you would have permitted me to come in as a fullfledged member we would have been paying dues and taxes long ago. Apparently the only privilege we have would be to pay taxes into our organization, if you put us into another organization. Even that is not true, because we do pay tax to the System Adjustment Board, and the System Adjustment Board tax to the Grand Lodge. Certainly we pay 50 cents a month to the System Adjustment Board, so the whole thing just isn't right, that's all.

We are perfectly willing to join the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks with full privileges and pay whatever tax or dues any other person pays, but it seems to me it would be unfair and unjust and undemocratic to put us into an auxiliary and not give us any fundamental rights, but only such privileges as may be given to us under the rules set aside for the Negro workers. We don't think that is fair.

We have gone out and worked hard, and it seems to me after we have done these things, after the job has been done in a good way, to say that we must go into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks because they have a color bar in there that does not permit us to pay dues, that we must accept the provisions of the auxiliary, through which at the end of every two weeks we may send a check to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—it seems to me that is not fair. That is without exaggeration of the situation as it actually exists. I have been trying for many years, since 1934, to work out some kind of equitable proposition whereby we could enter into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. There is one thing I hated to do, to get up on this floor and bring this condition to your attention. I tried and my representatives tried manfully to work out some kind of situation where this thing could be adjusted.

Suppose we go into this auxiliary, and we find no objection to that, on the promise that we would be given full rights, but suppose that would not be done? How could we ever get back here to tell you that it wasn't done? We would never have the opportunity any more after we surrendered our Federal charter to give you the true status of our situation.

So the proposition we ask in regard to the baggage men is that you would permit them to hold their Federal charter and pay their dues into the American Federation of Labor. At the same time they are willing to go into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and pay their full quota of dues. It seems to me there is nothing unfair about this if we are willing to do it.

As to the Red Caps, I have told you that the Red Caps have got their own certification. I have a telegram here today to show that the Pennsylvania Reading Seashore Lines want someone to come down to Atlantic City and represent them regarding certification. We have that line 100%, the Pennsylvania, and many other

lines throughout the country. It seems to me that since we represent these workers these men should be permitted to operate under a Federal charter until such time, since we are all colored, that we are permitted to organize and be left alone, because that is exactly what we want.

If I am in order I want to make a motion. Am I in order to make a motion in regard to the recommendation of the Executive Council?

President Green: I am sorry, but under our rules the motion is not in order.

Delegate McGhee: You mean that men who represent the Federal charters do not have the right to vote on these things?

President Green: The motion is not in order. Under the rules all resolutions of this character are referred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council is charged by the laws of the American Federation of Labor with the responsibility of passing on all these resolutions and reporting to the convention by action taken by the Executive Council. The report read this morning by Secretary Meany is a report of the Executive Council upon a number of resolutions that were referred to the Council for consideration and action. I accorded you this privilege to tell your story to the convention, but the matter is with the Executive Council.

Delegate McGhee: I mean, then, this convention has no power over a report made by the Executive Council.

President Green: No, it is a report to the convention to be included in the proceedings of the convention.

Delegate McGhee: Then we are actually powerless, it seems to me, to have any say-so as to what disposition shall be made of this question.

President Green: That is the law fixed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McGhee: I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President, will the Red Caps and Freight Handlers be permitted to appear before the Council before final action is taken upon this?

President Green: Do you understand the case, Brother Randolph?

Delegate Randolph: Yes, I have some idea of what it is. I may say this, that the men have no objection to going into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, but they have objection to going into an auxiliary organization where they do not have voice or vote in the convention of the Clerks.

President Green: Now, we have held numerous conferences on that, I held one the other night, a rather extended conference with these men and with President Harrison. President Harrison assured these men that they are laboring under a wrong impression,

and he would give them an official letter over his signature giving them their rights and privileges under the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Randolph: If that letter is given and they are not permitted to have voice and vote, will you see that their charter is not taken away from them?

President Green: I am reluctant to go into the matter any further, because it has been acted on and disposed of, as we understand it.

Delegate Randolph: Will you see that this letter is sent to them, and that the statement which was made in your presence will be included in the letter?

President Green: I understand the letter is being prepared now to be submitted to the representatives of these groups, and in this letter he will tell them their basis of rights and privileges in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Randolph: I wish to ask this question, too: Will it be possible for a letter of that nature to contravene the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks?

President Green: That has been modified and changed by action of the convention and by authority conferred upon the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Randolph: President Green, if these men do not get the voice and vote that you seem to think they will get, will you see that their Federal charter is not taken away from them?

President Green: You are asking me to guarantee something that the Council alone can guarantee.

Delegate Randolph: Will you permit them to appear before the Executive Council to present their case before the Federal charter is taken away from them in the event this letter does not assure them that they will have a voice in the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks?

President Green: We will wait and see what the letter contains, but I am confident it will contain what they want. We will guard their interest well, but you know under the Railway Act that we cannot change that. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is recognized and qualified by law as the collective bargaining agent for freight handlers. Now, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks say, "We work out a wage scale for them; we settle their disagreements, and we alone have authority to do that, and if we have that right these men should be permitted to join us."

Delegate Randolph: They want to be full-fledged members. These colored workers are not allowed to join the association governing their trade.

President Green: We are organizing them into Federal labor unions and servicing them as best we can. Then that situation con-

tinued until the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks conferred upon the Board the power to modify the law which was the barrier and caused us to organize them into federal unions. Now that power has been removed and they say they want them because they represent them in collective bargaining. We are trying to work that out, and President Harrison assures me the letter that will be forthcoming will set forth clearly that these men will be members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and fully entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Randolph: We take your word in good faith, President Green, and believe that will be done, because the men have no other way to correct the situation. I am sure you realize an auxiliary organization that does not grant them a voice in the convention that makes this law is contrary to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, so if this assurance is made to them, and the constitution has been changed, then the Freight Handlers have no objection to that. But they want assurance, and on the basis of your statement they will be willing to go along with the proposition.

President Green: You see, it is the same as your International Union that represents your membership in collective bargaining before the Railway Board and the Pullman Company.

Delegate Randolph: Exactly.

President Green: If you represent workers, you want them in your union.

Delegate Randolph: Exactly.

President Green: It is the same in this case. You might be willing to represent the workers in collective bargaining to get one agreement for them, while they are outside of your union, and do so for a limited time, but you would not like to do that permanently.

Delegate Randolph: All that they want is to get into the union. If they can do that, it is satisfactory.

Delegate Friederick, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee: In connection with this situation and if I understand your ruling correctly, I would like to have some clarification. As I understand it, your position is that resolutions from federal labor unions are submitted to the Executive Council for action. The Executive Council makes disposition and merely reports to the convention, but the convention can do nothing about the Executive Council's report one way or another. If you take the position that no motion is in order on the report of the Executive Council, I would like to know if a federal trade union is not satisfied with the action of the Executive Council, what, if any, recourse have they? Is the Executive Council in the case of federal labor unions the supreme body, or is this convention the supreme body?

President Green: Brother Friederick, let me tell you this. The convention is the

supreme body and the convention adopted this law, not the Council. The convention adopted this law which provides for the referring of certain resolutions to the Council, and commanded the Council to pass on the resolutions and report to the convention what action the Council took upon the resolutions.

Delegate Friederick: That is right, Mr. President.

President Green: Now the convention makes the law, and I do not think it is fair for you to imply that the Council is ignoring the supreme authority of this convention.

Delegate Friederick: That is not the question I am raising.

President Green: Wait just a minute. Secretary Meany will read the law.

Secretary Meany: Section 6 of Article III of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, under Subdivision 3, referring to resolutions emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions, reads as follows:

Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

President Green: Now, as the President of the State Federation of Labor, you ought to have known that law, and this convention can change that law if they see fit. As long as that is in existence we are under obligation to carry it out.

Delegate Friederick: I am not President of the State Federation; I represent the Central Body. The only question I raise is that every report and action of the Executive Council on every other matter is subject to the approval of this convention. If it is the law that the action of the Executive Council on these matters is not subject to the approval or disapproval of the convention, then that is the law. I just wanted that interpreted, and this convention can do anything about any action the Executive Council may take on the matter. Is that right?

President Green: Didn't you hear the law read? What interpretation do you put on it? Can you not see that it is the law?

Delegate Friederick: My interpretation is that every action of the Executive Council is subject to review by this convention.

President Green: All right, the convention decided otherwise, and that was for the purpose of expediting the work of the convention, when there are hundreds of resolutions coming here, and in order to expedite the work of a convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted this section of the constitution just read. It delegated the Council to pass on them and

report to the Convention what action it took on the resolution.

Delegate Friederick: I am satisfied with your interpretation.

Delegate McNally, Office Employees 20732, Chicago: Many resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937. No further steps have been taken to establish a functioning national federation of office workers' local unions.

A conference of office workers' delegates for the purpose of electing permanent officers, adjusting working rules and regulations, and the setting up of regional districts has never been called. These things were to have been done immediately after the Denver convention in 1937.

It is our belief that such a conference should be called within the next few months; that we be enabled to select officers for our Council whose sole and only duties shall be the functioning of the Council, the working out of problems presented to it by the various affiliated office workers' locals and research of working conditions, wages and hours.

In some instances efforts of locals to organize groups have been nullified by granting of separate charters, sometimes a charter to a group employed in one office, who, therefore, have no support from a large organization comprising members outside its own office. These people thus have not much more strength than if they were in a union sponsored and endorsed by their employers.

We believe our Council should have, if properly functioning, means of forestalling such indiscriminate granting of charters.

Contrary to the assumption of many international unions that our unions have thus far made no attempt to organize the industrial field but have restricted themselves to organizing labor offices, we call attention to the fact that our various locals have closed shop agreements for office people in the brewing industry, in lumber companies, in insurance companies, in retail department stores, in newspaper offices. We have members in grain companies, in offices in hotels, in letter shops and various other industries.

In every instance where contracts have been secured, such contracts have provided for substantial increases in pay and improved working conditions for office workers. These gains were accomplished in the most part by local organizations acting locally and by themselves.

In closing, the delegates from office workers' locals urge the setting up of a strong, functioning Council as provided for at the Denver convention as soon as possible after the close of this convention. We also urge such conference be called at a centrally located city to enable as many office workers' delegates as possible to participate. With such a functioning Council, we feel that many thousands of unorganized workers will be brought into the fold of the A. F. of L.

President Green: The report read by Secretary-Treasurer Meany will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Gai-
nor, of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Delegate Gai-
nor, Chairman of the Committee: The report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day will now be presented. The declaration will first be read by the secretary of the committee, John M. Fewkes, of the School Teachers.

Delegate Fewkes, secretary of the committee, read the following:

In submitting this report to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, your committee desires to stress the high importance of the shorter workday and shorter workweek, which again presents itself from varied angles of approach as a compelling problem, whose wise solution challenges our best thought. With renewed emphasis, we reaffirm the sound declarations made in preceding conventions by the American Federation of Labor on this subject. Consistently and with definite pronouncement, the American Federation of Labor has long insisted that shorter hours and advancing wages should keep step with expanding productive efficiency as a fundamental requirement for the maintenance and promotion of national prosperity, and as a protective barrier against the menace of widespread unemployment.

Dating back from its very beginning and despite multiplied difficulties and sharply opposing opinions, the American Federation of Labor has pointed the way toward the shorter workweek. Each succeeding convention, while giving public proclamation to the Federation's fundamental philosophy on this great question, has also made timely declarations for the progress and protection of the shorter workday and workweek, in the light of labor, social and general economic conditions, as then presented, and with an alert concern for the public interest.

The story is an inspiring one. The notable contributions thus made by the American Federation of Labor to promote

the public welfare have been so greatly beneficial as to defy estimate. In 1926 the Federation made its initial declaration for the five-day forty-hour week. Eight years ago, in its 52nd Annual Convention, the American Federation of Labor, confronted with the dire problem of some twelve million idle workers, recorded itself in support and advocacy of the six-hour, five-day workweek. Throughout the years since intervening, the American Federation of Labor has marshalled its forces and conducted an unremitting campaign for the attainment of these great objectives, with the result that the shorter workweek has won wide and steadily growing observance throughout the country. Its timeliness and wisdom have been fully demonstrated. Thinking men in all walks of life see in it the cornerstone of any sound policy to soften the ravages of unemployment.

The record of the past ten years now presents a wealth of experience regarding the shorter workweek and the shorter workday in practical operation, with which we can profitably take counsel in charting our future course. This experience demonstrates that various concepts hitherto widely held as to the prospective effects of a shorter workweek have such little basis in fact that they should henceforth be largely disregarded. Shorter hours and higher wages do not necessarily mean higher production costs. Moreover, conclusive experience data shows that the shortening of labor hours, coupled with the steady advance of machine refinements, has resulted in an increase of the total output of units per worker far above the total output of the previous longer workweek.

Even more amazing is the steady upward trend of productive efficiency in all lines of human endeavor, which has fully if not more than counterbalanced the employment gains achieved through the shorter workweek, with the result that until recent months there has been little decrease in unemployment totals. During the past ten years, while labor hours have been shortened approximately 22.4 per cent, productive efficiency has increased 34.4 per cent, thereby making it possible for American industry to maintain a level of production 6 per cent above the 1929 average, with 1,600,000 fewer persons actually at work in non-agricultural industries.

In the report of the Executive Council, a comprehensive survey of this entire subject is presented for the consideration of this convention. That portion of the Executive Council's report which includes an analysis of several related factors having to do with the operation of the shorter workweek under the captions "Employment", "Hours and Wages", and "Productivity and The Shorter Workweek", pages 58 to 62, has been referred to your committee on the shorter workweek for consideration and the presentation of a report thereon. In response thereto, your committee submits the following.

In addressing itself to the foregoing related items, the Executive Council, in its report, presents a factual survey regarding the displacement of men by machines, backed by unanswerable data that merits the most thoughtful consideration. This report shows that the shortening of the workweek has not kept pace with increasing productivity. "In June, 1940", the report states, "the average factory worker produced 52 per cent more per hour of work than he had in 1929". "In other words, it took only 2 hours in June, 1940, to turn out the work which required 3 hours in 1929". Thus long continued and broadscale unemployment has resulted. "Today, with actual work time averaging 39 hours and our factories producing more goods", the Executive Council Report states, "there are fewer jobs than in 1929 when men worked 10 hours longer."

In this same connection, the Executive Council calls attention to the great program of national defense, and defense production, which is now taking shape and direction. We quote from the report as follows:

"This year the activities of our people are being marshalled in a great program for defense production; the unemployed have begun to go back to work in private employment and many industries are already operating at or near capacity. *** As defense production gets under way, business forecasters look forward to the highest productive activity in the nation's history. It is believed by the government economists that with 1,500,000 to be absorbed into the army, this industrial expansion will so reduce unemployment that by the fall of 1941, only 8,000,000 to 4,000,000 will be out of work, and by the end of 1942, between 3,000,000 and 1,500,000. These estimates picture what Administration economists believe this country could achieve if it does not participate in the war".

In various quarters during the recent past, labor has been urged in the interest of national defense to relinquish some of the employment gains that have been made in working conditions, particularly the forty-hour week. "There is persistent pressure from manufacturers", states the report of the Executive Council, "to go back to the longer workweek. They want relaxation of the 40-hour standard, effective October 24, 1940, under the Fair Labor Standards Act."

Addressing a meeting of the Academy of Political Science in New York City on November 13, 1940, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the General Motors Corporation, strongly advised that the 6-day week should supplant the 5-day workweek in American industry, in order to speed up national defense as soon as "the slack of unemployment has been taken up and the increasing speed of industry has been utilized to the fullest practicable extent". "America today", Mr. Sloan stated, "is working a shorter number of hours per week than any

other nation—certainly any other involved in war or defense". "Output can be increased 20 per cent by working six days a week in place of five days", he added. "It seems clear this should be the first step".

With these longer workweek proposals, your committee takes definite issue. They are neither timely nor economically sound. We insist, after a thoughtful survey of the various related factors having to do with productivity and the shorter workweek, that they are without merit as a means to stimulate production either in efficiency or volume. We further hold that any lengthening of labor hours in the light of existing unemployment conditions would be a grave mistake and would be certain to react injuriously to the national defense program. A review of the facts in the case will fully confirm this statement. Realizing that this subject is one of high and far-reaching importance, we therefore warmly commend the stand of the Executive Council thereon in declaring, "Today as never before labor is called upon to stand firmly for the shorter workweek". In this same regard, and with renewed commendation, we quote from the Executive Council Report as follows:

"Only constant vigilance and united action on the part of Labor can prevent this pernicious drive of reactionary employers. We must keep the facts before the public. We must insist on maintaining the 40-hour week because it makes for greater production. It has taken fourteen years of persistent effort, since we first made our declaration for the 40-hour week in 1926, to win this standard for the United States. We can not now relax our efforts and see our gains for human conservation swept away. The 40-hour week standard is one of the strongest bulwarks of American defense".

The steady advance of technology is the big fact of our time. It is at once our great benefactor and great perplexity. When American common sense masters its processes, it will be our supreme servant. Dating from 1929, the workweek has been shortened more than twenty per cent, but the resulting employment gains have been more than absorbed by production refinements. Here is the central fact in all sane attempts to balance labor hours with job requirements, just as it should be in providing an adequate working force to man national defense preparations. Here is where technology is certain to serve so greatly, in ordering nationwide production teamwork, as to conclusively answer the longer workweek advocates.

"The American Federation of Labor calls public attention to the fact", states the Executive Council Report, "that since the start of the defense program productivity is increasing at three times the pace of the last ten years. This rapid increase in productivity is something of a forecast of what we may expect as the defense program proceeds". "We call on all union mem-

bers". The Executive Council declares, in urging mass coordination of patriotic effort, "to give themselves wholeheartedly to achieve the greatest possible volume of defense production, under fair working conditions".

The 40-hour week is more efficient. The high speed work required for top efficiency in American industry cannot be maintained for long periods. It has been the experience of other countries producing armaments that longer hours cut down efficiency and in many cases actually decrease weekly production. Our high productivity in this country makes the 40-hour week both possible and necessary.

American industry is geared to the 40-hour week. Today's high production is of course due to modern machines and to the physical conditions of the worker. The 40-hour week makes today's high speed production possible. Workers could not maintain the speed necessary for top production and efficiency on a longer workweek.

Unemployment must be eliminated. The defense program gives us the first chance we have had in 11 years to put the unemployed, numbering some 8,000,000 in October, back to work. In September, 1940, 4,913,000 persons were registered for work at government employment exchanges. If labor hours are lengthened, it will prevent hundreds of thousands, even millions, from getting back to work. Instead of becoming a constructive part of the defense program, putting their shoulders to the wheel for America's safety, these men will remain exiles, undernourished and ill-clad, discontented and desperate.

There is no actual shortage of man power. On the contrary, a marked oversupply of labor exists. With millions still unemployed, there can be no valid argument advanced for lengthening hours on the basis of inadequate man power. About 2,000,000 men and women have gone back to work since the defense program started in May, 1940. There is a shortage reported of men for certain highly skilled and specialized jobs—toolmakers, loftsman, coppersmiths, riveters for airplanes and others. Overtime at overtime pay will help here. Also, training on the job. Any general lengthening of work hours will not solve the problem.

In an address on November 15, 1940, Mr. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, explained that we will need labor, first, for defense, and second, to supply increased consumers' goods which the millions of re-employed workers will demand. Production will probably be at peak levels by about December, 1941. Before that time we will need to add about 6,000,000 workers to our present work forces. This 6,000,000 will take care of peak production under present appropriations and of the additional consumers' goods needed.

Of these workers, about 38 per cent or 2,300,000 will be skilled or specialized workers. Mr. Lubin points out that these men can be trained in plenty of time to meet the demand, but only if manufacturers will make their plans beforehand and let the defense commission know what workers they want. Efficient management and planning is the chief problem in supplying labor for defense jobs. Management must plan ahead if it is to have workers trained and ready when needed. Frequently employers do not wish to do this.

Industrial production reached a new all time peak in October, 1940, with the Federal Reserve Board adjusted index at 127 points compared with the 1929 peak of 125 points. From all indications, 1940 will go down in the record books as the best production year in history. The national income reached an all time high of \$1 billion dollars in 1929. In 1932 it dropped to \$3 billion dollars. In 1939 it climbed to \$7 billion dollars. The steady upward production trend forecasts a higher national income and production total for the current year, and much higher for 1941. Thus the outlook for the reduction of unemployment and unemployment relief payments in the early future, if prevailing labor hour levels are not extended beyond the 40-hour workweek, is most encouraging.

The vast scope of national defense preparations requires among other things effective co-operation in transferring unemployed skilled craftsmen to areas where their services are needed. This is extremely important. From the outset, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions have co-operated actively and earnestly with all government agencies in forwarding the work in hand. Throughout the entire country, strikes and labor difficulties among the A. F. of L. affiliates have been few and far between.

In considering prospective national defense labor problems, it is well to note that much of the building program, such as cantonments, emergency structures and even permanent installations, will in the natural order of things be completed in a comparatively short time. Many of the building tradesmen in all likelihood will then be faced with unemployment. Here is added reason why existing labor hours should not be lengthened. Plainly enough, new problems affecting labor hours and working conditions will from day to day present themselves and must be met and mastered in a spirit of fair and co-ordinated effort.

In thus reviewing shorter workweek progress and problems in the light of our country's welfare in these critical times, and mindful of the many major factors that contribute to its importance, your committee has also given consideration to the labor and employment problems which may confront us when international peace has been restored, and there has been a relaxation of pressure for sweeping mobili-

zation of men and resources for the national defense. Again, we may be confronted with an aggravated unemployment problem, surpassing perhaps all that has gone before. Again, we may have to strongly urge a drastic shortening of the workweek, as the only practical means of mastering the situation and maintaining an economic balance. Therefore, we should again reaffirm our faith in the 6-hour, 5-day workweek, and we should stand ready to invoke its good offices, as time and circumstance give warrant.

Your committee, in concluding this report, on the shorter workday and shorter workweek, with reference to labor hours, wages, employment and productivity, but more particularly as to the relation of these broad subjects to the preparations for carrying through the national defense program in the most expeditious and effective manner possible, desire to voice their concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on this broad and highly important subject. We would again emphasize the steady advance of productive efficiency through modern methods, and the wide unemployment resulting therefrom as the ranking economic problem of our time. We point with pride to the great service rendered by the American Federation of Labor in winning almost universal public approval of the shorter workweek, and we warmly concur in the sound and patriotic reasons that prompt its resolute stand against the longer workweek, while millions remain unemployed. We warmly commend the Executive Council for its comprehensive report and sound recommendations in urging the co-ordinated support of the entire American Federation of Labor membership in the national defense program. In view of the fact that the 40-hour workweek is now generally established and made the maximum work hours by law in all industry transported or affected by interstate commerce, we recommend that this convention strongly reaffirm its former endorsements of the 6-hour, 5-day workweek, without any reduction in the hourly, daily or weekly pay. We further recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue to devote their best efforts to protect the shorter workweek from unwarranted and unjust encroachments.

Delegate Fewkes: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Zander, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council: On the matter of hours of work I should like very much to make some comment on a problem which is not covered by the report, but which, it seems to us, is of very special importance in connection with the subject of the report of the committee. In state and local governments there are sometimes thousands of people employed for hours ranging from 12 to 14 hours per day. I bring this to the con-

vention, not because we expect immediate improvement. Undoubtedly that is one purpose in the establishment of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. I want to point out that here is a realm out of general consideration by the public, and, so far by the American Federation of Labor, the realm in which people are now working 12 and 14 hours per day, and in some instances six and sometimes seven days a week. There is room in this matter for improvement. There are tens of thousands of these people, and if the hours were shortened it would relieve unemployment to that extent.

If I were to give you a description of conditions of employment in these same public institutions, I could spend hours in relating things which would be harrowing at least. It is not my intention on this last day of the convention to do that, but I want to bring to the attention of the delegates in this brief way the conditions which now do exist in public employment. We will be from time to time calling upon state federations of labor and city central bodies, and it is a matter of great concern to all of us who are interested in unemployment. I want to make this comment in the record, and call it to the attention of the delegates here assembled.

Delegate Brown, International Association of Machinists: Personally I am sorry that the report we just listened to was not presented to this convention earlier. In my opinion, the committee has presented, not only a very informative, but a report dealing with a question that is paramount in importance to all other matters I have heard reported in this convention up to the present time. It deals with the iron law of economics. It makes a very scholarly resume and a fearless declaration of our needs during these times of uncertainty, and I personally want to take the liberty of congratulating the committee. I think they have delivered a masterly piece of work.

Mention was made with reference to our problems when peace is restored. My trade I believe, occupies one of the most important positions in the defense program, especially so because of the great need of tool and die makers. In almost every paper you pick up there is some reference somewhere to employers complaining because there are not sufficient tool makers. I say there are sufficient tool makers, but here the rub comes in—so many employers are objecting to what I believe is a needed readjustment so that tool makers in non-essential industries can be utilized in the essential industries.

About five months ago a representative, I believe, of General Motors, made a statement which I believe is the answer for supplying tool makers in industries manufacturing military supplies. The statement made—I hope it is going to be fulfilled—was that there is going to be no so-called scarcity of tool makers. The statement I refer to is that in the automobile industry they are going to try to get along with the 1941 models throughout the defense pro-

gram, and therefore there will be no need for retooling of the jobs every year to change the streamline of the body, very slightly affecting the power, but changing the style in order to help sales. The automobile industry and other industries that are changing the style, changing the body line to increase sales, may increase sales in a measure, but it will put a stop to what we believe is a waste during these trying times while we are working with the preparedness program. If that is done tool makers can be transferred to the defense industries.

Now, why are we so anxious this should be done? This is our answer: We don't want an over-supply of tool makers developed during the defense program, because when that program is completed we will be able to get tool makers at 10 cents a dozen. We have a stake in this, we have a property right in our trade, and we will do everything possible to supply tool makers, but we are objecting to turning out tool makers and machinists beyond what the industry can absorb.

I have made the statement several times in Washington, while in attendance at advisory committees. I happen to be a member of, and I will make the statement now which was made in a conference that employers manufacturing military supplies and representatives of labor get their feet under the same table, make an inventory of our needs and determine how many additional mechanics, roughly estimated, we will need to carry on this program. That proposal was made to the Defense Commission, it was made to the Department of Labor, and I publicly make it here. I say employers are unfair when they criticize labor because we are unwilling to join in the program of an over-supply of mechanics if they are unwilling to join with us in making a survey.

I want to briefly comment on training on the job. It is my job that those who produce the figures when participating in competitive bidding should make allowance for training, yet we find employers in a number of states have prevailed upon the state authorities to use state funds for the purpose of training workers, in some instances making them believe they are going to make them journeymen, and after they train them to a certain point they turn them over to private industries and they are used for production work. The State should not spend public funds to train workers for private industries. Private industries are receiving enough from Uncle Sam to train workers at the expense of the employers.

Again I want to say that we have listened to a very important document. I hope that every organization will make use of that document. In my opinion, because of our problems due to this defense program, it is the most important, yes, the most helpful document, I believe, that has been presented to this convention.

Chairman Galtor: I simply beg leave to submit two or three observations that I trust will prove interesting and which I be-

lieve are important. In doing so I supplement and confirm and agree to what has been said by the preceding speaker. In our 1932 declaration we made this statement, which I think is sound. We said that the steady, onward march of technocracy is so changing our social and economic environment as to compel a progressive adaptation thereto as the price of survival. We said then and we have said since that it is the greatest economic factor in our time.

We reasoned right in 1932 except in one instance where, important as we thought technocracy was, we did not realize its full importance. Up to that time no one had really measured the onward march of machines that were displacing men. Now in the last ten years we have brought that down to a scientific percentage, and this amazing fact has been disclosed, that notwithstanding the most remarkable shortening of hours that has ever occurred at any time in American history yet in the past eight or ten years, there has been an even greater displacement of men by machines.

Another observation I want to make of a more practical nature is regarding any actual shortage of men in any line of human endeavor. I think no place can the facts in the case be ascertained better than right here. I saw that fact demonstrated most forcibly in the Committee on Shorter Work Day, where every member of the committee brought forth some of the most important and educational and informative ideas regarding work in his particular industry.

I know that here in this assemblage every delegate can draw up his own experience, and I am confident that the unanimous judgment of these delegates would be that there was no shortage of labor available in any of the industries which they had direct connection.

I think it is well to establish that fact. Until there is some sensible factual survey by those who recommend the longer work week, until they appear before the people and submit a report presenting a reasonable answer to the report submitted here, they ought to be silent.

President Green: I join with you in commending the committee upon the preparation and submission of its report. It will appear in the proceedings of our convention, along with other splendid reports submitted to this convention. In that respect it will serve an educational purpose. We will make available to students and statisticians, to research representatives and to labor the factual information contained in this and other splendid reports submitted to this convention.

I am happy to note that the committee has dealt with the question of unemployment and the remedy for unemployment in a courageous and, in my opinion, a practical and constructive way. In my judgment it will be very difficult for those who

advocate an increase in the work week and the work day to answer the arguments in opposition thereto contained in this report just submitted.

The problem of unemployment has been with us now for more than a decade. That is, I mean it has been with us as an acute problem, and the American Federation of Labor, like a voice in the wilderness, has faced that problem at each annual convention without evasion and has appealed to the nation to accept the remedy we propose for widespread, continuous unemployment.

I am happy to observe that the nation responded to some extent. It responded when Congress enacted the Wages and Hours Law under which a ceiling for hours and a floor for wages was finally established. Employers cannot present a pharisaical and sanctimonious attitude during these days, for I feel justified in declaring that if labor had waited to secure this ceiling for hours until employers would have agreed to it, we would still be waiting for the 40-hour work week. The 40-hour work week is universal in America. We have established that ceiling for hours for the submerged workers in America. Organized labor, when fighting for the shorter work day and shorter work week, does not pretend to fight to secure it for themselves alone. Those who are not with us share the benefits gained.

So the sawmill workers in the isolated sections of the country, formerly forced to work continuous long hours, shared these benefits with the organized workers in these industrial cities of the country, where the universal 40-hour work week was established through legislation and for which the A. F. of L. was largely responsible.

It has helped wonderfully in correcting widespread unemployment, for through it industry has absorbed thousands of workers who were unemployed.

Now employers are talking about extending the hours of labor. Well, my friends, is there any justification for it? We make answer that no man in America can justify himself in demanding an extension of the work week and the work day so long as there are in the neighborhood of 10,000,000 idle men knocking at the door of opportunity for the privilege of working and earning a decent living.

These men must be accorded an opportunity to work. There they are, suffering, idle, appealing, begging for an opportunity to work, and at the same time we hear outstanding industrialists advocating an extension of the work day and the work week. What are we going to do when we pass through the period of industrial activity caused by the world emergency? Is there anyone who accepts that situation as normal?

We are dealing with the normal activities of life and so we look into the future with a feeling of apprehension because it seems so contradictory for a national economic order to constantly stimulate individual production and at the same time demand an increase

in the number of hours per day and the number of days per week.

We offer a real remedy for unemployment. Who can challenge it? Here is the actual number of unemployed, here is the amount of work available. We propose that the amount of work available be equitably distributed among those willing and able to work, and we maintain that the only way that it can be distributed equitably and increased opportunities presented to men and women to work and earn a decent living, is through a shortening of the work day and work week.

I am no prophet my friends, nor the son of a prophet, but I predict that the day is not far distant when the industrialists of the country will be recognizing as the only solution the remedy that we propose—the 30-hour week and 5 days a week. They may do it unwillingly and reluctantly, but they accepted the 40-hour week unwillingly and reluctantly. But we will produce under a 30-hour week just as efficiently as we are now. That is a part of the national economy.

I want to say to you even now when we are in the midst of a great national emergency, facing it as we are, dealing with it in a constructive way, that eventually when the let-down comes and the adjustments are made, and we will have to make them and face the inevitable facts, then in my opinion the remedy afforded by the American Federation of Labor must and will be recognized and applied.

I hope that this report of the committee will be read and studied widely, and that the report of the Executive Council upon which the report is based will be made available for the study and investigation of those who are interested in this phase of our economic life. It is a splendid report, meeting the requirements of the situation in my judgment and in a most unanswerable way, and I hope and pray it will be unanimously adopted by the convention.

Are there any further remarks? If not, all who favor the adoption of the committee's report please say "aye". Those opposed say "no". It is unanimously adopted and it is so ordered.

Secretary Fewkes: The convention has referred to it five resolutions to the Committee on Shorter Work Week. They are as follows:

Proposing Adoption of Six (6) Hour Work Shifts in Plants Employed On National Defense Contracts

Resolution No. 100.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Official statistics show that national defense contracts let during June and July total only \$1,961,900,000 out of \$10,087,000,000 appropriated or authorized

by Congress for immediate expenditures, and that actual expenditures, which reflect the delivery of defense material, were only \$330,230,000 during the same period, and

WHEREAS, Congress made available to the Army in June about \$400,000,000 which was to provide for approximately 4,250 planes, including 200 bombers and 1,700 training planes, and seven weeks later the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, reported that the Department had been able to sign contracts for only 33 planes, yet the industry had been exporting about 400 new planes a month, and

WHEREAS, Admiral Furlong testified before the Committee on Appropriations that some manufacturers and sub-contractors were refusing to accept Navy contracts because greater profits could be had from British orders, and

WHEREAS, All of the foregoing would indicate that a powerful group of profit-greedy industrialists are seriously hampering the national defense program, and are waiting to be coaxed by the Defense Commission to accept Government contracts, instead of being subjected to authoritative measures as applied by the Federal Administration's attitude in favor of drafting manpower in peacetime, and

WHEREAS, The need for organizing for defense within the shortest possible time is recognized on all sides, though there is the ever present hue and cry on the part of anti-labor groups for the lengthening of the workday, when the fact, that the shorter workday for the individual laborer, skilled and unskilled, is more productive than the long workday, has become an axiom with all rational men and women of the Nation who consider the excess payment for overtime at the rate of "time and one-half, or double time" in exceptional cases of great emergency as an effective measure—because of its being costly—to check the greed of selfish and money-mad individuals. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of adopting a universal six-hour work day within a thirty-hour work week in all plants under the supervision of the Federal Government by changing from working three shifts of workers, each shift working eight hours per day, to four shifts working six hours each within each twenty-four hour day, so as to not only speed the training of unskilled mechanics, but also increase the production of equipment, supplies and materials in the event of war, and that all overtime work be eliminated as far as possible, and that the wages of those working six hours per day be raised to the equivalent of the wages now being paid for eight hours' work.

Your committee, after thoughtful study of this resolution, which has to do with the labor hours, wages and working shifts in national defense preparations, recommends that this resolution be referred to the Execu-

tive Council for appropriate study and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Apply Six (6) Hour Day and Thirty (30) Hour Week to Rearmament Program

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek is recognized as one of the basic reforms to combat unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has appropriated many billions of dollars for a rearmament program, and

WHEREAS, The 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek is not specified in contracts let to private industry, and not practiced in U. S. Arsenal and Navy Yards, and

WHEREAS, Practicing the 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek on U. S. Government contracts and in U. S. Navy Yards and Arsenal should be an example for private industry, and, above all, it is the most opportune time to invoke the basic reform to combat unemployment, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the necessity of practicing the 6-hour workday and 30-hour workweek in the rearmament program shall be recognized, and legislation by the U. S. Federal and State Governments be invoked to relieve unemployment.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate study and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing 40 Hour Week For Workers in Navy Yards and Arsenal

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States, has proclaimed that until such time as the unemployed skilled workers of the United States are placed back to work no attempt will be made to increase the hours of employment over the present 40 hours per week as prescribed by law, for em-

ployees of Navy Yard Stations, Arsenal, etc., and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department irrespective of the thousands of unemployed foundry workers in this country has instituted the 48 hour week for foundry employees, and

WHEREAS, This condition has prevented many of our members from gaining employment in the Navy Yard Stations, Arsenal, etc., and

WHEREAS, This condition also increases the cost of production to the general public, and

WHEREAS, There are sufficient skilled foundry employees unemployed in the United States, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor and Metal Trades Department go on record as opposed to Navy Yard Stations or Arsenal working in excess of the 40 hour week, until such time as the unemployed foundry workers are given opportunities to be employed under the National Defense Program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders Union of North America cooperate to the fullest extent with the National Defense Program in successfully maintaining the required defense of our country.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

It was regularly moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Delaney, Molders: Since coming to this convention we have had several complaints from our members in Navy Yards with reference to the Navy Department invoking what is known as the stagger system, and if I am in order I would amend the report to the effect that the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the officers of the Metal Trades Department, use their efforts to have this stagger system abolished. I do not think it is necessary for me to enumerate the many evils of this system. I feel you are thoroughly acquainted with the system.

President Green: You have heard the amendment just offered. All in favor say "aye". Opposed "no".

The amendment is carried.

All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report as amended please say "aye". Those opposed "no". The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

Urging Support of Six Hour Day And Thirty Hour Week to Offset Unemployment

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the three past decades the United States has witnessed a tremendous increase in the efficiency production of goods and services due to the supplementing of manpower by machines which has resulted in loss of employment for millions of our citizens, and

WHEREAS, During the same three decades the social and economic progress of our country has not been sufficient to offset the trend toward unemployment, and

WHEREAS, It is conceded we are facing one of the most critical problems ever to confront the American people, which must be overcome if we are to endure as a democratic nation, and

WHEREAS, The lead to the solution of this problem has been taken by the American Federation of Labor at its 1939 Convention when it went on record as favoring a six-hour day and thirty-hour week as a practical means of solving the national unemployment problem, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby lend our support to the six-hour day, thirty-hour week movement as the only practical solution to the unemployment problem yet devised, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be informed of this action and that copies of this resolution be sent to State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils, Building Trades Councils, Metal Trades Councils and all Office Employees Unions throughout the Western Division of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, with the elimination of the second resolve, providing for wide distribution of the copies of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Establishment of Six Hour Day and Thirty Hour Week in Industry

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Brewitt, Miss Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, For almost ten years the United States and Canada have been confronted with one of the greatest economic depressions in their history, and

WHEREAS, This condition has left in its path millions of people totally unemployed and in addition many millions are employed on a part time basis, and

WHEREAS, All sorts of experimentations have been put into practice to get the people back on the job through the creation of numerous governmental agencies,

such as the Conservation Civilian Corps, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, etc., and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the above experimentations have proven futile in solving the problems of the distressing situation of unemployment, little has been done by legislation to compel the shortening of the work day or the work week, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its President has proclaimed that it is necessary to shorten the hours of labor in order to relieve the unemployment situation, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of New Orleans go on record favoring the establishing of a universal six-hour day and five-day 30-hour week in industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Fewkes: This completes the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday, which is signed by the entire committee:

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman,
JOHN M. FEWKES, Secretary,
JOS. TREMBLAY,
JAMES P. MEHAN,
HARRY STEVENSON,
HELEN CAREN,
JOHN GELO,
JOHN PELKOFER,
WALFRED SMEDBERG,
JOSEPH HAUSER,
LOUIS P. MARCIANTE,
SAL B. HOFFMANN,
C. F. STRICKLAND,
MILTON P. WEBSTER,
JOHN F. McCANN,
HARRY J. HAGEN,
ELMER P. MEINZ,
PATRICK E. GORMAN,
G. X. BARKER,
RALPH WHITEHEAD,
LILLIAN PETERSON,

Committee on Shorter Workday.

Chairman Gainor: Mr. President, I move the report of the committee as a whole now be adopted.

The motion was seconded, and the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday as a whole was unanimously adopted.

Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Labor Council: Mr. President, I rise to ask permission to make a short statement and a motion.

President Green: For what purpose do you rise?

Delegate Buzzell: For permission to make a short statement and motion.

President Green: The committees are still reporting and I would be pleased to have you do it later.

The Chair recognizes Brother Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee on Legislation.

Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Chairman, Committee on Legislation:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following statement:

Resolution Number 184 calls attention to a Bill introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress on November 19, 1940, by Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan which provides, among other things, for a reduction in the compensation received by all officers and employees of the United States Government except those in the land and naval forces of the United States and except those who under the Constitution may not have their salary reduced. The reductions in compensation proposed would be: ten per centum for all employees receiving \$1000 and less than \$2500; 20 per centum for employees receiving \$2500 and less than \$5000; 25 per centum for employees receiving \$5000 and less than \$10,000; and 35 per centum for officers and employees receiving \$10,000 or over.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, will submit the report for the committee.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following:

Opposing Reduction In Salary And Lowering of Working Standards For Government Employees

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Leo E. George, William I. Horner, John F. O'Connor, Myles P. Murphy, Steve Quarles, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, James Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; Edward J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National As-

sociation of Letter Carriers; Isaac W. Bishop, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers; J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, Special Delivery Messengers; Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, James Myles, Henry Bossi, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America; John Locher, Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives a bill (H. R. 10680) for reduction ranging from 10% to 35% in the compensation of all civil officers and employees of the U. S. Government, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has declared that there is no present necessity for reduction of economic or working standards, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has pledged its wholehearted active support to the President, and to every activity looking to the defense of our country, and

WHEREAS, repeated attacks have been and are being made under the false representation of defense necessity upon the working conditions, as well as upon our democratic rights as free workers, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor register their emphatic disapproval of that part of H. R. 10680, introduced by Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan, which provides for reduction in pay of all officers and employees of the U. S. Government, ranging from 10% for those in low pay grades to as high as 35%, and that the Executive Committee and the Legislative Representative of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to vigorously oppose this or any other measure having for its purpose the reduction of pay, increase of working hours, and any other weakening or lowering of working conditions or economic standards.

The last adjustment of the salaries and wages of postal employees was secured in 1925. The last general adjustment of the salaries and wages of the other clerical employees of the U. S. Government was in 1923. In spite of these facts and in spite of the further fact that living costs and standards of living have steadily increased since that time and that there has been no corresponding increase in the compensa-

tion of Government employees, these employees nevertheless suffered reductions in pay, denial of leave privileges, payless furloughs, suspension of promotions, and made many other sacrifices during the years of the depths of the depression resulting from the panic of 1929.

In 1932 when, because of conditions resulting from the Wall Street crash of October, 1929, workers throughout the United States were being laid off and the numbers of unemployed were being multiplied with alarming rapidity, Congress enacted legislation providing for payless furloughs and for the curtailment of leave and other privileges for all Government employees. The following session of Congress extended these restrictions and in addition imposed reductions in salaries and wages.

At that time it was contended by the organizations of postal and other Government employees that reductions in the pay of employees of the U. S. Government would be seized upon by employers as a precedent for reducing the wages, increasing the hours of work and the abrogation of other valuable concessions secured by the workers through years of effort and sacrifice.

It was contended also that such reductions of salaries or wages was, in effect, the direct opposite of sound economics and would retard restoration of our industrial and economic structure to normal conditions.

Unfortunately these contentions were altogether too true. Following the enactment of the so-called Economy Acts of 1932 and 1933 there was a surge of wage reductions and other curtailments that reduced the purchasing power of millions of Americans and destroyed a great portion of the domestic market for American products (and in past normal times more than 90% of the market for American products was the domestic market). The result was further reduction of employment, greater decrease in purchasing power, and so on in a vicious circle involving wage reductions, increase in hours and the loss of many valuable gains of the past.

In 1933 President Green called a conference of the representatives of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor resident in the Nation's Capitol. They responded, approximately 100 of them, and were joined by the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods. There was then formed the conference on restoration of Government salaries, of which President Green was made chairman. A determined campaign for the restoration of wages and salaries was launched to which every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor gave its support.

Again it was contended that the restoration of salaries and other working stand-

ards that had been reduced by the Economy Acts would serve as a precedent and would give encouragement and impetus to all workers toward the solution of our economic problem.

Again our contentions were substantiated by a progress of many thousands of organized workers toward the rehabilitation of their working standards and toward further improvements.

The effects upon our economic and industrial structure of the World War of 1917 and 1918 and of the bitter open-shop campaign by organizations of financial, commercial, and industrial institutions during and immediately following the World War have not been entirely obliterated. Progress has been made, much progress has been made in the last seven years but there is much yet to be done.

It is highly important that this convention register in emphatic terms its determined opposition to the inception of another vicious circle of downward revision of standards of work and standards of living of all American people in no matter what guise it is presented to us. It is not enough to say we are opposed to wage reductions. We must make such declaration as will allay the fears that otherwise will tend to break the morale of not only the members of our organizations but of all of the people.

We are faced with a national situation that is the cumulative result of international events. As Americans first of all and as Government employees, as well as members of the American Federation of Labor we are determined to do our part and to render every service required of us to see that the political integrity of America is sustained. For the same reasons we are willing also to make every necessary sacrifice to insure national defense shall not be falsely represented as the excuse for unnecessary and unjust attacks upon democratic rights and conditions.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Alfias, Machinists: Mr. President, I rise at this time to make an observation or two with reference to this subject matter. The delegates of the convention will observe that the author of this bill to which we are objecting, Congressman Hoffman, of Michigan, is a member of the minority party in Congress, and perhaps he is giving practical expression to certain statements made by the standard bearer of his party during the last political campaign, which we understand to mean that if elected the American people would be expected to make sacrifices, and we further anticipate that among the first of the American people who would be expected to make sacrifices would be organized labor.

At the same time, during the same campaign, we were assured by the non-majority party that labor standards would be maintained, and we are confidently looking to the Administration to live up to that promise which was made not only during the campaign, but which has been repeated by its spokesmen since the general election.

I feel confident that the officers of the American Federation of Labor will do all in their power, in cooperation with the national and international unions affected, to forestall another economy period such as we experienced during the early 30's in Congress. The futility of attempting to inject prosperity into the economic system of the United States has demonstrated that instead of producing prosperity by cutting down Federal appropriations, every time Congress saves a dollar they deepen the depression by about \$5.00 a year. It was only through the efforts of those who saw that mistake of economy that we regained our prosperity and had an upward surge in business, and I hope that this effort being made by Congressman Hoffman will be strongly repudiated by the majority party in Congress, which after all has the authority to decide upon what is going to be done.

I would like to add just one more word if I may, Mr. President. In order to safeguard ourselves it is necessary to maintain our organization in the Navy Yards and the Arsenals. We deplore the many actions that have been taken by certain officials of the Navy Department to interfere in the proper functioning of labor unions. The latest protest we have made about that interference is the refusal of the commandants of the several Navy Yards to permit employers to wear union buttons during working hours or in the establishments. We point out the fact that when an effort is being made nationally to increase interest in the Army and Navy, they wear uniforms, the personnel of the Army and Navy wear uniforms on the streets throughout the country. That emphasizes the military spirit, and we maintain the least they could do in the Government service to enable labor unions to function is to permit the employees to wear a union button, so that their associates may know who is supporting the movement and who is not.

Delegate Murphy, Post Office Clerks: I would just like to make this statement, that I recall the last 15 per cent cut and likewise the payless furlough. May I say we haven't had a raise since 1925. May I say, too, that I don't think we are over paid. I might add that we have a trade that is different from the outside. We have to know the streets in any city—and I am speaking for Cincinnati, where we have over 5,000 streets and alleys and public buildings, outside of the firms that are constantly moving. That is one phase of it. We have to know our states also. We work on the state of Kentucky, which has 2,914 offices, trains leaving every hour of the day, and we have to know within

10 minutes which is the best train to get that letter home in the speediest way. We work in the money order division where we do almost a quarter of a million dollars' worth of work per day, taking care of the other offices in the so-called electrical accounting division—all this without an increase in salary since 1925.

We want to be efficient, we have to be efficient, we know what we have to do and we have to do it properly. If we make mistakes we are demerited, and if we get too many of them we are fired.

Before entering the service you must pass an examination in order to get on the roster, and I might add you work as a substitute for many years at various hours. We go to work in the neighborhood of 5:00 o'clock at night and work until 1:30 in the morning. I know that Congressmen do not work like that. In other words, we are like Cascares, we work while they sleep.

I don't think it is fair for Mr. Hoffman of Michigan to enter such a resolution when we are trying to decrease the hours of labor and raise the standards of American life.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee: That completes the report of the committee, which is signed by all members of the committee:

I. M. ORNBURN,
LEO E. GEORGE,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
C. L. ROSEMOND,
C. M. HARVEY,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
ROBERT DALE,
T. MORIARTY,
JOHN DONLIN,
JAMES B. BURNS,
THOMAS V. GREEN,
GEORGE S. COUNTS,
M. T. FINNAN,
JAMES E. PETRILLO,
DON M. BURROWS,
CHRISTIAN MADSEN,
DAVID BEHNCKE,
JAMES MYLES,
ROBERT LESTER,
T. J. STEPHENS,
JOSEPH P. DRALEY.

Committee on Legislation.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, and the report is signed by all members of the committee. I thank the committee for the service it has rendered.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Acting Chairman Chapman for a report of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Acting Chairman Chapman: The Secretary of the committee, Delegate Foster, will read the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Secretary Foster reported as follows:

Requesting Affiliates' Cooperation in Having B'nai B'rith Magazine Printed Under Union Conditions

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Lillian Herstein, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of our unions that the B'nai B'rith magazine, whose head office is located at Omaha, Nebraska, and which was formerly printed in a union shop at Cincinnati, Ohio, is now being printed by the Webb-Linn Printing Company of Chicago, a notorious non-union shop, and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made to persuade the management of the Webb-Linn Printing Company to unionize their shop, but regardless of our efforts in this matter, this non-union concern has refused to place their shop or its employees under union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The management of the B'nai B'rith has been approached to transfer the printing of their monthly magazine to a union shop, but to date they have failed to respond to our request, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to contact the management of the B'nai B'rith through Mr. Henry Monsky, its President, who is located in the Omaha National Bank Building, Omaha, Nebraska, and respectfully request him to have the B'nai B'rith magazine printed under union conditions.

Your Committee approves the intent of the resolution and has been advised by Vice-President Matthew Woll that he has received information to the effect that the management of B'nai B'rith is now obtaining bids from union printers for the printing of the magazine, and hopes to conclude satisfactory arrangements in the near future for printing carrying the union label.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council with the recommendation that if within 60 days the Council feels assured that the management of B'nai B'rith is not acting in good faith that it so advise all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the committee report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Montgomery Ward Distribution of Unfair Products

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The two great chain and mail order concerns, namely, Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward Company constitute mighty economic forces in the United States owing to the colossal volume and diversity of commodities sold, and

WHEREAS, Obviously owing to the tremendous amount of goods purchased and distributed by these concerns they wield a considerable influence upon Labor, and

WHEREAS, The expressed attitude of the Montgomery Ward Co. now is and has been, that it has no interest in labor controversies, and

WHEREAS, This means the policy of this company is to ignore completely the protests of organized labor against unfair products and it is now handling many unfair lines of merchandise to the detriment of organized labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the International Molders Union of North America in convention assembled, this ninth day of September 1940, that the policy of the Montgomery Ward Company with respect to purchasing and distributing merchandise unfair to organized labor and disregarding their protests, be condemned and the company notified to this effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless the Montgomery-Ward Company decides to discontinue its present unfair attitude towards organized labor, that the International Molders Union of North America participate in a movement to launch a nation-wide campaign on the part of organized labor against this company.

Your Committee has considered Resolution No. 59 and has found that the purpose of the resolution is to induce the Montgomery Ward Company to refrain from purchasing or distributing any of the products made by the Washington Elger Company of Los Angeles, California, and the Dixie Foundry Company of Cleveland, Tennessee. Both companies are now on the "We Don't Patronize List" of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Your Committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council with the request that it take up the question with the companies concerned and failing of adjustment a report of the attitude of these concerns be made to the trade union movement in general.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the committee report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Foster: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the entire committee.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON, Chairman.
GORDON CHAPMAN, Acting Chairman.
E. J. FOSTER, Secretary,
CHARLES D. DUFFY,
JOSEPH S. FAY,
WALTER MATTHEWS,
THOMAS ALLEN,
MYLES P. MURPHY,
JOHN O'ROURKE,
JOSEPH J. KEHOE,
JOHN D. LENGEL,
CHARLES N. PAULSEN,
W. W. BRITTON,
JOHN LUNDEGAN,
JOHN R. OWENS,
THOMAS CAIRNS,
SAMUEL REINLIB,
GEORGE L. WARFEL,
LOUIS KROUSE,
JAMES W. CLOSE,
SAM BYERS.

Committee on Industrial Relations.

Secretary Foster moved the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair thanks the committee for their most splendid report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Brown, Chairman of the Committee: Delegate Googe, the Secretary of the Committee, will report:

Delegate Googe, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Proposing Organizing Campaign Among Employees of Johns-Manville Corporation

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Johns-Manville Products Corporation is a large manufacturer of building material and other products, with factories in Nashua, New Hampshire; Manville, New Jersey; Jarrett, Virginia; Marro, Louisiana; Alexandria and Richmond, Indiana; Waukegan, Illinois; Oswego, New York; Pittsburg, Redwood City, Watson, Los Angeles and Lompoc, California; with mines at Lompoc, California, and Chrisotyl, Arizona, and with a mine and factory at

Asbestos, Quebec, Canada, employing approximately 9,000 workers; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor create a nation-wide drive for the purpose of securing a nation-wide union shop contract with the Johns-Manville Corporation, and eventually the union label on their products.

Your Committee wishes to call attention to the fact that there are now in effect a number of local union agreements with the Johns-Manville Products Corporation, and recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 46.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Full A. F. of L. Aid in Organization of Western Union Telegraph Employees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, The Commercial Telegraphers Union.

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, with the support of the American Federation of Labor, has for the past five years been engaged in a campaign to organize the employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and

WHEREAS, Considerable progress has been made, particularly since the disestablishment of the company union on August 9, 1940, by the courts, in the organizing of these workers, and

WHEREAS, New company unions are appearing almost daily calling themselves "independents" which tend confusion and set up obstacles to the successful and early conclusion of the campaign, and

WHEREAS, Sufficient evidence has been obtained to show that the great majority of Western Union employees desire affiliation within the American Federation of Labor, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its assurance to the employees of Western Union, members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, American Federation of Labor, that all necessary legal, organizing, research and legislative aid necessary be furnished in this organizing campaign.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution after striking out the word, "necessary" in the 5th line of the resolve, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "reasonable," and striking out the word "necessary" from the 7th line of the resolve, and moves the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Powers, Telegraphers: I wish to amend the committee's report by inserting another "Whereas," to be inserted after the fourth "Whereas." The amendment is as follows:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has itself a direct interest and responsibility in this organizing campaign in Western Union by reason of the fact that, to meet special conditions in certain cities, federal unions of Western Union employes have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

The amendment was adopted, and the recommendation of the committee, as amended, was adopted, by unanimous vote.

Requesting That A. F. of L. Organizers Be Notified to Consult Molders Union in Organization of Foundry Workers

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Harry Stevenson, George P. Delaney, Henry Bossi, James Myles, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor organizers in many places have organized shops and placed all employees in one local under a federation charter, and

WHEREAS, In some cases there have been far more foundry employees than all other employees together, and

WHEREAS, We believe that in such cases it is far better to have them under a charter of the International Molders' Union than under a federation charter; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify their organizers that, where a foundry is connected with a factory where they are organizing, they shall consult an officer or organizer of the International Molders' Union.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution, with the added recommendation that organizers consult, in addition to representatives of the International Molders' Union, representatives of all organizations having jurisdiction in shops of this character.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Formation of National Council of Cannery Workers' Unions

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate James H. Quinn, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The canning and processing of fruits and vegetables constitutes one of the major industries of the United States, employing thousands of workers, and

WHEREAS, Through an intensive campaign extending for the past three years federal chartered locals, with a membership of over sixty thousand workers, have been firmly established in this important industry, and

WHEREAS, During the past three years these federal chartered locals have paid per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor of approximately \$225,000, and

WHEREAS, There are still large numbers of unorganized workers in the industry whose standard of living will be greatly improved through organization which fits the needs of the industry, which experience has demonstrated to be of the industrial type, with the greatest possible latitude in the direction of autonomy, Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session in New Orleans, hereby approve the following organizational set-up for fruit and vegetable cannery workers and preserve workers:

1. That an autonomous National Council of Fruit and Vegetable Cannery Workers Preserve Workers and Dried Fruit and Nut Workers be established, and that all federal chartered locals in these classifications be required to become part of such Council.

2. That such workers be charged with the responsibility of managing their own organization, subject to supervision by a representative of the American Federation of Labor only to the degree that the American Federation of Labor may be kept informed of the progress of such unions and be in a better position to assist when necessary.

3. That a financial accounting system be installed designed especially for these cannery and similar unions, taking into account the peculiarities in employment in canneries as to seasonal work, and that a definite proportion of the per capita tax, paid by these unions, be allocated back to the Council to be used directly by it and disbursed by an executive committee to be elected by and from the membership of the unions, for the purpose of extending organization. There also should be regular accountings of such funds made directly to the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee concurs in the spirit and intent of the resolution; however, your

Committee believes that the subject matter of this resolution is administrative, and that the same should be referred to the Executive Council with request that they act immediately to facilitate the setting up of a national council as requested in this resolution in accordance with the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and so recommends.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Labor Council: Many of the California delegates left yesterday, and at their request I desire to put into the record a statement that this resolution is a part of the general condition that exists in the State of California over which we have made a protest. Inasmuch as we have been promised by the Director of Organization of the Federation that he will investigate and look into the condition we have complained about, we are not pressing the matter any further at this time, and we are happy to support the committee's recommendation upon this resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Your Committee had referred to it that portion of the Executive Council Report entitled "Organization," pages 51 to 56.

(Executive Council Report, Pages 51-56.)

Your Committee wishes to congratulate the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor upon the substantial progress shown in this report. Organization of more workers into trade unions is the first step in the betterment of living conditions for wage earners as well as a condition essential for continued development and progress for the labor movement. Our organizing department is in a very large measure the key to the extension of unionism into industries not yet organized.

We note with satisfaction that the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor is the agency for coordinating new campaigns for planning undertakings in new fields. We believe that this principle of coordination cannot be emphasized too strongly or be too rigidly adhered to. We wish, in addition, to point out that coordination can be set up and maintained as a principle of action only with the cooperation of national and international unions in instructing their representatives to join in planning and joint conferences.

We wish to emphasize the value of the regional conferences held under the leadership of the Organizing Department. These regional conferences have dealt with organizational problems and educational policies as a means for transmitting information and coordinating the plans and activity of the A. F. of L. Organizing Department, its staff and volunteer organizers, the regional representatives of national and international organizations, and the activities of city central bodies and state federations of labor. Advance conferences with joint discussion of problems and objects is

essential to coordination and to minimizing conflicts in organization and jurisdiction activities.

It is a service of equal value for union advancement that the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor instructs its organizers to cooperate in every way for the advancement of national and international organizations. We realize the power of collective action in bringing balanced progress for the whole group. Strong organization can best maintain the gains and rate of gains when there is a healthy, insistent movement for advancement throughout our whole movement.

Your Committee congratulates the Executive Council on the fine reports of progress under the subheads in their report on organization dealing with the Chemical Workers Union, American Editorial Association, Agricultural Cannery and Citrus Workers, Aluminum Workers Unions, Distillery Workers Unions, Grain Processors Council, Rubber Workers Unions, Textile Workers, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, The Commercial Telegraphers Union, and the American Federation of Teachers. This report shows tremendous increase in membership and economic gains for these workers.

Your Committee has given special attention to the Council's report on the Fabricated Metal Council, and recommends that the organizing department and the staff organizers cooperate and coordinate their activities through collaboration with the various international unions so as to avoid jurisdictional controversies in this field.

Your Committee commends the achievement in the field of office workers and wishes to point out that here lies one of the greatest unorganized groups needing unionization and recommends that all possible activity be given by all organizers of the Federation, and particularly do we request the assistance of the representatives of the international unions when organizing and negotiating contracts to render all possible assistance to organizing the office employees of all employers.

Your Committee notes with gratification progress in organizing unions in miscellaneous industries as well as the success with councils of federal unions which have been formed for the workers of specific industries and for specific occupations. We wish to emphasize the strategic importance of organization of workers in the chemical industries for union progress both for peace or defense organization of industries.

In the immediate future with the rapid and intensive development of war and defense production there will be an accompanying shift in control of industries from private determination to decisions by the Federal Government and its Department of Organization for collection and dissemination of information, for planning and coordinating activities all along the line. As the undertaking of national defense is big, the responsibility and the opportunity for coordinated action under Federation leadership will be of corresponding proportions. The achievements of the past year warrant us lodging heavier responsibility within this department and expecting from it achieve-

ments, that only earnest, sharp cooperation can make possible.

The accomplishments of the past year are the finest and most substantial of the decade, and, your committee believes are the result of the Executive Council's decision to create an Organizing Department charged with responsibility in this field together with work rendered by the Federation's field staff under the direction of President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and Director of Organization, Frank Fenton.

The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary alliance of National and International Unions; Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. It represents a federation for cooperative effort to unionize the workers of all trades and callings regardless of race, creed or color. The pioneering and blazing trails for breaking down prejudice, brushing aside opposition, enlightening the public to the rights and needs of those who do the work for society is a glorious and patriotic record that can never be taken from the Federation.

Even though we now enjoy an all time peak membership—organizing is the most essential activity of our Federation. Every available resource should be applied to aid organizing activities. During the past year we expended close to a million dollars for organizing work. While special attention may have been given to workers of certain trades and callings—yet the sum total of this gigantic organizing campaign did directly or indirectly help and benefit every affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

Some Unions have progressed faster than others, due in part to the strategic position their members occupy in industry—yet in every instance each and every National and International Union have shared in the inevitable benefits, be they meager or plentiful, that accrue from the general organizing activities by the Federation and its affiliates. In fact the workers of non-affiliated unions and non-unionists likewise are the recipient from the energies, talents and funds expended by the Unions comprising the Federation. We must not slow up our most essential work but rather speed up and broaden the scope of our activity.

Too much cannot be said for emphasizing the need for closer cooperating efforts for meeting our joint responsibility in the field of organizing. It is the judgment of your Committee that too often organizing work is made difficult because the situations and aftermath that develop from controversies arising over work jurisdiction after the rendering of jurisdictional awards by the American Federation of Labor. Controversy preceding the rendering of awards is natural and reflects conscientious union representatives contending for what they believe is right. But after work jurisdiction awards have been rendered by the A. F. of L. it is unethical and at variance with trade-union principles for any of the parties involved to ignore or attempt to violate such awards. From such violations there arise feelings that make impossible the unity and friendly

cooperation for meeting our joint responsibility. When we enter into contractual relationship with an employer and if thereafter the said employer violates any term of the agreement we vigorously protest and properly so. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways, therefore we must set an example, a standard, by showing respect for and adherence to awards which are agreements among ourselves. If we fail in this obligation we encourage employers to likewise treat agreements as a scrap of paper.

While dealing with our most essential task—the work of organizing, it may not be amiss to recommend that every Central Labor Union launch a movement to unionize the families represented in our Federation. To be more explicit—we believe in too many instances, when the days work is finished and a trade-unionist and his family partake of the evening meal, too often there is a non-union son, daughter, sister or brother and at times a non-union father sitting at the same table. Is there a more appropriate place than at the family table for trade-union missionary work and for signing trade-union membership application blanks; so therefore we recommend that our general organizing work should include an activity for more thoroughly unionizing the families represented in the unions comprising the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of its report, covering the Executive Council's splendid report on Organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Googe: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the entire committee:

HARVEY W. BROWN, Chairman
GEORGE L. GOOGE, Secretary
FRANK DUFFY
V. O. GARDNER
JOHN P. BURKE
FRANK GILLMORE
PATRICK H. REAGAN
JESS FLETCHER
EDWARD CANAVAN
WM. J. RIEHL
JAMES BOVE
JOHN J. SCULLY
JOHN B. PREWITT
EARL W. JIMERSON
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH SCHMIDT
J. W. BUZZELL
JOE OZANIC
DALE CLUTTER
JOHN F. TOWLE
W. G. THOMAS
Committee on Organization.

Secretary Googe: The committee moves adoption of its report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Burke, of the Committee on International Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Chairman Burke: The committee is ready to report on the subjects submitted to them.

Secretary Woll will make the report for the committee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Woll, of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Secretary Woll submitted the following report:

INTRODUCTION

With a totalitarian revolution sweeping across the world, with the very foundations of our western civilization threatened by irresponsible military dictatorship seeking to dominate the world by the strategy of terror and ruthless force, mankind faces its most critical hour since the Fall of Rome.

Barbarism is again on the march!

A revolution of Nihilism is doing its deadly work. Small and peaceful nations are being crushed under the heel of the tyrant, homes, hospitals, churches and schools are destroyed, innocent women and children are destroyed with a wantonness unequalled in all history. Total war with all the instruments of destruction which man through science and the machine has perfected have been unleashed with all its unchecked fury upon nations and people. Only the madness of irresponsible dictators and their lust for power could have plunged the world into this present cataclysm.

Today war is no longer the war of old; it is no longer the test of arms and armies; it is the indiscriminate death and destruction that comes with the earthquake, flood, and fire. Famine, pestilence and utter desolation are its tragic consequences. If man cannot put an end to the mad destruction of nihilistic war, war will veritably annihilate the human race.

This Convention of the A. F. of L. meets at one of the most critical periods of the entire 60 years since this Federation was founded. It is assembled to make its declarations of faith and enunciate policies in what may be the gravest crisis in the history of the world. The times call for the most realistic thinking. They call for a new perspective on our task and a boldness in our thinking and planning which are worthy of free men at so fateful an hour in the world's life. They call for the largest measure of cooperative action on the part of American labor with those patriotic agencies in the country that are seeking the defense of our American way of life, and are helping Great

Britain in her valiant struggle to preserve the foundations of liberty, democracy and justice in the world.

It is in this light and in this understanding we have approached the subjects referred to us.

This section of the committee's report was adopted by unanimous vote.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADES UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 213)

The International Federation of Trade Unions, the creation of Free Labor at the close of the First World War, has in the past twelve months seen one nation after the other swept aside by Nazi, Communist, or Fascist dictatorship and trampled under foot. With the subjugation of these nations, one free trade union after the other has also been suppressed. A year ago we spoke in our annual report of the calamity that had befallen Czechoslovakia, Poland, Danzig and Memel, and the trade unions following in the wake of the Republic of Austria. This year disaster has followed Holland, Belgium, Norway, Luxembourg and the small nations of Europe. We must now record with sorrow that the Republic of France is crushed and humiliated. Today a large portion of her country is occupied by foreign oppressors. The industries of these suppressed and oppressed nations are disorganized, their people driven from their homes in many sections, their food confiscated, their shops ransacked by Nazi invaders, and their supplies stolen through the fictitious purchase with worthless German paper marks. And even as the Convention was assembled in New Orleans, word has been received that the General Federation of Labor of France has been dissolved by the decree of the puppet Petain government at Vichy, France. Thus passes the last great free trade union on the Continent of Europe. The ultimate goal of the terror and destruction of the dictatorships is the destruction of every vestige of free trade unionism on the Continent of Europe.

In the last message to the Trade Union Movement of America in June of this year, Leon Jouhaux, veteran leader of the French labor movement said, "Hitlerism and free trade unionism cannot live together in the same world." It was a prophetic utterance. As Hitlerism has triumphed, free trade unionism has perished, or been driven underground.

The only nation in all Europe where a free trade union can and does function is on the British Isles. Since the destruction of Austria and the Austrian Trade Union Movement, the solemn and stagger-

ing fact is that free trade unions in excess of 11,000,000 have been suppressed, their property confiscated, many of their leaders thrown into concentration camps and some of them have been murdered. The I. F. T. U. that has sought for twenty years to aid in the orderly reconstruction of Europe through such agencies as the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization is now facing the greatest challenge to its own existence. As the bulletin of the I. F. T. U. asserted in October of this year, "The workers of Britain and her Allies are locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Nazi and Fascist dictatorships which threaten the freedom of everybody."

Today the only two powerful trade union movements that compare with the once powerful I. F. T. U. are the British Trade Union Congress, and the American Federation of Labor. With a courage born of the deathless cause to which labor is dedicated—"free workers in a free world," the President of the I. F. T. U., Sir Walter Citrine, has urged upon the British Trade Union Movement all aid to the I. F. T. U. so that it can carry on its activities during the War and bring its influence to bear on the terms of a lasting peace settlement. American labor cannot do less than that. Already arrangements have been made for a meeting in the near future with President Green of the Federation, President Citrine of the I. F. T. U. and Secretary Schenvels to plan a program of action for the I. F. T. U. during these next critical months. This is indispensable if we are to preserve and strengthen this agency.

The Executive Council in its report on the International Federation of Trade Unions has recited some of its activities in this War year. It has been a record of notable activity and accomplishment under the most exacting conditions of war. The General Secretary has found his movements greatly impeded not only in working among the occupied countries but also in traveling between the unoccupied parts of France and England.

Your Committee is happy to note the action of the Executive of the I. F. T. U. in electing President Green as Second Vice-President of the I. F. T. U. He will add great strength to the councils of the I. F. T. U. at this hour; it will serve as another evidence of our close association with the remaining free trade unions of the world in their struggle for survival.

Your Committee cannot think of a more fitting way to symbolize all that is implicit in the collaboration of the free trade unions in the defense of liberty and democracy than to make as a part of this report a recent cable received by the League of Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy from Ernest Bevin, formerly the General Secretary of the Trades and Labor Union of Great Britain, and now the Minister of Labor in the present British Government:

"Present struggle for the maintenance of democracy and the right to use reason as against force in the conduct of human affairs should not have to be borne by one nation or commonwealth. It involves the fundamental rights and liberties to the human being, and all who accept these principles as their way of life should rally to the fullest possible extent in support of those who are actually in the battlefield. The future progress of labor absolutely depends upon the success of the British arms. We are willingly standing up to the terror of the ruthless aggression of our enemy who seeks to break the democratic spirit within us by the murder of our women and children. It is a matter for those not in the fighting lines but who are equally determined with us to maintain the great principles of liberty of thought and action to determine how best they can help and they must satisfy their consciences as to whether they are withholding anything in money, material or sympathy at the moment of this great crisis. My message would be, therefore, to every lover of liberty throughout the world; pour in your arms, your money, your effort to support those who willingly risk their lives to preserve the soul of mankind.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS OF SIR WALTER CITRINE

The American Federation of Labor was patterned after the British Trade Union Congress. In 46 years Great Britain and the United States have exchanged fraternal delegates—bringing to each movement through the chosen representatives of labor a record of their struggles, accomplishments and hopes. It is the oldest exchange between voluntary agencies in Great Britain and the United States of which we have record. It has helped to knit together the fortunes of these two great English speaking trade union movements.

This year the British Trade Union Congress has sent to us as fraternal delegate its General Secretary—Sir Walter Citrine, one of the recognized leaders of labor not only in Great Britain but also in the world. He has come to us when his nation is facing a life-and-death struggle. He has come at great risk to his own life.

And he has brought us a message of such reasoned conviction that he has left us all in his debt. The simplicity and sincerity of his utterance has had all the qualities of great eloquence. Never in all the 46 years, we venture to assert, has a fraternal delegate brought a message so moving and so profoundly significant. For Labor his address is a living document of incomparable value.

Your Committee can conceive of no greater way in which to honor both the

British Trade Union Congress as well as Sir Walter Citrine and our own Federation than to recommend that the address be printed in pamphlet form and made available to every National and International Union, State Federation of Labor, City Central Body and Local Union. We would urge that the widest circulation also be given to this address to business, educational and religious groups throughout the land.

Your Committee would also recommend that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies cooperate in the fullest possible manner in arranging meetings for Sir Walter Citrine while he is in this country, so that his message of the struggle of British labor in its matchless defense of democracy and liberty be widely presented throughout this land.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 215)

The march of dictatorship which has swept aside one free nation after the other since the invasion of Norway and Low countries by Nazi Germany in May, has also brought low many of those agencies of international cooperation which were set up at the close of the last World War. The Treaty of Versailles, which is so frequently condemned by the Dictators, created three agencies of international cooperation—The League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization. No other Treaty of Peace has made so notable a contribution to the machinery of peace.

The International Labor Organization, which was a part of that Treaty, sought to lay the foundation of international peace on the basis of social justice. This agency which owes so much in its inception to the genius and vision of the late Samuel Gompers, has during the past year suffered a serious loss not only in the membership of its constituent nations but in the opportunity which it has had to build the basis of international cooperation through the joint collaborations of representatives of government, employers and labor organizations. Today this organization has been literally compelled to reduce its staff and move to McGill University at Montreal, Canada, in order to carry on its somewhat restricted services. There temporary offices have been set up with the cooperation of the Canadian Government.

In his splendid address to this convention Director John G. Winant has given expression to those unchanging purposes of this organization and the faith in which its work is now being sustained. Said he:

"The objective of the I. L. O. is, as you know, the realization of social justice. That same objective is a part of what is at issue in the world today. The definition of social justice varies with the passage of time as our conception of it widens. In a not far distant past, social justice was a term used in speaking of the protection of a weaker class from a stronger class less numerous but economically more powerful. It was part of an attempt to prevent human labour from being treated as merchandise. The present conception of social justice is much broader. Every question must be considered from a social angle as elements of social justice have invaded all parts of national life. It is now becoming clearer not only that the basis of society is mankind, but also that the ultimate objective of society is the realization of conditions under which man can live a full life and work in security and peace with liberty."

The Executive Council has set forth in its report an informing appraisal of the activities of this organization during this last year while many of its member nations have been in the throes of a World War. The record of the organization is a most constructive one. The leadership of this organization in convening the Second Regional Conference of American states in Havana a year ago, was a notable service to the improvement of international relations. The Declaration of Havana, which was adopted at that conference by unanimous vote is one with which this convention might well associate itself. The several recommendations adopted at this Conference dealing with such questions as indemnities for occupational diseases, the elimination of private insurance companies from the field of workmen's compensation, the substitution of compulsory government unemployment insurance for non-government systems on home work and the employment of children and in particular the committee's recommendation in support of the scheme of apprenticeship training are most useful. They should receive the support of our Government.

The programs prepared by the Director at the meeting of the Governing Body in February, 1940, dealing with post-war problems are comprehensive, and demonstrate a statesmanlike approach to the problems of reconstruction.

The Council sets forth in its report furthermore the number of draft conventions adopted by the I. L. O. together with the ratifications which have been secured by the organization since it was established. It is an impressive indication of the effective cooperative work of this organization.

At a time when so many international agencies of international cooperation are collapsing under the pressure of dictatorship, it is of the greatest importance that this organization with which Labor has been so closely associated from its incep-

tion should have the fullest moral and financial support of the United States Government as well as the loyal and active support of American Labor.

Your committee would recommend moreover that the valuable services which have been rendered by Mr. James Wilson over the past years as a liaison between the American Federation of Labor and this Organization be continued. We likewise commend the work of Robert J. Watt as a member of the Governing Body.

Your committee, therefore, in expressing its appreciation of the distinguished services of this agency over the past year, recommends that this convention record its appreciation to its Director the Honorable John G. Winant for his presence and address to this 60th Convention of the Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

No report on the Pan-American Federation of Labor could begin without paying a tribute to one who for so many years served the Pan-American Federation as its Secretary and was the embodiment of its spirit. Santiago Iglesias, won his right to speak in behalf of organized labor in the South American Republics, as the founder and builder of the labor movement in Puerto Rico. During the past year when efforts were made to revitalize this Pan-American Federation he set out on a Good Will Tour of all Latin-American countries. His trip was cut short after visiting but one country—the Republic of Mexico,—by his untimely death. But his spirit lives on and must inspire us all for renewed activity in building a powerful Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Today, as never before, America is striving to unite all the many ties that link us with the twenty-one Republics of the Western Hemisphere. The new Continental defenses of the United States look toward a more adequate protection of the entire Western Hemisphere. The Declaration of Havana to which our nation was a signatory brings to a focus previous declarations made by the governments of the twenty-one Republics at Montevideo, Lima and Panama. America as a nation is resolved that the policy of the Good Neighbor shall be implemented by political, financial, and cultural aid.

To American labor, this policy of our Government reflects in part the broad purposes for which the Pan-American Federation was founded. We have sought that implementation by uniting in common effort

the workers of these countries for the common purpose of elevating living and working standards and the promotion of social justice.

Candor compels us to admit that our Pan-American Federation has not functioned during this last year as it should. To help revive it we sent Brother Iglesias on the Good Will Tour less than ten months ago. We are prepared to cooperate in rebuilding the Pan-American Federation to something of its former effectiveness. That means the bona fide trade union movements in these countries must be helped to function more vigorously. It is not, however, our purpose to dictate to our brother trade unionists in these other Republics. We do not desire to do anything in any of these countries which would in effect mean "we'll tell you what to do and help you to do it." A strong, free trade union movement must be born out of the sacrificial services of labor, free from dictation from without as well as within the nation. With this in mind, we shall urge that the American Federation of Labor continue to do all it can to foster and develop the closest constructive cooperation with the citizens in each of the Central and South American countries. If any time any bona fide trade union organization seeks our help and cooperation then we shall stand ready to answer their call.

We do feel that if we are to be in a position to cooperate with our friends to the south, we should seek continuously, to inform ourselves fully of their activities, their problems, their interests, and in turn to make available for their information, similar data concerning us.

To begin with, we must realize that we can say "South Americans—". Each country is distinct and distinctive; in each there are problems—social, economic, cultural, political, born of that soil.

On only a few points can one generalize at all:

1. Each of these countries is still essentially rural.
2. Industrialization in each of these countries started long after Europe and North America had passed through the Industrial Revolution.
3. The rise and development of trade unionism in each of these countries is of relatively recent origin.
4. The political independence of each of these countries is of a somewhat later date than ours, and in many of these countries when they gained political independence from their European mother country, they kept the same practice of governmental administration to which they were accustomed under their former rulers—a form, strong traces of which, in certain instances, still is clearly in evidence; this in spite of constitutions written in forms closely resembling our own.

5. Social and economic patterns of their earlier history still strongly persist in each country, and on and in these patterns a present-day complex industrial system of conflicting ideologies is being constructed by and for these people.

6. Most of these countries are very rich in natural resources; some are fabulously rich. Oil, gold, silver, copper, tin, rubber trees, nitrate, hardwood of all kinds, fruits in abundance, coffee, cocoa, leather, livestock, precious and semi-precious stones, coal, iron, cotton — just about everything nature can give man, is to be found in this hemisphere, in abundance. The land is rich; but the majority of the people are poor.

7. A small number of large landowners, an agricultural economy in which the worker is intimately attached to the land on which he works, absentee ownership of corporate holdings, a distinct cleavage between urban and rural groups, are basic factors which confront worker organizations in each country—even before they seek to organize and obtain a degree of social and economic security in their work.

8. The high rate of illiteracy which is a problem being courageously attacked in many of these countries, as it was by some of our own people, is in many of these countries born of an inherited old world concept of education for a few—and that education to be of the very best. Let us not for one minute think that these nations despise formal education and the fine arts. They revere them. In fact we are mindful of the fact that the oldest university in the Americas is the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, which is almost a century older than our own Harvard in the North and William and Mary in the South. Their problem is not one developing a feeling or appreciation of learning and beauty, but of making their cultural life available to larger numbers.

9. There is religious freedom for each citizen in each of these countries regardless of the functions of any church.

10. The people of practically all of these countries have at some time or other (a number right now) lived under a dictator, but they have never had a totalitarian government in any Latin-American country at any time. And even the most flattering courtships of Nazi and Communist agitators during the last few years, has not resulted in any union being solemnized at any time.

11. The people are warm, cordial, colorful, kind, be they of Spanish or Portuguese origin, or of pure or mixed Indian descent, or of the Negro group, which is quite thoroughly assimilated there. And indeed, their kindness and warmth, their credulity makes one fear if some of them today may not be treacherously "captured". As "Stout Cortes" destroyed the credulous and noble Aztec chief and as Pizarro destroyed the kindly, trusting Inca ruler—so today the invader is carrying a Pandora box of Nazi or perhaps Communist slogans—what's the difference. But, so far, these people have not fallen victim to these attacks, for the

most part they have realized they have problems enough of their own, born of their own soil and their own inherited traditions, problems which they must solve for themselves and by their own methods.

Your committee recommends that there be established a means of exchanging information, of promoting cooperation among the free trade union groups of the Americas; and that the Executive Council be empowered to take such steps as may promote the best and closest steps among the peoples of the Americas.

We have been honored this year again by a visit and address by Brother Luis Morones of Mexico, Vice-President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. After having heard his message and report we express once more our friendship and offer of co-operation to the Mexican Federation of Labor (known as the CROM). We have a special fraternal bond with our brothers of Mexico, because of their contribution as co-founders of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, their similarity of trade union philosophy and their never-failing response to appeals for support and co-operative action.

We recommend further that this convention record again our determination to uphold the rights of all workers in the Western Hemisphere to independence of choice and freedom of the trade union organizations and activities without the domination and interference of governments and recommend that whenever or wherever such attempts come to our attention that we so advise these governments and do whatever we can to protect the rights of workers to self-organization.

We would likewise urge the re-establishment of old contacts through the Pan-American Federation of Labor and in making of new connections with the trade unions in Latin-America. To that end we recommend that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor undertake to make a survey of Trade Union conditions in the Latin-American countries and consider the holding of an early conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and all bona fide trade unions.

Your Committee would call attention to the historic fact that in 1942 we celebrate the four hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. We believe the American Federation of Labor should take the initiative in calling the governments of the Western Hemisphere together to properly celebrate this great event. We would urge that at the same time and place there be a great conference of the Pan-American Federation to celebrate the solidarity and service of the trade unions in helping to build constitutional democracies in the New World.

Chairman Burke: This concludes the report of the Committee on International

Labor Relations and it is signed by the committee:

THOMAS E. BURKE, Chairman,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,
WM. GREEN,
D. J. TOBIN
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
WM. J. BOWEN,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
E. E. MILLMAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
EDWARD FLORE,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
DENNIS LANE,
WM. J. MCSORLEY,
EDWARD CANAVAN,
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,
P. J. MORRIN,
FELIX KNIGHT,
JAMES MALONEY,
Committee on International Labor Relations.

Chairman Burke moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole as submitted to the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair wishes to thank the members of the committee for the services rendered.

I have a communication here sent me from the Norwegian Consulate and also a request from the Seafarers' International Union that we accord a representative of the Norwegian Seamen's Association a moment to speak to us. He is here on the platform, and even though we are pressed for time, nearing the close of our convention, I am of the opinion that we can with profit hear from our distinguished visitor.

So I have the honor now to present to you Mr. E. Gronn Nielsen who represents the Norwegian Seamen's Association.

MR. E. GRONN NIELSEN

(Norwegian Seamen's Association)

It is a great honor for me to have this opportunity to address this great convention on behalf of a motion which would extend to the fighting forces of Norwegian Labor the sympathy and support of your world-famous organization.

It is hardly necessary for me to recall to you that Norway has been the homeland of a united nation for more than a thousand years. The type of human being and citizen that comes from this rugged country of mountains and fjords is familiar to you all through one of your

own leaders, the late and lamented Andrew Furuseth.

Recent years have also brought you tidings of the great advance made by the laboring masses of Norway and the other Scandinavian nations. In a Europe, not yet dominated by Hitler, Norway and the other Scandinavian nations had become the outstanding examples of democratic and social progress. In Norway Labor had been at the helm since March, 1935. The position of the Norwegian Labor Movement in Government was confirmed repeatedly in national and municipal elections. The trade unions moved onwards to membership numbers never before known in the history of our Labor Movement. One Act of Parliament after the other secured and improved the position of the working masses in the community.

Truly we might say that in Norway Labor had finally come into its own when the vicious and greedy totalitarian Nazi hordes invaded that peaceful country on April 9 of this year. Labor was not slow to realize the threat to its most cherished rights and to every possibility of further progress in Norway. Without appealing to anybody for help the Labor Government decided to resist the invader and secure the unanimous support of the Norwegian Parliament for this decision. The overwhelming military might of the invader is a fact known to you all, as it is sadly known to all the oppressed people of Europe. Even today the invader maintains an armed force in Norway numbering more military men than the Norwegian nation of less than three millions could itself place in the field.

Nevertheless the Norwegian nation maintained its military resistance for nine weeks. The idea that the Norwegians would give way without striking a blow for freedom and democracy proved false. Hitler was not able to use Norwegian harbors and airports for an immediate thrust against England. The Norwegians also reckon it to their credit that the experience of the Norwegian campaign also had the effect in England of bringing into the Government of Britain those staunch comrades and leaders of British Labor, Ernest Bevin, Herbert Morrison, Clem Attlee, Arthur Greenwood, David Grenfell and others.

When military resistance in Norway was abandoned on June 7 the Norwegian nation nevertheless remained faithful to the struggle which has since been waged from the outside under the leadership of the Norwegian Government, now established in England, and in a truly democratic fraternity with the British Government and other allied Governments, all having their Labor Bloc. Throughout the seven seas our great seafaring nation is helping in the fight by carrying supplies to Britain and other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Democratic rights are upheld and trade union principles observed by the Norwegian Sea-

men's Association and officers' unions, whose central offices carry on as before in Britain and in America. The democracies have not allowed this terrible war to suspend the rights and principles for which they are indeed fighting.

In this fight the Norwegians recognize as do their democratic allies, that the observance of international law and order is an essential contribution to be rendered by non-belligerent nations as against the forces of lawlessness and international anarchy. The Government of the United States continues to recognize the Norwegian Government as the lawful Government of Norway. The great Norwegian merchant fleet can call at American ports, confident that the United States authorities and law courts will assist in the recognition and observance of private and public international agreements. The Norwegian Seamen's Association is able to continue the work of its officers in the United States because the United States Government does not make obeisance to the new, miscalled world order of the totalitarian aggressors.

But the democracies have learned that their true order must always have the support and continued vigilance of the democratic forces. That is why I am grateful for this opportunity to ask for the support of the powerful American Federation of Labor in recognizing the title of democratic Norway and her most important trade union, the Norwegian Seamen's Association.

President Green: We thank our friend sincerely for the address he has delivered. Our hearts and sympathies go out to the democratic people of Norway, a splendid, sturdy race of people. I was pleased to hear the speaker say that, in spite of their own troubles, they are helping Great Britain in her hour of need. We assure him we will do all we can to serve.

President Green: The Chair desires to bring to your attention the question of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. You remember in the last convention, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, last year, the convention authorized the Executive Council to appoint fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress in the event the world situation was of such a nature as to permit the visit to Great Britain of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress. Well, the situation became worse and we were compelled, reluctantly, to refrain from sending our delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress. By the authority conferred upon me, I appointed Brother O'Reilly, President of the Seattle General Trades and Labor Council, to represent us at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He represented us there in a most satisfactory way. He submitted a report to me which I will refer to the Secretary for inclusion in the Convention proceedings.

It is my opinion that we can with perfect safety send a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress next year, and we hope the situation will clear up so fully that we will be able to send delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress. Is it the wish of the Convention to follow the same course?

Delegate Bugniazet, Electrical Workers: I move that the same course be followed.

President Green: Delegate Bugniazet moves that the Council be clothed with authority to appoint fraternal delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress in the event it appears possible to do so, and will designate some one to represent the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Woll and carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF CLAUDE P. O'REILLY Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

My report as Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is as follows:

The convention was held in the Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, British Columbia, opening September 23 and continuing in session until September 27.

On the opening day addresses were delivered by Tom Moore, president of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; Eric W. Hamber, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, and E. A. Jamieson, president of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council.

A tragic note was struck when President Moore read a press dispatch which reported that William Golightly, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, was among the victims taken by a torpedo that struck the ship bringing him to Canada for the convention.

The Credentials Committee reported that the credentials of 306 delegates had been found in order. These were accepted by the convention and the delegates took their seats.

The Secretary-Treasurer reported a membership of a little more than 175,000.

By resolution the convention proclaimed the readiness of Canadian labor to continue its full support in the war against Germany, which was described as a struggle "for the defense of our democratic way of life."

The action of the Canadian government in establishing government-owned companies for the production of some of the essential war materials was endorsed and an extension of this policy was urged.

The convention also proposed that the strictest control be exercised over private industry so as to prevent profiteering.

The convention decided to call upon the government to recognize a maximum eight-hour day in war industries and to institute the three-shift system where necessary.

The government was asked to observe conditions established under collective labor agreements and the delegates proposed, further, the insertion of a clause in such contracts that

would compel employers to negotiate agreements with union representatives.

A resolution calling for repeal of an Order in Council extending the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act to all war industries failed of adoption. Resolutions advocating trade union representation in the Federal Cabinet were also unsuccessful.

The government was urged, in a resolution approved by the delegates, to assume full responsibility for the adequate maintenance of the employable unemployed. The withdrawal of relief from workers unable to secure jobs was protested.

The six-hour day and thirty-hour week, as well as other objectives set forth in the Platform of Principles of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, received renewed endorsement, with the understanding that attainment of these goals would be vigorously sought as soon as national and international circumstances permitted.

Nazism, Fascism and Communism were condemned in a declaration adopted by the convention.

A nation-wide publicity campaign designed to enlighten the nation as a whole, including employers, on the value of trade unions to industry and society generally was recommended.

President Moore was reelected by acclamation. J. A. D'Aoust, one of the vice-presidents, was elected secretary-treasurer. P. R. Bengough, James Whitebone and E. W. Sinclair were chosen as vice-presidents.

Calgary, Alberta, was the choice as the site of the 1941 convention.

Fraternal greetings from the American Federation of Labor were brought to the convention by Claude P. O'Reilly.

In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude for having been given the opportunity to attend the 1940 convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as the fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish also to voice my appreciation of the hospitality accorded to me by the officers and delegates of the Trades and Labor Congress during the time I was with them at Vancouver.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Buzzell of the Los Angeles County Central Labor Union, who desires to make a short statement and offer a motion for consideration.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles County Central Labor Council: I would like to make a statement on behalf of Brother Harry Lundberg, Acting President of the Seafarers International Union.

Brother Lundberg tried to come here and present this matter out of order, even though the 30-day period was not complied with. However, his doctor will not let him come here and he has sent a telegram asking that I present this motion, and in accordance therewith, I make the following motion:

That the protests of the Seafarers' International Union against the induction of civilian seamen, as such, into the Naval Reserves, and against compelling seamen to come under the provisions of the Harbor Workers and Longshoremen's Compensation Act, be referred to the Executive Council for study and all possible

support given to the Seafarers' International Union on these subjects, as soon as convenient.

President Green: The motion has been seconded by Brother Gus Anderson. Is there any objection? All in favor signify by saying "Aye"; those opposed "No." The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes Brother Woll, of the Resolutions Committee.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Vice-President Woll submitted the following:

WCFL—"The Voice of Labor"

Resolution No. 185—By Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor", is the only Radio Broadcasting Station in the United States owned and operated by and for organized labor; and

WHEREAS, WCFL serves the labor movement by providing time on the air; and

WHEREAS, the organized labor movement would not be able to buy this time to disseminate the objects and purposes of the American Federation of Labor to the American people were it not for the fact that labor owns and operates this station; and

WHEREAS, many of the broadcasts donated free of charge to the labor organizations which use WCFL are put on the air solely and specifically for the purpose of bringing about unity in labor and unity between management and labor, both of which factors are recognized to be vital and necessary for the national defense and welfare; and

WHEREAS, WCFL donates great amounts of valuable time each month to broadcasts bringing information, culture and entertainment to that part of the nation within its range of hearing; and

WHEREAS, the American people have taken this radio station into their homes and lives in ever-increasing numbers and the station has strikingly grown in popularity in recent years, as has been proven by countless surveys made by impartial and disinterested surveying organizations; and

WHEREAS, this only "Voice of Labor" in America—this only large station operated not for profit, in the second largest city of America, is now having its wave length threatened by persons whose only interest in operating their public-given franchise of broadcasting is that of private and personal profit; and

WHEREAS, WCFL has applied to the Federal Communications Commission for permission to double its power to 10,000 watts and thus allow it to serve an increase of over 6,000,000 people; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled does hereby reaffirm its faith and pride in WCFL, the "Voice of Labor", and does declare its belief that WCFL as the only labor station in the United States and one of the few great stations in the United States operated not for profit, be given the whole-hearted sup-

port of the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliates and members, and that the American Federation of Labor believes it to be in the public interest that WCFL be granted permission to increase its power and the area which it serves, in accordance with the application which is now on file at the Federal Communications Commission, and that it be moved that this resolution be spread on the minutes of this 60th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at New Orleans, Louisiana, and that copies of said resolution be sent to all international affiliated unions, state federations, and city central bodies, and that copies of this resolution also be sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Chairman Fly, of the Federal Communications Commission, and that the above-mentioned labor organizations be instructed to urge upon their Senators and Representatives to cooperate in the fulfillment of the purposes of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: The final report of the Resolutions Committee is a resolution that originated with the committee. The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

(Resolution No. 186—By the Committee on Resolutions)

WHEREAS, the labor movement of New Orleans and vicinity has entertained the 60th convention of the American Federation of Labor in a most gracious and hospitable way; and

WHEREAS, there has been extended to the convention a full measure of courtesy by the press and broadcasting facilities of the city and nation; and

WHEREAS, the officers, delegates and visitors to the convention have been accorded every possible courtesy by the state and city officials, the churches and representative groups of the city; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 60th annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does through this resolution convey to our fellow trade unionists and other citizens of New Orleans and vicinity, to the state and city officials, the churches, the press, broadcasting companies, and all who have contributed to our comfort and pleasure during our stay in New Orleans, our most sincere and hearty thanks for their generous hospitality and untiring efforts to make this a most successful and pleasurable convention.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: This completes this supplemental report of the Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: Thank you.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

Communication

Secretary Meany: I have a telegram that should go into the record, addressed to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. It reads:

Wm. Green, President,
A. F. of L. Convention,
New Orleans.

Majority leader Barkley beseeched me to remain in the senate today in order to provide a quorum to take action on the Logan-Walters bill. Unfortunately and because of circumstances in the senate and treatments I am undergoing at the naval hospital I shall not be able to leave Washington as I wanted to do. Appreciate deeply your invitation and with best wishes for the success of the convention, I am,

JAS. M. MEAD,
United States Senator.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce a meeting of the Executive Council on the Parlor Floor of the Roosevelt Hotel at 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING STATEMENT

Now, it appears that the convention has completed its work and we have reached the hour of adjournment. I am of the opinion that all of us experience some feeling of regret over the fact that now we must terminate our delightful visit to New Orleans and return to our homes. It seems appropriate for me to refer to the fact that this convention performed its work in a dignified and orderly way. Every committee presented reports in an impressive and intelligent manner. Each and every delegate has been accorded the right to speak freely on the floor of this convention. It has been a characteristic, typical convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The delegates have maintained a poise and bearing that reflects great credit upon a great movement, American in character and committed to the advancement of our national common interests. No artificial means or methods have been introduced in this convention for the purpose of developing artificial enthusiasm. There has been no play upon the emotions, no noise-making instrumentalities have been distributed in this convention for the purpose of working the delegates into a frenzy. There has been no parading through the halls and the corridors of the convention. Men have substituted intelligence for fanaticism, and there has been no hero worshipping in this convention.

It is in that atmosphere and in that way that the business of this convention has been transacted. Intelligent consideration has been given to all of the questions submitted, and in my judgment the action taken was wise, sound and unassailable.

And now we shall retrace our steps, go to our homes—those who reside in the great Northwest, to that delightful climate; those in the Middle West, to the temperate zone; those

in the Southland, where the sun shines warm and in a tropical clime, but no matter where we go or where we reside, we will carry back to our homes a new inspiration and a new determination to carry on the work of the American Federation of Labor.

This has been a most constructive convention, measuring up to the standards of excellence we have always set. You have demonstrated a sagacity and wisdom and intelligence that commands the admiration of labor throughout the country.

We are pleased over the fact the press served us well. The story of our work and reports of what we have done have been written well and sent broadcast throughout the nation. I thank the representatives of the press for the very fine service they have rendered us during this convention.

I thank the officers and delegates and the visitors for the decorum you all maintained, for the bearing which you assumed, for the

poise which you manifested, and for the interest you have shown in the proceedings of this convention.

And I thank you for your cooperation and for your support during these trying days when I have presided over the deliberations of this convention.

Now it seems quite appropriate, my friends, that we should bring this session of the 60th Annual Convention to a close by all of us joining in singing "God Bless America." I am going to call upon Delegate Steeper, of the Musicians' Union, to lead us.

The entire assembly stood and sang "God Bless America."

President Green: And now I solemnly declare the 60th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 1:20 o'clock, p. m., Friday, November 29, 1940, the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

Robert L. Soule

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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